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The Complete Works of

ARRIAN

(c. 86 AD– c. 160 AD)



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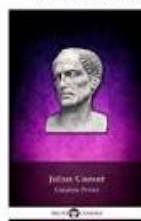
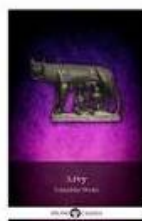
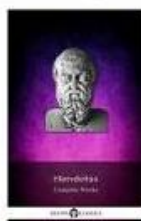
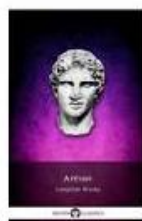
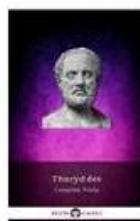


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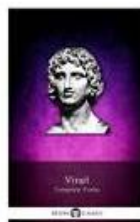
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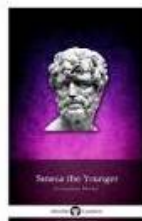
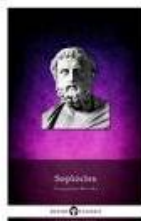
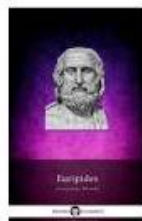
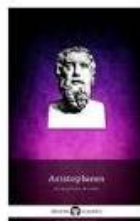
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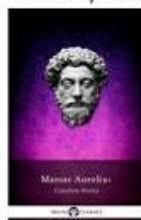
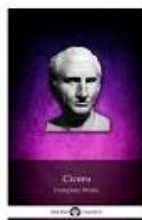
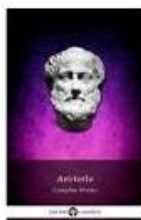
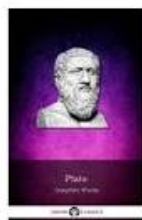
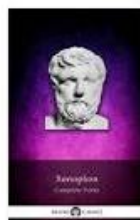
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The Complete Works of

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The Translations



Ruins at ancient Nicomedia — Arrian's birthplace. Nicomedia was the capital of the Roman province of Bithynia, in what is now north-western Turkey, 50 miles east of Byzantium (Istanbul).

ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER



Translated by E. Iliff Robson

The *Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνάβασις*, which concerns the military campaigns of Alexander the Great, is widely regarded as the most important historical source on the famous commander. The Greek term *anabasis* refers to an expedition from a coastline into the interior of a country, making a more literal translation of the title: ‘The Expedition of Alexander’. Arrian’s work on Alexander is one of the few surviving complete accounts of the Macedonian conqueror’s expedition. The historian was able to use sources which are now lost, such as contemporary works by Callisthenes, the nephew of Alexander’s tutor Aristotle, as well as Onesicritus, Nearchus, Aristobulus and the slightly later work of Cleitarchus. Most important of all, Arrian possessed a copy of the biography on Alexander by Ptolemy, one of Alexander’s leading generals and possibly his half-brother.

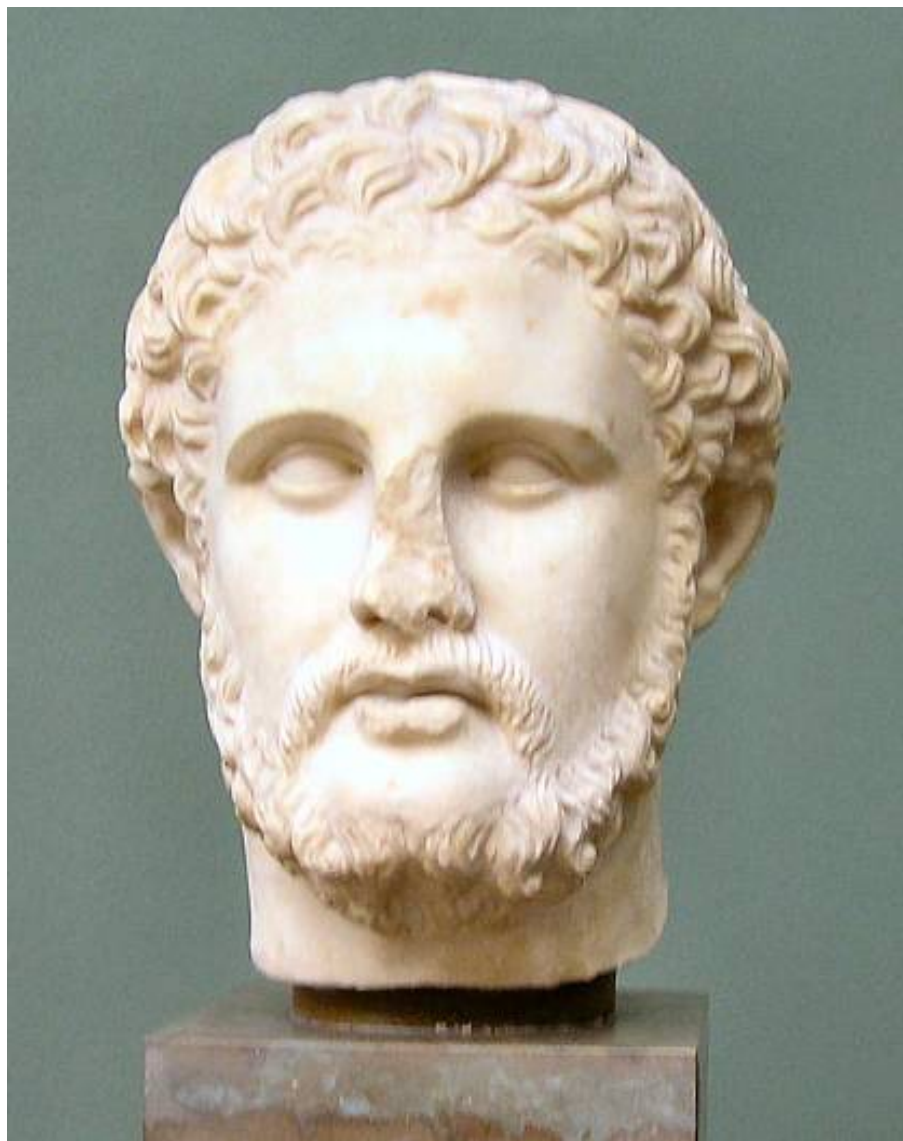
Arrian’s *Anabasis of Alexander* is primarily a military history, recording little of Alexander’s personal life, his role in Greek politics or the reasons why the campaign against Persia was launched in the first place. In the work, Arrian claims that Alexander’s greatness is worthy of praise and glory, and should be known by future generations. It is apparent from the first that the historian intended to make his subject’s life a legend through his writing.

At the time of Arrian’s life, the common Greek language of the Hellenistic and Roman periods was in universal spoken use. As a writer, Arrian was obliged by the prevailing literary custom of his time to compose his works in “good Greek,” which meant imitating as closely as possible the grammar and literary style of the Athenian writers of the 5th century BC; for example, the Attic style of Xenophon and Thucydides. Therefore, the style of the *Anabasis of Alexander* is inevitably stilted and artificial, although Arrian handled the strain of writing 500-year-old Greek better than some of his contemporaries. Xenophon was a good model of clear and unpretentious prose, which Arrian faithfully followed.

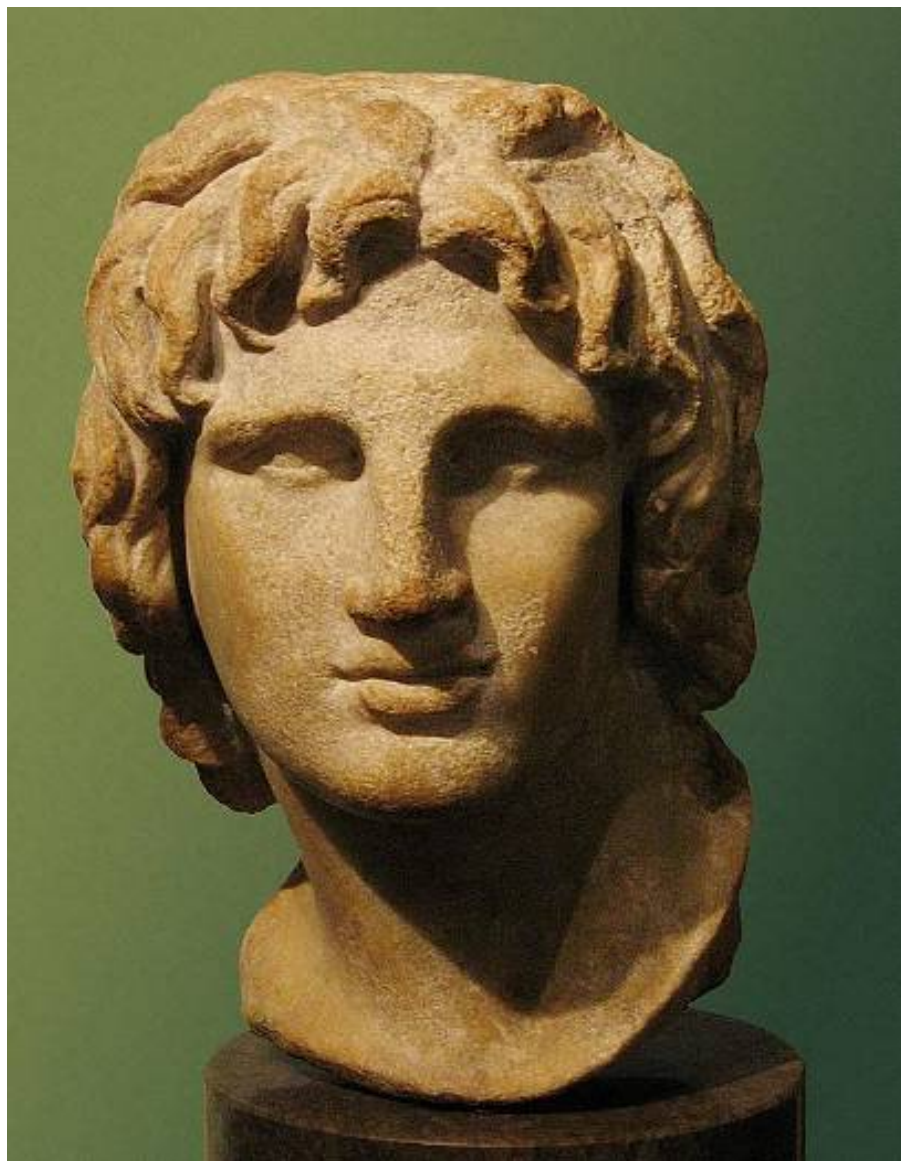
Arrian’s history of Alexander is generally considered by many to be a reworking of Ptolemy’s biography, though enhanced with material from other writers, particularly Aristobulus. As Ptolemy was a general, Arrian relied on him as a professional of military science for details of Alexander’s battles, on which Ptolemy was certainly well informed. Details of geography and natural history were taken from Aristobulus, although Arrian himself had a wide knowledge of Anatolia and other eastern regions.

The *Anabasis of Alexander* gives a reasonably full account of Alexander’s

life during the campaign and in his personal assessment of the conqueror, Arrian adopts a neutral tone, avoiding flattery and censure. Instead, we are given a more realistic portrayal of the famous general. The historian concedes Alexander's sensibility, vanity and weakness for drink and yet acquits him of the grosser crimes some historians have accused him of.



Philip II of Macedon, Alexander's father



Bust of a young Alexander the Great from the Hellenistic era, British Museum



'Alexander fighting king Darius III of Persia', a mosaic dating from c. 100 BC, originally from the House of the Faun in Pompeii, now housed in the Naples National Archaeological Museum.

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Map of Alexander's Empire and his route

BOOK I

PREFACE TO VOLUME I

Wherever Ptolemy son of Lagus and Aristobulus son of Aristobulus have agreed in their histories of Alexander son of Philip, I record their story as quite accurate; where they disagree I have chosen what I feel to be more likely and also better worth the narrating. Others have given various accounts of Alexander, in fact there is no one over whom historians have been more numerous and less harmonious. My own view is that Ptolemy and Aristobulus are more trustworthy narrators, for Aristobulus took the field with King Alexander; Ptolemy not only did the same, but, as he was a king himself, falsehood would have been more shameful to him than to anyone else. Besides, since Alexander was dead when they both wrote their histories, there lay on them neither any constraint nor any hope of gain in writing other than plain fact. Parts, however, of the records of others, such as appeared to me worthy of narration and not wholly untrustworthy, I have included as so much tradition about Alexander. Should anyone be surprised, when there is such abundance of writers, that it should have occurred to me also to compose this history, I beg him to reserve his surprise till he has first surveyed their work and made the acquaintance of mine.

I. The death of Philip is placed in the archonship of Pythodemus at Athens; Alexander, then about twenty, succeeded, being Philip's son, and came into the Peloponnesus; so runs the story. There he gathered together the Peloponnesian Greeks and requested from them the leadership of the Persian expedition, which they had already granted to Philip. All agreed except the Lacedaemonians, who replied that their country's custom did not permit them to follow others; it was theirs to take the lead of others. The Athenians also made some show of violence; but they collapsed at Alexander's first approach and conceded to him a position even more honourable than had been given to Philip. Alexander then returned to Macedonia and began to get ready for the Asian expedition.

In the spring he went Thracewards, to the Triballi and Illyrians, since he learned that they were restless: moreover, as they marched with his borders, he did not think well to leave them behind him, when going on an expedition so far from home, unless they were thoroughly subdued. Starting from Amphipolis, he invaded Thrace, that is, the territory of the independent Thracians, with Philippi and Mount Orbelus on his left. Then — so the historians tell us — he crossed the river Nessus and in ten days reached Mount Haemus, where there met him in the defile of the approach to the mountain many of the merchants in arms and the independent Thracians; they had occupied the height of Haemus, and were all ready to bar the progress of the expedition, which must needs pass the height. Collecting carts, and throwing them in advance, they proposed to use the carts as a stockade from which to put up a defence, if they were pressed; but it was also part of their

strategy to launch the carts at the Macedonian phalanx as the troops mounted the slope just where the mountain was most sheer. Their idea was that the closer the phalanx when the descending carts charged it, the more their violent descent would scatter it.

Alexander, however, consulted how he could most safely cross the ridge; and since he saw that the risk must be run, for there was no way round, he sent orders to his men-at-arms that at whatsoever time the carts swooped down the slope upon them, those who, being on level ground, could break formation, were to part to right and left, leaving an avenue for the carts; those who should be caught in the narrows were to form close together; and some actually falling to the ground were to link their shields closely together so that the carts coming at them and (as was to be hoped) bounding over them by their gathered impetus should pass through without doing harm. And thus it happened, according to Alexander's orders and anticipation. The one lot parted their phalanx, and the carts sliding over the shields of the others did little harm; not one man perished beneath the carts. The Macedonians now took heart of grace, finding that those most dreaded chariots proved harmless, and raising their cheer charged the Thracians. Alexander sent for the archers from the right wing to the front of the other phalanx — this being the more convenient side — to shoot thence at the Thracians whenever they attacked. He himself took the shock-troops, the Foot Guards, and the Agrianes, and led them to the left, where the archers by their volleys held up any advances of the Thracians, and the phalanx had no grave difficulty, coming to close quarters, in driving from their position the lightly clad and ill-armed highlanders; who, in fact, did not await Alexander leading on his men from the left, but casting away their arms helter-skelter fled down the mountain-side. Fifteen hundred perished; few were captured alive, by reason of their speed and their local knowledge; the women, however, who had followed them were all taken, with the children, and all their impedimenta.

II. Alexander sent the booty to the rear, to the cities on the coast, appointing Lysanias and Philotas to deal with it; then himself crossing the ridge he marched through Haemus to the Triballians, and so arrived at the River Lyginus; as you approach Haemus, it is three days' march from the Ister. Syrmus, King of the Triballians, learning some time before of Alexander's march, sent on the women and children to the Ister, ordering them to cross to an island in the river called Peuce. To this island the Thracians who are neighbours to the Triballians had fled on Alexander's approach, and Syrmus and his suite also; but the mass of the Triballians fled back to the river whence Alexander had started out the day before.

Hearing of their move, Alexander turned back to attack the Triballians, and found them already encamping. They, caught as they were, formed line near the glen by the river; but Alexander in person, throwing his phalanx into deep formation, led it against them, ordering the bowmen and slingers to skirmish ahead and discharge their arrows and stones upon the tribesmen, to see if he

could entice them into the open from the glen. They, when in range, receiving these volleys, rushed forward upon the bowmen to come to grips with them, being unarmed as bowmen are. But Alexander having brought them out of the glen ordered Philotas to take the cavalry of upper Macedonia and charge their right wing, where they had advanced farthest in their outward rush. Heracleides and Sopolis he ordered to lead the cavalry from Bottiaea and Amphipolis against the left wing. The foot phalanx, and the remaining cavalry, which he deployed in advance of the phalanx, he led against the centre. While the battle was still at long range, the Triballians held firm, but when the phalanx in close formation charged them stoutly and the cavalry, no longer shooting, but actually thrusting them with their horses, fell on them here, there and everywhere, the enemy turned and rushed through the glen to the river. Three thousand perished in the flight, but only a few were caught alive, owing to the density of the wood which lay in front of the river, and because nightfall prevented the Macedonians from any thorough pursuit. Of the Macedonians, according to Ptolemy, eleven cavalry-men and about forty foot-soldiers perished.

III. Three days after the battle Alexander reached the Ister, the greatest river of Europe, draining the greatest tract of country and acting as a barrier to very warlike tribes, Celts for the most part — its springs rising in Celtic territory; the farthest of these peoples are the Quadi and Marcomanni; then it passes the Iazuges, a branch of the Sauromatae; the Getae, who call themselves immortals; the bulk of the Sauromatae; and the Scythians as far as the outlets; where through five mouths it runs into the Black Sea. There Alexander finds at the mouth of the river warships come to join him from Byzantium through the Black Sea. These he manned with archers and men-at-arms and sailed against the island where the Triballians and Thracians had taken refuge, and endeavoured to force a landing. The tribesmen, however, kept swooping down to the river-side wherever the ships touched land; these were few in number, and carrying only a small body of troops; the island was for the most part steep for landing; and the current past the island, as was natural in the narrows, was swift and difficult to contend with.

Thereupon Alexander withdrew his troops and decided to cross the Ister to attack the Getae who were settled on the farther side, both because he saw a large force of them gathered on the bank, to repel him, should he cross — there were about four thousand mounted men, and more than ten thousand on foot — and also because he had been seized with a desire to land on the farther side. He himself embarked in the fleet; the leather tent covers he had filled with the hay, and gathering all the available boats, cut from single trees, from the countryside (there were plenty, for the river-side dwellers use them for fishing, for up-river expeditions among themselves, and even more for thieving), he ferried across on these as much of his force as was possible. About fifteen hundred cavalry and four thousand foot-soldiers crossed with him.

IV. The crossing was made at night where there was a deep cornfield, and this concealed them the more, as they kept close to the bank. About dawn, Alexander led the troops through the field, ordering the infantry to smooth down the corn with their spears, held obliquely, and so lead the way to untilled ground. As long as the phalanx was marching through the corn the cavalry followed; but when they emerged from the tilled land, Alexander in person took off the cavalry to the right wing, ordering Nicanor to lead off the phalanx in oblong formation. (On open ground the various units formed squares, and the whole phalanx, moved *κατά κέρας*, in rectangular shape, broader than it was deep.) The Getae did not sustain even the first charge of the cavalry; for Alexander's bold stroke came as a great shock to them, in that he so easily crossed the Ister, greatest of rivers, in one night without so much as bridging the stream; the solidity of the phalanx was terrifying, and the onslaught of the cavalry violent. First the enemy took refuge in the city, about a parasang away from the Ister; then, seeing Alexander bring up his phalanx along the river, that the infantry might not be caught by any ambush of the Getae, with the cavalry on the front, the enemy deserted in turn their city, which was feebly fortified, taking up on their cruppers as many of the women and children as the horses could carry; and then marched as far as possible away from the river towards the desert. Alexander captured the city and whatever plunder the Getae had left behind. This plunder he ordered Meleager and Philip to take to the base; he razed the city and sacrificed on the bank of the Ister to Zeus the Preserver and Heracles and Ister himself, for permitting the passage. Then in daylight he took all his force safe and sound back to the camp.

At this juncture came commissioners to Alexander from the other self-governing tribes along the Ister and from Syrmus, King of the Triballi; others from the Celts settled on the Ionian gulf. The Celts were tall and haughty; but all professed desire for Alexander's friendship, and he gave to all, and received from all, proper assurances. Of the Celts he enquired what, of mortal things, they most dreaded, hoping that his own great name had reached as far as the Celts and farther, and that they would confess that they dreaded him beyond all else. Their answer, however, proved unexpected to him, for, living as they did in difficult country far from Alexander, and seeing that his invasion was really directed elsewhere, they said that their greatest dread was lest the sky should fall upon them. He declared them his friends, made alliance, and sent them home, casually remarking, "What braggarts these Celts are!"

V. He then went towards the Agrianes and the Pacones. There a message reached him that Cleitus son of Bardylis was in revolt, and that Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, had joined him. The messengers also told him that the Autariates were going to attack him on his march. For these reasons it was thought well to move off as soon as possible. Langaros, king of the Agrianes, was known to have shown regard for Alexander even in Philip's lifetime; he

had also been on an embassy to him personally; on the present occasion he was in attendance on Alexander with his bodyguard, the finest and best-armed troops he had; and when he learnt that Alexander was enquiring who and in what numbers these Autariates were, he told Alexander that he need not trouble about them, they were the least warlike of the tribesmen in those parts; he would himself invade their country, so that they might rather be occupied with their own affairs. Alexander agreed, and he invaded them, devastating their country.

Thus the Autariates were busy with their own matters, Langaros receiving high honour from Alexander, and also what were considered at the court of Macedon the highest gifts. Alexander besides promised to wed his sister Cyna to him, when he came to Pella.

Langaros, however, after reaching home, sickened and died. Alexander, marching along the river Erigon, made for Pelium; this city Cleitus had taken, as being the strongest in the country. When Alexander reached it, he camped by the river Eordaicus and decided to assault next day. Cleitus' forces, however, held the heights surrounding the city, which were commanding and also thickly wooded, so that they could attack the Macedonians, if they made the assault, from all sides, Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, not yet being present. Alexander proceeded to the assault; on which the enemy sacrificed three boys and three girls and three black rams, and then made a rush to intercept the Macedonian right wing; but when the Greeks drew near, they deserted the strong positions they had occupied, and the newly sacrificed victims were found still lying there.

On this day Alexander shut them up in their city and camped by the wall, intending to hem them in by a circumvallation; but next day Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, appeared with a large force. Thereupon Alexander gave up the idea of taking the city with such forces as he had; a good many bold warriors had ensconced themselves therein, and Glaucias' strong force would fall upon him, should he assault the wall. He sent Philotas, therefore, with so many horsemen as he needed as a screen, and all the baggage animals from the camp, to forage. Glaucias getting wind of this move of Philotas swooped down on his troops, and captured the heights which encircled the plain whence Philotas' troops proposed to obtain their forage. Alexander, however, when it was reported to him that both the cavalry and the baggage animals were in grave danger, should night overtake them, took his bodyguard and archers and the Agrianes and four hundred horsemen and made at full speed to the rescue; the rest of the army he left near the city lest — if the whole force had withdrawn — the enemy in the city might have sallied out and joined forces with Glaucias. Glaucias, on seeing Alexander's approach, deserted the heights, and Philotas and his convoy got safe back to the camp. Even so Cleitus and Glaucias with their troops appeared to have caught Alexander in a disadvantageous position; for they held the commanding heights with a good many horsemen, javelin-men, and slingers, and a fair

number of men-at-arms, and the city forces were ready to attack Alexander as he drew off, while the ground through which Alexander must pass seemed narrow and marshy, bounded on the one side by the river, and on the other side was a lofty mountain and hillcrests towards the mountain, so that the army could only pass through four abreast.

VI. Alexander under the circumstances extended the front of his phalanx so as to give a depth of 120 files. On either wing he posted 200 horsemen, bidding them keep silent; a command they obeyed smartly; the men-at-arms he ordered first to raise their spears upright, and then, on the word, to lower them for a charge, inclining first to the right their serried points, then to the left; the phalanx itself he moved smartly forward, and then wheeled it here and there on either wing. Thus he displayed and manoeuvred various formations in a brief time, and then making a spearhead from his phalanx on the left he led it to the attack. The enemy, already bewildered both at the smartness and the discipline of these manoeuvres, did not await the approach of the Greeks, but deserted the first row of hills. Alexander bade the Macedonians raise their cheer and clang their spears upon their shields; and the Taulantians, even more astounded at the noise, hastily withdrew to the city.

Alexander saw some few of the enemy holding one of the hills, by which his passage lay, and ordered his bodyguards and his squires to take their shields, mount, and charge the hill; on reaching it, supposing those who held it should stand their ground, half were to dismount and, mingling with the cavalry, fight on foot. The enemy, observing this dash of Alexander's, deserted the hill and inclined towards either of the mountains. Alexander then captured the hill with his squires, sent for the Agrianes and the archers, to the number of two thousand; the guards he ordered to cross the river, and, following them, the columns of the Macedonian troops. As soon as they should be across they were to extend to the left, (Literally, shield-wards, that is, to the left hand, as "spear-wards" was to the right hand.) so that the phalanx might appear solid the moment they had crossed. He, with the advance guard, kept an eye from the hill on the enemy's movement. They, seeing the force crossing, charged down the hill with the idea of attacking Alexander's bodyguard as they withdrew last. He, as they now approached, makes a sally with his troops, and the phalanx coming to the attack through the river raised its battle-cry; under this combined onslaught they broke and fled, whereupon Alexander brought up the Agrianes and the archers at the double in the direction of the river. He himself got over first, but seeing the enemy pressing on the hindmost, he set up his engines on the bank and ordered every kind of missile to be discharged from them at utmost range; what is more, he commanded the archers, in mid-river, to shoot volleys thence, they too having breasted the stream. Glaucias' troops did not venture within range; the Macedonians meanwhile crossed the river safely and lost not a man in the withdrawal.

Three days later Alexander learned that Cleitus and Glaucias' troops were carelessly bivouacked, no sentries set in due order, no palisade, no trench — for they thought that Alexander had retreated in panic — and their line unduly elongated; he crossed the river under cover of night with the guards, the Agrianes, the archers, and the troops of Perdiccas and Coenus. He had left orders for the rest of the army to follow, but seeing the time opportune for attack, he did not await the concentration, but sent on all the archers and the Agrianes; they made a surprise attack, and in column, a formation in which they were likely to make the strongest onslaught on the enemy just where he was weakest; they slew several as they slept, easily seized the fugitives, so that many were caught and killed there and then, and many also in their panic-stricken and headlong flight; a good number were taken alive. Alexander's company pursued to the mountains of the Taulantians; those who did escape, only escaped by jettison of their arms. Cleitus, who at first took to the city, set fire to it and fled to Glaucias among the Taulantians.

VII. Meanwhile some of the fugitives from Thebes slipped into Thebes by night — certain persons inviting them with a view to a rising — seized from the city Amyntas and Timolaus from among the force occupying the Cadmeia (having no suspicion of hostile movement outside) and slew them. Then appearing in the Assembly they incited the Thebans to rebel against Alexander, holding out the lures of freedom [and liberty of speech] — time-honoured and attractive titles — and the shaking off — at long last — of Macedon's heavy yoke. They won additional adherence from the populace by stoutly affirming that Alexander had died in Illyria: this was common talk, and from various sources; he had been long away and no word had come from him, so that, in ignorance of hard fact, they conjectured (as so often happens) what they most desired.

Alexander hearing of what occurred at Thebes took things seriously; for he had long had his suspicions about Athens, and was much concerned about the Theban attempt, should the infection of revolt spread to the Lacedaemonians (already rebels at heart) and other Peloponnesians, to say nothing of the Aetolians, themselves also unreliable. He marches, therefore, along Eordaea and Elimiotis, past the heights of Stymphaea and Paravaea, and on the seventh day reaches Pelinna in Thessaly. Thence in six days he entered Boeotia, so that the Thebans did not learn of his passage of the Gates until his arrival, with all his force, at Onchestus. Thereupon those who had brought about the revolt said that a force of Antipater had come from Macedon, and confidently affirmed Alexander's death, getting annoyed at any who reported Alexander's actual presence at the head of his men: it was, said they, another Alexander, son of Aeropus.

Alexander leaving Onchestus next day reached Thebes, near the enclosure of Iolaus; there he encamped, giving the Thebans a period of grace, in case they should repent and send an embassy to him. They were far from showing any humility that might lead to an agreement; nay, the horsemen and several

light troops sallied out towards the camp and discharged long-range volleys at the outposts, even killing a few of the Macedonians. Alexander sent out some of his light troops and archers to hold up their sally; they easily checked the Thebans, who by now were actually approaching the camp. Next day Alexander moved his whole force and came round to the gates leading to Eleutherae and Attica, and yet even then did not assault the walls, but pitched camp not far from the Cadmeia, so that support was close at hand for the Macedonians who held the Cadmeia. For the Thebans were investing the Cadmeia, having built a double stockade, so that no one from without could help those invested within, nor they sally out and harm the Thebans when in touch with their enemies without. But Alexander — for he still hoped to be friend, not foe, to Thebes — waited, encamped near the citadel. Then the more public-spirited citizens of Thebes were anxious to go forth to Alexander and win pardon for the Theban people as a whole for their revolt; but the exiles and those who had called them in would not condescend to receive any kindness from Alexander, especially as some of them were officers of the Confederacy of Boeotia; they therefore sought in all ways to urge their countrymen to war. Yet even so Alexander did not attack.

VIII. Ptolemy son of Lagus, however, says that Perdiccas, who was officer in charge of the camp guard with his own detachment and lay not far from the enemy palisade, did not await Alexander's signal for battle, but himself first attacked the palisade and tearing it asunder broke in upon the Theban advance guard. Amyntas son of Andromenes followed, being brigaded with Perdiccas, and led on his detachment so soon as he saw Perdiccas advanced within the palisade. Then Alexander, seeing this, so that they might not be stranded and so at the mercy of the Thebans, brought up the rest of the army. The archers and the Agrianes he ordered to make a diversion inside the palisade; but he still retained his shock troops and his guard outside. Then Perdiccas, trying to force his way into the second palisade, was wounded and lay where he fell; he was borne off, in sorry plight, to the camp and only with difficulty was healed of his wound. His men, joining Alexander's archers, hemmed the Thebans in the sunken road leading down by the Heracleum; while the Thebans retreated towards the Heracleum, the Macedonians followed; but then the Thebans turned to bay with a shout, and the Macedonians to flight. There fell Eurybotas the Cretan, commander of the archers, and about seventy of his men; the rest took refuge with the Macedonian picked troops, and with the royal guards. In the meanwhile Alexander, seeing his troops fugitives, and the Thebans in loosened order in the pursuit, charged them with phalanx in battle formation. The Thebans were pushed inside the gates, their flight became so far a panic that while being thrust through the gates into the city they could not shut the gates in time. So there actually passed in with them within the wall such of the Macedonians as were pressing on the fugitives; the walls being now undefended on account of the large number of advanced posts. Those from this side passed into the Cadmeia along the Ampheum, with the

holders of the Cadmeia, and passed into the city proper; those by the walls, already held by the troops that had poured in together with the fugitives, passed over the walls and rushed to the marketplace. For a while the Theban armed forces stood their ground by the Amphœum, but as the Macedonians pressed upon them from all sides, and Alexander appeared, now here, now there, the Theban cavalry, pushing their way through the city, streamed out upon the plain; with the infantry it was *saue qui peut*. And then, in hot blood, it was not so much the Macedonians as Phocians and Plataeans and the other Boeotians who slaughtered broadcast the unresisting Thebans; some in their houses, breaking a way into them; some showing fight; others even suppliant in the temples — and sparing neither woman nor child.

IX. This disaster of Greeks, both by the size of the captured city, and by the sharpness of the action — and not least by the general unexpectedness of the event, both to victors and victims — caused as much horror to the other Greeks as to those who had a hand in it. The Sicilian disaster of the Athenians, if in number of the slain it brought a similar disaster upon the city, yet, since their army was destroyed far from home — and that, too, an army rather of allies than of citizens — and their city being left to them, so that they held out some time in the war against Sparta, their allies, and Persia — even this, I say, gave no such sense of calamity to the sufferers, and did not strike the Greeks generally with such horror and amazement at the catastrophe. Or, again, the Athenian defeat at Aegospotami was at sea, and the city reduced indeed to humility by the destruction of its long walls, the surrender of most of its ships, and loss of its sovereignty, yet retained its former shape, and soon recovered its former strength; built, in fact, once more its long walls, won again its sea-power, and actually saved in some measure from severe danger those very Lacedaemonians, then so terrible, who had come so near to destroying Athens. The defeat of the Lacedaemonians themselves at Leuctra and Mantinea came as a great shock to them rather by the unexpectedness of the disaster than by the number of the slain. The onslaught of Epameinondas with his Boeotians and Arcadians upon Sparta scared the Spartans and their allies rather by the strangeness of such a sight than the gravity of the danger. The capture, again, of Plataea, was not a very serious affair because of the small number of those captured in the city — the greater number having fled long before to Athens. Finally, the capture of Melos and Scione, which were merely island fortresses, rather brought shame to the captors than any great shock to the Greeks in general.

With Thebes, on the other hand, the hastiness of the revolt, her want of reasoned policy, her sudden capture, with so little trouble to the victors, the massacre, such as arises from kindred tribes wreaking ancient vengeance, the complete enslavement of the city, then one of the first in Greece in power and military prestige, were quite naturally set down to divine wrath: Thebes, men said, had thus paid the price, at length, of her betrayal of the Greek cause in the Persian wars, of her seizure of Plataea during the truce, of her complete

enslavement of the Plataeans, of the massacre — the work of Thebes, not of Greece — of men who had surrendered not to Thebes but to Sparta, of the devastation of the Plataean countryside, on which the Greeks, ranged shoulder to shoulder against Persia, had repelled the common danger of Greece; and last, of the vote cast for the destruction of Athens when the suggestion was put before the allies of Sparta that the Athenians should be sold into slavery. People said that the coming disaster cast its shadow before, in many divine warnings, neglected then, but the memory thereof later made people realize that there had long been prognostications, now confirmed by the event.

The allies who took part in the attack, to whom Alexander had entrusted the final settlement, decided to garrison the Cadmeia, but to raze the city even with the ground, and to apportion its territory among the allies, save the sacred spots, and to enslave women and children, and any Theban survivors, save any who had friendship with Philip or Alexander, or any who had been patrons of Macedonians. The house of Pindar, and any of his descendants, Alexander saved — so it is related — from reverence for Pindar. Besides this, the allies determined to rebuild and fortify Orchomenus and Plataea.

X. When the fate of Thebes was notified to the Bather Greeks, the Arcadians who had left home to help Thebes condemned to death those who had persuaded them to take this step. The Eleans received their own fugitives, being on good terms with Alexander. The Aetolians sent embassies, tribe by tribe, and begged forgiveness, on the ground that they had revolted only because of the news brought from Thebes. The Athenians were celebrating their great mysteries when refugees came from Thebes, hot foot from the assault; in consternation they abandoned the mysteries and began to get in their stuff from the country into the city. The people came into assembly, and on the motion of Demades chose ten ambassadors from the whole body of citizens — men known to be on the most friendly terms with Alexander — and sent them to him bearing the city's rather unseasonable congratulations on his safe return from the Illyrians and Triballians, and on his punishment of the Theban revolt. Alexander replied for the most part in friendly tone to the embassy, but wrote a letter to the city demanding the adherents of Demosthenes and Lycurgus, as well as Hypereides, Polyeuctas, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus, and Moerocles: these he held responsible for the disaster of Chaeronea and wrongs later committed, at Philip's death, against himself and Philip. He also showed them to be guilty of the Theban rebellion not less than the Theban rebels themselves. The Athenians did not give up these men, but sent a second embassy to Alexander, begging him to relax his wrath towards those whom he had demanded. Alexander did so — whether from regard for Athens, or because he was anxious to get on with his Asian expedition and loath to leave anything behind in Greece which he could not trust. Charidemus alone, however, of those men whom he had demanded, but not received, he ordered to be exiled; and he took refuge in Asia at the court of King Dareius.

X. When all this had been set in order Alexander returned to Macedonia, where he sacrificed the traditional sacrifice (established by Archelaus) to Olympian Zeus and kept the Olympian games at Aegae: others add that he held games in honour of the Muses. Meanwhile, word comes that the statue of Orpheus, son of Oeagrus the Thracian, in Pieria, had sweated continuously; the seers interpreted this variously, but Aristandrus of Telmessae bade Alexander be of good cheer; it was signified, he said, that to makers of epics and choric songs and writers of odes there would be much toil to poetize and sing of Alexander and his exploits.

In early spring Alexander marches to the Hellespont, leaving Macedonian and Greek affairs in charge of Antipatros. He led off, of infantry, with light troops and archers, not much above thirty thousand, of cavalry over five thousand. His route was past Lake Cercinitis in the direction of Amphipolis and the delta of the river Strymon. He crossed the Strymon and passed Mount Pangeon, working towards Abdera and Maroneia, Greek cities settled on the sea. Thence he reached the Hebrus and crossed it with ease; thence through Paetike he reached the Black River, crossed it, and reached Sestus after twenty days' marching in all from home. Arriving at Elaeon he sacrificed to Protesilaus at Protesilaus' tomb, since he was thought to be the first Greek of those who went with Agamemnon to Troy to disembark on Asian soil. The intention of the sacrifice was that the setting foot on Asian soil might be more prosperous to Alexander than to Protesilaus.

Parmenio was appointed to see to the ferrying over from Sestus to Abydos of the greater part of the infantry and the cavalry; they crossed in a hundred and sixty triremes and in a good number of cargo boats. Most authorities say that Alexander sailed from Elaeon to the Achaean harbour, and steered the admiral's ship himself, sacrificing, when in the midst of the strait, a bull to Poseidon, and pouring into the sea a drink offering from a golden bowl to the goddesses of the sea. Further, legend says that he disembarked first on Asian soil, armed cap-à-pie, and set up altars both where he started from Europe and where he landed in Asia to Zeus of Safe Landings, Athena, and Heracles. Then he ascended to Ilium, and sacrificed to Athena of Ilium, dedicated his full armour, laying it up in the temple, and took down in its place some of the dedicated arms yet remaining from the Trojan war; these, it is said, his bodyguard bore before him into battle. Then he sacrificed also to Priam at the altar of Zeus of Enclosures — so runs the legend — praying Priam not to be wroth with the race of Neoptolemus, of which he himself was a scion.

XI. When Alexander reached Ilium Menoetius the navigator crowned him with a golden wreath and so did Chares, the Athenian, arriving from Segeium with others, Greeks or natives of the place; then Hephaestion, they say, placed a wreath on Patroclus' tomb; and Alexander likewise on Achilles' tomb; Alexander — as is related — accounting Achilles happy in that he had a Homer to be the herald of his after-fame. Alexander might well count Achilles happy on this score, since, fortunate as Alexander was in other ways, there

was a great gap left here, and Alexander's exploits were never worthily bruited abroad; no one did so in narrative prose, no one sang of him in verse; nay, not even in choral lyric was Alexander chanted as were Hiero, Gelo, Thero, and many others, men not of Alexander's stature; whence Alexander's exploits are far less known than the minor deeds of past ages. Why, the *Anabasis* of the Ten Thousand with Cyrus against Artaxerxes, the sufferings of Clearchus and those captured with him, their descent to the sea, led by Xenophon, are, thanks to Xenophon, far better known to the world than Alexander and Alexander's exploits. Yet Alexander did not merely take the field with someone else; he did not run away from the Great King and only conquer those who tried to stop the seaward march; no one man gave proof of so many or such wondrous deeds, whether in number or greatness, among Greeks and Orientals alike. That, I declare, is why I have set forth to write this history, not judging myself unworthy to blazon before mankind the deeds of Alexander. This at least — whoever I am — I know in my favour; I need not write my name — it is not unknown among men — nor my country nor my family nor any office I may have held among my own folk; this I do set on paper, that this history is, and was from my boyhood, my country, family, and offices. That is why I do not shrink from setting myself alongside of the masters of Greek speech, since my subject was first among the masters of Greek warfare.

From Ilium Alexander came to Arisbe, where his whole force, after crossing the Hellespont, had encamped; next day to Percote; the next, he passed Lampsacus and camped by the river Practius, which flowing from Mount Ida runs into the sea that lies between the Hellespont and the Euxine Sea. Thence he came to Hermotos, passing by Colonaë. He sent scouts ahead of the army; Amyntas, son of Arrabæus, led them, with the territorial squadron from Apollonia, whose squadron-leader was Socrates son of Sathon, with four squadrons of the advanced scouts, as they were called. On his passage the city Priapus was surrendered to him by the citizens, and he sent a party to take it over under Paregorus son of Lycagorus, one of the territorials.

The Persian commanders were Arsames, Rheomithres, Petines, Niphates, and with them Spithridates the satrap of Lydia and Ionia and Arsites the governor of Hellespontine Phrygia. They had already encamped by the city of Zeleia with the Persian cavalry and the mercenary Greeks. When they held a council of war, Alexander's crossing having been reported, Memnon of Rhodes advised them to run no risk of war with the Macedonians, who were far their superiors in infantry, especially with Alexander actually on the spot, while Darius was far away from them; they had far best advance, destroying the fodder, by trampling it with their cavalry, and burning the growing crops, not sparing even their cities. For Alexander would not then stay in the country for want of provisions. Arsites, however, is reported to have said in the Persian Council that he would not suffer one house belonging to his men to be burned: the Persians supported Arsites, having suspicions of Memnon,

thinking that he was delaying warlike operations for the sake of the office he held from the king.

XII. Meanwhile, Alexander was advancing to the river Granicus with his force all ready for battle, having doubled his phalanx of the men-at-arms, with the cavalry on the wings, and ordering the transport to follow behind the scouts and reconnoitring parties, which Hegelochus led, with the lancers, and five hundred light troops. Alexander was not far from the river Granicus, when the scouts, riding in at full speed, reported that the Persians were arrayed for battle on the farther side of the Granicus. Alexander then formed battle order; and Parmenio came forward and said:

“My view, sir, is that we should encamp at once on the river bank, as we are; the enemy, I believe, being outnumbered in infantry, will not dare to bivouac near us; and hence we can easily cross at dawn; and we shall be across before they get into order. As things are, I feel that we should run great risk in taking action, since we cannot take an army across a river on a wide front, for one can see that there are many deep parts of the river; its banks, as you see, are very high, sometimes like cliffs. As we emerge in disorder and in deployed order, the weakest of formations, the enemy cavalry in good solid order will charge: the first disaster would be grievous at the present, and most harmful for the general result of the war.”

Alexander, however, replied: “This I know, Parmenio, but I should feel ashamed if after our crossing so easily the Hellespont, this petty stream (so disrespectfully did he speak of the Granicus) shall hinder us from crossing, just as we are. This I consider unworthy either of the prestige of the Macedonians or of my own swift dealing with danger; I believe the Persians would pluck up courage, thinking themselves as good fighters as the Macedonians, since up to the present they have not experienced anything to cause them alarm.”

XIII. So spake Alexander; and at once sent off Parmenio to lead the left wing; he himself passed along to the right. As commander of the right he had already appointed Philotas son of Parmenio, with the territorial cavalry, the archers, and the Agrianes, javelin-men. To Philotas was attached Amyntas son of Arrabaeus, with the lancers, the Paeonians, and Socrates' squadron. Next to them were marshalled the territorial guards, led by Nicanor son of Parmenio; beside these was the phalanx of Perdicas son of Orontes; also that of Coenus son of Polemocrates; and those of Craterus son of Alexander, Amyntas son of Andromenes, and the troops under Philip son of Amyntas. On the left wing came first the Thessalian cavalry, commanded by Cales son of Harpalus; next the allied cavalry, under Philip son of Menelaus, then the Thracians, under Agetho; on their right were the infantry, the phalanx of Craterus, of Meleager, of Philip, up to the centre of the whole force.

The Persians had about 20,000 cavalry, and little short of the same number of infantry, foreign mercenaries. Their disposition was, the cavalry drawn up parallel to the river, and thus making an extended phalanx; the infantry behind

them; the land above the bank was high and commanding. Where they perceived Alexander himself — you could not mistake him, from the splendour of his equipment and the obsequious attendance of his suite — opposite their left wing, they massed here on the bank their cavalry squadrons.

For some time the two forces, on the river's brink, dreading to precipitate the event, remained at ease, and in deep silence. The Persians awaited the Macedonians, to fall on them emerging from the river, so soon as they should attempt the crossing; but Alexander flung himself on to his horse, and calling on his suite to follow and show themselves brave men and true, he advanced his first line of scouts and the Paeonians into the stream, under command of Amyntas son of Arrabaeus, and also one file of the infantry; before these he sends Socrates' squadron, Ptolemy son of Philip commanding; this was on the list as leading cavalry squadron for that day; then he himself leading the right wing — bugles sounding, and the battle cry going up to the God of Battles — boldly takes to the stream, inclining his troops obliquely to the current, so that the Persians should not fall on him in extended front, but that he himself might attack them, as far as might be, in close order.

XIV. The Persians, at the point where their vanguard, under Amyntas and Socrates, held the river bank, shot their volleys from above, some hurling their javelins from their commanding position a little removed from the bank, others on the more level ground, or even advancing down to the stream. There was a great scrimmage of the cavalry, the Greeks trying to land, the Persians to stop them; great showers of Persian javelins; much thrusting of Macedonian spears. But the Macedonians, much outnumbered, came off badly in the first onslaught; they were insecure, and below, the enemy on a strong position above; besides, the flower of the Persian cavalry was posted at the landing, Memnon's sons and Memnon himself bearing the brunt along with them. The first of the Macedonians came into conflict with the Persians and were cut down, after prodigies of valour, all to a man, save those who fell back on Alexander as he approached. For he was already near, leading on the right wing, and he charged the Persians, himself the first to attack, just where was the press of cavalry and where the Persian commanders were posted. A fierce fight raged about him; and meanwhile the Macedonians, line after line, kept crossing, a task now not so difficult. It was a cavalry struggle, though on infantry lines; horse pressed against horse, man against man, wrestling one with another, Greeks trying to push, once for all, the Persians from the bank and force them on to the level ground, the Persians trying to bar their landing and hurl them back into the river. Already, however, Alexander and his guards were getting the best of it, not only through their forcefulness and their discipline, but because they were fighting with stout cornel-wood lances against short javelins.

In the mellay Alexander's lance was broken; he called on Aretis, one of the royal aides, for another; but Aretis had also broken his lance, and was hard pressed, though putting up a brave fight with the half of his broken weapon.

Showing this to Alexander he cried out to him to call upon another aide, but Demaratus, of Corinth, one of Alexander's squires, gave him his own lance. Alexander grasping it and seeing Mithridates, son-in-law of Dareius, riding far ahead of the line and leading on a body of horse, formed in wedge shape, charges forth in advance of his men, thrusts his lance into Mithridates' face and hurls him to the ground. But Rhoesaces rode at Alexander, and smote him on the head with his cleaver; he sheared off part of the helmet, but still the helmet parried the blow. Alexander hurled him also to the ground, piercing with his lance through the cuirass into his breast. Spithridates had already raised his scimitar to cut down Alexander, but Cleitus son of Dropides, smartly slipping in, drove at Spithridates' shoulder with his cleaver and shore it off; and now those of the cavalry who had made good their way on the river bank kept coming up and joining the little band round Alexander.

XV. The Persians were now being roughly handled from all quarters; they and their horses being struck in the face with lances; they were driven in front of the cavalry, and were much inconvenienced by the light troops, who became confused with the cavalry; and so they began to give way, first at the very point where Alexander was bearing the brunt of the affray. But when their centre began to sag, then the cavalry wings also were pierced, and they turned to flight in earnest. Upwards of a thousand Persian horsemen perished; for there was not much pursuit, since Alexander turned against the foreign mercenary troops. The mass of these stood their ground, rather rooted to the spot by the unexpected catastrophe than from serious resolution. Bringing his phalanx to bear on them and bidding the cavalry fall on them from all quarters, he hemmed them in and soon, massacred them; not one escaped — unless perhaps a few slipped through among the dead — and some two thousand were taken prisoners. Of Persian commanders there fell Niphates, Petines, Spithridates, satrap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes the Cappadocian commandant, Mithridates, son-in-law of Dareius, Arbupales son of Dareius, son of Artaxerxes, and Pharnaces, brother of Dareius' queen, and Omares, commander of the foreign troops. Arsites fled from the battle into Phrygia and there, it is said, died by his own hand, because the blame of the Persian failure seemed to lie at his door.

Of the Macedonians, among the territorial troops, about twenty-five fell in the first shock. Brazen statues of them have been set up at Dium; Alexander gave the order to Lysippus, who out of a crowd of competitors had cast the statue of Alexander himself. Of the rest of the cavalry more than sixty perished, and about thirty infantry. All these Alexander buried next day with their arms and other accoutrements; to their parents and children he gave remission of local taxes and of all other personal services and property taxes. He showed much concern about the wounded, visiting each, examining their wounds, asking how they were received, and encouraging each to recount, and even boast of, his exploits. He buried also the Persian commanders and the mercenary Greeks who fell in the ranks of the foe; such as he captured, he

handcuffed and sent to Macedonia to hard labour, because they had violated Greek public opinion by fighting with Orientals against Greeks. He sent to Athens three hundred Persian panoplies as an offering to Athena of Athens; he had this inscription attached: Alexander son of Philip and the Greeks, save Lacedaemonians, these spoils from the Persians in Asia.

XVI. Alexander then made Calas satrap of the satrapy which Arsites had held, ordering the inhabitants to pay the same taxes as they used to pay to Dareius; such of the natives as came down from the hills and gave themselves up he bade return to their homes. The city Zeleia he exempted from blame, knowing that they had been impressed to fight with the Persians. He sent Parmenio also to take over Dascyion, and this he duly did — the guards having evacuated the place.

Then Alexander marched towards Sardes; and when he was still about seventy stades away there came to him Mithrines, commander of the Acropolis guard, and with him the chief citizens of Sardes; these gave up the city, and Mithrines the fortress and the treasure. Alexander himself camped on the Hermus river; this river runs about twenty stades from Sardes; but he sent Amyntas, son of Andromenes, to Sardes to take over the fortress; Mithrines he took with him, with the honours of his rank; but the Sardians and the other Lydians he permitted to follow the old Lydian customs, and sent them away free. Alexander himself ascended to the fortress, where was the Persian garrison; he formed no mean opinion of the strength of the position, which was very high, sheer, and fortified all round with a triple wall. Alexander was minded to build a temple on the height to Olympian Zeus, and to set up an altar near it. But as he was surveying the height for the best place, suddenly (it was summer-time) there brake a storm, with heavy crashes of thunder, and violent rain, just over the palace of the Lydian kings; from this Alexander supposed that here was a divine intimation where he must build the temple to Zeus, and so he gave orders accordingly. He left as commandant of the fortress Pausanias, a territorial officer; Nicias became overseer of the taxes, contributions, and tribute, and Asandrus, son of Philotas, governor of Lydia and the rest of Spithridates' district; and to him he gave cavalry and light troops sufficient for present needs. Calas and Alexander son of Aeropus he sent to Memnon's country, with the Peloponnesians and the greater part of the allies except the Argives; they were left in Sardes to garrison the fortress.

Meanwhile, when the news of the cavalry engagement came through, the mercenary troops garrisoning Ephesus fled, with two Ephesian triremes, and along with them Amyntas son of Antiochus who had run away from Macedon to avoid Alexander; not that Alexander had done him any harm, but from a general dislike towards Alexander and a disinclination to undergo any disagreeable discomfort at his hands. Alexander reached Ephesus on the fourth day, brought back any exiles who had been turned out of the city on his account, and breaking up the oligarchy restored the democracy; he also bade them contribute to the Temple of Artemis such taxes as they had been paying

to the Persians. So the Ephesian people, being now relieved from fear of the oligarchs, promptly put to death all those who had called in Memnon, those who had ransacked the Temple of Artemis, and those who had thrown down the statue of Philip in the Temple and had dug up in the market-place the tomb of Heropythes the liberator of the city. Syrphax, his son Pelagon, and the children of the brothers of Syrphax they drew forth from the temple and stoned; but Alexander prevented further inquisition or punishment, knowing that once permission was given the people would put to death, together with the guilty, certain others, some from hatred, and some for plunder of their goods. Seldom did Alexander win greater popularity than he did by his treatment of Ephesus.

XVII. About this time came representatives of Magnesia and Tralles to Alexander to hand over their cities; so he sent Parmenio with 2500 allied infantry and as many Macedonians, and 200 territorial horse. He sent also Alkimachus son of Agathocles, with an equal force, to the Aeolian cities and to any Ionian towns still subject to Persia.

He ordered the oligarchies everywhere to be broken up, democracies to be established, each to have their own laws and to continue paying the same taxes as they had paid to the Persians. Alexander himself remained in Ephesus and sacrificed to Artemis and held a great procession with his troops armed cap-à-pie in full battle order.

Next day he took the remainder of the infantry and the archers and the Agrianes, with the Thracian horse, and the royal squadron of territorial cavalry, and three squadrons besides, and marched against Miletus. He captured in his stride what they called the Outer City — for the garrison had retired — and camping there he decided to invest the Inner City. For Hegesistratus, commandant, under Dareius, of the Milesian garrison, had anticipated matters by sending a letter to Alexander surrendering the city; but then, taking heart again, because the Persian force was no distance away, schemed to save the city for Persia. Nicanor, however, bringing up the Greek fleet, reached Miletus three days ahead of the Persians, and anchored at the island of Lade with 160 ships. Lade is over against Miletus. The Persian fleet were too late, and when their commanders learnt of Nicanor's arrival already at Lade, they anchored under Mount Mycale. For Alexander had by seizing Lade forestalled them, not only by anchoring his fleet there, but also by transporting thither the Thracians and about 4000 of the other mercenaries. The Persian fleet was of about 400 sail.

Parmenio, notwithstanding, urged Alexander to attack, both because he expected the Greeks to win, and because of an omen; there had been seen an eagle perching on the shore astern of Alexander's vessels. If they won, he argued, it would be a great help to the expedition generally; a defeat would not be very serious; for even as things were the Persians held the supremacy at sea. He said that he was willing to embark himself and share all perils. Alexander, however, said that Parmenio's judgment was at fault; his

interpretation of the omen not less so; it would be lunacy to fight a much greater fleet with an inferior one, and face the trained crews of the Cyprians and Phoenicians with his own, who had not yet completed their nautical exercises. He would not risk sacrificing the skill and courage of his Macedonians on so uncertain an element to the Persians; should they lose the engagement it would be a serious blow to their former warlike prestige, with the Greeks also ready to blaze into revolt at the first whisper of a naval defeat. Arguing thus he made clear that it was no time to fight; and declared that he interpreted the omen differently; for the eagle was indeed on his own side; but, since it was seen sitting on the land, it meant (he thought) that he would beat the Persian fleet from the land.

XVIII. Meanwhile, Glaucippus, one of the notables of Miletus, was sent to Alexander by the people and the mercenaries, to whose care the city was chiefly entrusted, and declared that the citizens were prepared to open their walls and harbours to Alexander and the Persians in common; and he demanded on these stipulations that he should raise the siege. Alexander, however, bade Glaucippus to be gone with all speed to the city and tell the citizens to be ready to fight at dawn. He personally saw to engines being set against the walls, and, partly by bombarding the wall at close quarters, and partly by battering it over a great distance, he brought up his force to be ready to rush in wherever the wall was breached or shaken. The Persians from Mycale were close by, and almost beheld their friends and allies under siege.

But now Nicanor's fleet from Lade sighted Alexander's attack, and sailed into the harbour of Miletus, rowing along the coast, and, jamming their triremes, bows seaward, at the narrowest part of the entrance had bottled up the harbour against the Persian fleet, and cut off Persian help for Miletus. Thereon the Milesians and the mercenaries, hard pressed on all sides by the Macedonians, some threw themselves into the sea and using their shields as coracles paddled over to a little nameless island near the city, others got into pinnaces and hurrying to get in front of the Macedonian triremes were caught by them at the harbour entrance; but the greater number perished in the city itself.

Alexander, the city being now in hand, sailed off against those who had fled to the islet, ordering ladders to be brought to the bows of the triremes so as to disembark from the ships on the cliffs of the islands as if on a city wall. But seeing that those on the island were going to fight to the death, he felt compassion for them, as noble and loyal soldiers, and made terms with them that they should join his forces; there were about 300 of these Greek mercenaries. The Milesians themselves, save such as fell at the final assault, he dismissed with their freedom.

The Persians using Mycale as a base by daytime used to sail towards the Greek navy, hoping to provoke an engagement; but at night they did not ride in comfort at Mycale, because they were obliged to get water from the mouths of the Maeander, some way off. Alexander with his fleet guarded the harbour

of Miletus, that the Persians might not force the entrance, but he sent Philotas to Mycale with the cavalry and three columns of infantry, bidding him hinder the Persians from disembarking. So they, from want of water and other things, were as good as besieged in their ships, and sailed off to Samos; provisioning there, they made for Miletus again. The mass of their vessels they drew up in line out at sea opposite the harbour, hoping to provoke the Macedonians to action in the open; but five ships slipped into the harbour between Lade and the camps hoping to capture Alexander's ships unmanned, having learned that the crews had for the most part scattered, some to fuel, some to convoy stores, and some detailed for foraging. There was indeed a certain number away from the ships; but Alexander manned ten ships with the available hands, and when he sighted the five Persian ships bearing down, sent these to meet them at full speed with orders to ram. The crews of the five Persian ships, seeing the Macedonians making for them (the last thing they expected), doubled back, while still at safe distance, and joined the main fleet. One ship (manned by Iassians) was captured with its crew in the retreat, being a slow sailer; the other four got safe to their own triremes. Thus the Persians left Miletus with nothing done.

XIX. Alexander now decided to disband his navy, both from want of money at the time and also perceiving that his fleet could not face an action with the Persian navy; he had no intention to risk disaster with even a portion of his armament. Further, he reflected that as he now held Asia with his land troops, he no longer needed a navy, and that by capturing the Persian coast bases he would break up their fleet, since they would have nowhere to make up their crews from, and, in fact, no seaport in Asia. Thus he took the eagle to mean that he should conquer the ships from dry land.

When he had settled this he marched towards Caria, having had reports that a considerable force of Persians and mercenaries had assembled at Halicarnassus. Such cities as lie between Miletus and Halicarnassus he captured on the march, and then encamped against Halicarnassus, at five stades distance, settling down for a long siege. For the position of the place made it very strong, and if anything was needed to strengthen it, Memnon had personally seen to this long ago; from the moment he was marked out by Darius for command of all lower Asia and of the whole fleet; a large force of mercenaries had been left in the city, with many Persians also; the triremes guarded the harbour, so that the sailors too lent much assistance.

On the first day it fell out that as Alexander was approaching the wall near the gates leading to Mylasa there was a sally from the city and volleys at safe distance; this attack Alexander's troops had no difficulty in driving back by a counter sally, and also safely shut up the attacking party in their walls again.

A few days later Alexander led off his guards, the territorial cavalry, and the infantry battalion of Amyntas, Perdikkas, and Meleager, with the archers and the Agrianes, and went round the city to the side that lay Myndus-ward; his idea was to reconnoitre the wall in case it should prove more open to an

assault there, and also to see if perhaps he could capture Myndus by a sudden raid. The capture of Myndus, he thought, would be a great help to a siege of Halicarnassus. A proposal of surrender had been received from Myndus, provided he could arrive there by night. He therefore approached Myndus about midnight, as agreed; but there was no sign of surrender; his engines and ladders he had left behind — naturally enough, since he had not come to besiege, but to receive a treacherous surrender of the city. None the less he brought up the Macedonian phalanx with orders to sap the wall. One tower they did throw down; yet in its fall it did not strip the wall; the defenders stoutly resisted, and numerous troops by this time had sailed up from Halicarnassus and prevented Alexander from rushing the capture of Myndus. So Alexander retreated with this project a failure, and he kept once more to the siege of Halicarnassus.

First he filled level the moat which they had dug before the city, about 30 cubits broad and 15 deep; this was to facilitate the approach of the towers, from which he intended to bombard by volleys of missiles the defenders of the wall, as also of the other engines intended to batter the walls. The ditch was filled up without difficulty and the towers soon were brought up. The Halicarnassians, however, made a night sally, to burn the towers and the other engines which had been brought up, or were in position shortly so to be. But the attackers were easily enclosed again in their city walls by the Macedonian guards and others who, waking up in the course of the action, rushed to their help. The city lost 170 men, including Neoptolemus son of Arrabaeus, brother of Amyntas, one of those who had deserted to Dareius: of Alexander's troops there fell about sixteen, but three hundred were wounded, since — the sally being at night — they were less protected against wounds.

XXI. Not many days after, two Macedonian men-at-arms of Perdiccas' battalion, bivouacked together and drinking together, were each exalting his own prowess and deeds: rivalry arose, assisted by the heating fumes of wine; so they armed themselves and attacked the wall by the height which looks Mylasa way; their idea being to exhibit their strength rather than to force a perilous encounter with the enemy. Some in the city sighted the rash pair approaching the wall, and made a dash out upon them, slaying both these two men, who were close up, and showering volleys on the more distant troops, confident in their number and in the difficulty of the ground, since the Halicarnassians had the advantage of height for their charge and their volleys. On this more of Perdiccas' men hurried up, and others from the city too, and a stiff fight raged about the wall. Once more the Macedonians drove the sallying force back into the city, and indeed the City was not far from being captured. For the walls were not then carefully guarded, and as two towers and one intervening curtain had fallen, the approach to the wall had become easy for the army, had they all attacked together. The third tower, moreover, had been badly shaken, and if undermined would easily have been brought down, but the besieged had smartly built out opposite the breach from within

a crescent-shaped brick wall, and as they had plenty of builders, they did so with ease.

Alexander next day brought up his engines against this wall; promptly a sally was made to burn them. Part of the fence of mantlets near the walls and one of the wooden towers were burnt; the rest was saved by Philotas and Hellanicus and their men, who were entrusted with the care of them. But when Alexander also appeared in the assault, they threw away the torches with which they had rushed out, and most cast away their arms and made within the wall. Yet at first, from the position, which was commanding, the besieged had the best of it, and did not only volley straight ahead along their line at the advance guard of the engines, but also from the towers left standing on either side of the breach, which enabled them to volley on the flanks, and almost at the rear, of those who approached the new-built wall.

XXII. A few days afterwards Alexander again brought up his engines to the inner brick wall, taking charge of operations himself, and there was a sally in full force; some of the enemy attacked near the breach, where Alexander was, others at the triple gate, the last place the Macedonians looked for a sally. Some flung torches at the siege engines, and anything else which might light a flame and spread it to the utmost; but Alexander's immediate supports counter-attacked vigorously; large stones were hurled by the engines from the towers, bullets were showered in volleys, and the besieged were fairly easily repulsed and fled back to the city. They suffered a good deal of loss, proportionate to the number of the attackers and the boldness of their sally. Some fell in hand-to-hand fight with the Macedonians, others about the fallen wall, the passage being too narrow to admit such a number and the fallen parts of the wall making it difficult to pass over them.

As for those who sallied by the triple gate, Ptolemaeus, captain of the bodyguard of Alexander, met them, bringing up the battalions of Addaeus and Timander, and some of the light troops; these too fairly easily drove back the sallying party. This also suffered in the retreat over a narrow bridge thrown over the moat; the bridge gave way under their numbers, many fell into the moat some were trampled by their comrades, some the Macedonians shot down from above. The greatest slaughter was round about the gates themselves; for the gates were shut prematurely in panic, the defenders fearing lest the Macedonians, pressing hard upon the fugitives, might enter also; thus many friends were shut out, to be destroyed by their foes close to the walls. The city indeed came near to capture, had not Alexander sounded the retreat, desirous even now of saving Halicarnassus if the citizens would surrender without further hostility. About a thousand of these perished, of Alexander's forces about forty; among these were Ptolemaeus, captain of the bodyguard, Clearchus, in charge of the archers, Addaeus, a captain of thousand, and other Macedonians of repute.

XXIII. On this the leaders of the Persians, Orontobates and Memnon, met and decided that as things were they could not long hold out against the siege,

with part of the wall gone, as they saw, and part badly shaken, many soldiers lost in the sallies, many disabled by wounds. Reviewing all this, about the second watch of the night they burned the wooden tower which they had built to oppose the enemy engines, and also their armouries. They fired as well all houses near the walls, others caught fire from the armouries and the tower, where it burned furiously, the wind wafting it in this direction; as for themselves, part retreated to the citadel on the island, part into the height called Salmakis. As soon as this news was reported to Alexander from some who had deserted after the disaster, and as he himself saw the fire spreading, though it took place about midnight, none the less he called up his Macedonians and put to the sword any incendiaries caught in the act, while advising that any citizens found in the houses should be saved.

Dawn was breaking; and observing the heights which the Persians and the mercenaries had seized, he decided not to besiege these, considering that it would mean much delay round about them, owing to the nature of the ground, and no great advantage now he had captured the whole city. He buried, therefore, those who had fallen during the night, and ordered the troops detailed for the purpose to withdraw the siege engines to Tralles. Then he razed to the ground the city and left a garrison for the destroyed city and for all Caria, and he despatched three thousand mercenary foot, two hundred horse, under Ptolemaeus, to Phrygia. As satrap of entire Caria he appointed Ada, daughter of Hecatomnos, wife of Hidrieus who according to Carian custom was both brother and husband. Hidrieus on his death had handed over affairs to her; from Semiramis down, the Asians had been used to women rulers.

Pixodarus, however, turned her out of her position and assumed the throne himself. On his death Orontobates, as envoy from the king and brother-in-law of Pixodarus, took over. Ada meanwhile held Alinda only, a very strong fortress of Caria; and when Alexander entered Caria she went to meet him, surrendering Alinda and adopting Alexander as her son. Alexander gave Alinda back to her in charge, and did not reject the adoptive title, and on the capture of Halicarnassus and the rest of Caria, put her in command of the whole.

XXIV. Some of the Macedonians serving under Alexander had been recently married before taking the field; Alexander thought he ought not to neglect these men, but sent them off from Caria to spend the winter with their wives in Macedonia, putting in charge of them Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, one of the royal bodyguard, and attaching to him, of the officers, Coenus son of Polemocrates and Meleager son of Neoptolemus, being themselves bridegrooms. He directed them, when they should return and bring back their convoy, to collect horse and foot from the country, as many as they could. Alexander gained as much popularity by this act among the Macedonians as by any other. He sent also Cleander son of Polemocrates to collect troops from the Peloponnese.

Parmenio he sent to Sardes, giving him a squadron of the territorial cavalry, the Thessalian cavalry, and the other allies and the chariots; he bade him proceed from Sardes to Phrygia; but he himself went towards Lycia and Pamphylia, so that, now he held the coast, he might render useless the enemy's navy. First then on his route he took in his stride Hyparna, a strong place, with a mercenary garrison; but the mercenaries, receiving terms, marched out of the citadel. Then entering Lycia he took over, by surrender, the Telmisseans; crossing the Xanthus, he received Pinara and Xanthus city and Patara in submission, and thirty smaller strongholds.

When he had completed all this, in the height of winter, as it now was, he attacked the Milyan territory, as it is called; it belongs to Greater Phrygia, but was reckoned then as part of Lyeia, according to the king's orders. There envoys from Phaselis come to offer friendly relations and to crown Alexander with a gold crown; taking the lead from them the greater part of Lower Lycia also sent envoys. Alexander bade both the envoys of Phaselis and the Lycians to hand over their cities to those whom he despatched to take them over; and they were all duly handed over. He came soon after to Phaselis, and took, in conjunction with these, a strong outpost, built to threaten this district by Pisidians, and from which the natives often did much injury to those of Phaselis who were tilling the ground.

XXV. While Alexander was still busied about Phaselis, he received news that his namesake, son of Aeropus, was meditating treachery — one of the "Companions," and at the moment commanding the Thracian cavalry. This Alexander was brother to Heromenes and Arrabaeus, who had a part in the murder of Philip. Though he had incurred blame Alexander let him off for the nonce, since he had been among the first of his friends to rally to him on Philip's death, and had put on his cuirass and accompanied Alexander into the palace; later Alexander had even held him in a post of honour near his person, and had sent him to command in Thrace, and when Calas, commander of the Thracian cavalry, had been transferred to a satrapy, Alexander appointed him commander of the Thracian horse. The story of the plot was reported as follows.

Dareius, when Amyntas deserted to him bringing overtures and a letter from this lesser Alexander, sent Sisines, a trusty Persian from his suite, to the coast. The pretext was that he was to visit Atizues, satrap of Phrygia, but in fact he was to meet this Alexander and give him certain assurances, if he would assassinate Alexander the King, that the Persian king would give him the throne of Macedonia and a thousand gold talents to boot. Sisines fell into Parmenio's hands, and revealed to him the cause of his mission; and Parmenio sent him under escort to Alexander, who heard from him the same story. So he called together his friends, and held a council to see what should be decided about the traitor. The Companions held that Alexander had originally done unwisely in giving over the best of the cavalry to an untrustworthy officer, and that he should now get rid of him as soon as possible, before he got too

familiar with the Thracians and headed some revolt. They also were troubled by an omen; for while Alexander was still besieging Halicarnassus and was taking his midday rest, a swallow circled over his head chattering noisily, and perched here and there on his bed; its note showed more alarm than the usual swallows' twittering. Alexander, from weariness, could not be awakened, but troubled by the twittering he gently brushed away the swallow; but the bird would not fly off when touched, rather it perched on Alexander's very head and kept on till Alexander fully awoke. Alexander, taking the incident seriously, reported it to Aristander of Telmissus, the seer; he replied that it meant treachery of some friend; but also the meaning was that this should come to light. For the swallow is a domestic bird, friendly to man, and a greater chatterer than any other bird.

Putting this together with the Persian's story, he sent to Parmenio Amphoterus son of Alexander, brother of Craterus, and at the same time some Pergaeon guides. Amphoterus wore a native dress, so as not to be recognized on the journey; and so came safe to Parmenio. He brought no letter from King Alexander; it was thought unwise to commit anything to writing in a matter of this sort; but he gave a verbal message as directed. Thus Alexander was arrested and kept under guard.

XXVI. Leaving Phaselis, Alexander sent part of his force through the mountain passes towards Perga, where the Thracians had made him a road, the round journey being difficult and long. He himself led his immediate followers along the coast, a route practicable only with north winds blowing; south winds make the passage along the shore impossible. There had been heavy southerlies, but a north wind had set in — this by divine interposition, as Alexander and his staff interpreted it — and made the passage easy and swift. As he went on from Perga there met him on the way plenipotentiaries from Aspendus surrendering the city, but begging it might not be garrisoned. This point they won; but Alexander exacted from them fifty talents for the army as pay and all such horses as they bred as tribute to the King of Persia. They agreed to hand over both, and so departed.

Alexander now went towards Side, whose inhabitants are Cymaeans from Aeolian Cyme; they give this account of themselves, that as soon as they reached that land, the first to leave Cyme, sailing thither to colonize, they forgot their native tongue and talked a foreign language straight away, and that not the Persian of the natives there, but their own idiom, in fact, a new dialect; henceforward the citizens of Side had been so many foreigners, contrary to the ways of their neighbours. Alexander left a guard at Side and went on to Syllium, a fortified place with a garrison of mercenaries and also of the natives of those parts. But he could not take Syllium in his stride, and, besides, it was reported on his march that the Aspendians were not minded to fulfil their obligations — neither to hand over the horses to the party sent to fetch them, nor to pay the money; nay, they had got their stuff in from the fields, had shut their gates upon Alexander's envoys, and were repairing weak

places in their walls. Learning this, Alexander marched towards Aspendus.

XXVII. This city is built, for the most part, on a strong height, sheer, looking over the River Eurymedon. Round this height, on the flat, they had a number of dwellings and a small wall built round these. This wall, so soon as they were aware of Alexander's approach, the inhabitants deserted, and also the houses built on the level such as they thought it not possible to safeguard; they all took refuge on the height. Alexander, arriving with full force; entered within the deserted wall and camped in the empty houses. But the citizens as soon as they saw Alexander himself arrived — just what they had not looked for — and his army all round them, sent envoys and begged to be allowed to surrender on the old terms. Alexander, seeing that the position was strong, and being himself not ready for a long siege, yet refused the original terms. He demanded their most influential men as hostages, and that they should hand over the horses they had previously promised and a hundred talents in place of fifty; that they should give obedience to the satrap appointed by him, and pay yearly tribute to Macedon; an enquiry to be held, moreover, about the territory of their neighbours which they were accused of having taken by violence and now retaining.

All now satisfactorily arranged, Alexander moved to Perga and thence began his march to Phrygia, which led past Telmissus. The Telmissians are Pisidians in origin, uncivilized, and inhabit a very lofty position, precipitous all round), the road past the city is an awkward one. A height runs from the city up to the road, and there ends; but opposite is a height equally abrupt. These heights make natural gates on the road, and a small guard can cut off all approach by holding them. The Telmissians on this occasion came out in full force and occupied both heights. Alexander, seeing this, bade the Macedonians camp where they were, knowing that the Telmissians, seeing them bivouacking, would not wait there in force, but would, for the most part, drift away to the city close by, leaving on the heights only a guard. His guess proved right; most of them moved off, the guards remained. At once bringing up against them the archers, the javelin battalions, and the lighter-clad men-at-arms, he led them against the enemy, who at the first volleys gave ground, leaving the position, on which Alexander passed the narrow passage and encamped near the city.

XXVIII. At this point arrived envoys from the Selgians, who are also native Pisidians with a large city, a warlike people; they had been for some time at enmity with the Telmissians and so had sent an embassy to Alexander to ask for his friendship. Alexander granted their wish, and found them wholly trustworthy allies. He concluded that a siege of Telmissus would be a long one, and so moved on to Sagalassus, also a fairly large city, inhabited by Pisidians, the most warlike of this warlike tribe; they then occupied the hill in front of the city which was as strong for defensive operations as the wall itself, and held their ground. Alexander therefore thus deployed the Macedonian phalanx; on the right wing, his own post, he had the bodyguard,

and in touch with them the territorial foot, right up to the left wing, all under the battalion officers in the order of precedence for the day. On the left he placed Amyntas son of Arrabaeus in command. Then in advance on the right wing were posted the archers and the Agrianes, on the left the Thracian javelin-men, under Sitalces; for the cavalry were of no use to him in this narrow space. Along with the Pisidians were ranged Telmissians who had come to help.

Already Alexander's immediate troops had thrown themselves on the height held by the Pisidians, and were now at the most steep part of the ascent; whereon the Pisidians attacked in ambuscades on either wing, where they could best approach, and the Macedonians were most hampered. They drove back the archers, being lightly armed and in the advanced line; but the Agrianes held firm. For the Macedonian phalanx was coming up, and Alexander himself was visible at its head. The battle becoming hand-to-hand, the unarmed natives charging hoplites were wounded, and falling on all sides, at length gave way. Some five hundred perished. Being light and knowing the country they got away easily; the Macedonians, from weight of armour and want of local knowledge had little heart for the pursuit. Alexander, however, kept on the heels of the fugitives and stormed the city, losing Cleandrus, the commander of the archers, and some twenty others. Then he attacked the remaining Pisidians, capturing many of their forts and receiving the surrender of others.

XXIX. Thence he passed into Phrygia by Lake Ascania, where salt gathers naturally, and is used by the inhabitants, who thus need no sea salt; in five days he reached Celaenae, where is a steep acropolis, held by a garrison under the satrap of Phrygia, a thousand Carians and a hundred Greek mercenaries. They sent envoys to Alexander, offering — in case help did not come to them on a day previously appointed — this date they specified — to surrender the position. Thus Alexander thought better than a siege of this unassailable position. So he left 1500 troops as a guard over Celaenae. Then he waited there ten days and appointed Antigonos son of Philip satrap, and in his place as commander of the allies Balacrus son of Amyntas: then he set out towards Gordium, ordering Parmenio to meet him there with his force, and so he did. The recently married Macedonians who had gone to Macedonia also made their rendezvous at Gordium, and with them a freshly levied army, led by Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, Coenus son of Polemocrates and Meleager son of Neoptolemus; there were 3000 Macedonian foot, 300 horse, 200 Thessalian horse, 150 Eleians under Alcias the Elean.

Gordium, you must know, is in Hellespontine Phrygia, on the river Sangarius, the springs of which are in Phrygia; it runs through Bithynian Thrace into the Euxine. There also an embassy arrived from Athens begging Alexander to release to them Athenian prisoners captured on the Granicus fighting on the Persian side and now under arrest in Macedonia with the 2000 captives. Their request was not, however, granted, and so they departed.

Alexander did not think it wise, with the Persian war still in progress, to relax any terrors for the Greeks who had actually fought with foreigners against Greece; but he answered that when things proved satisfactory they were to approach him again on the same subject.

BOOK II

I. IT was after the above events that Memnon, appointed by Dareius commander-in-chief of the navy and of all the coast-line, with the idea of diverting the war into Macedonia and Greece, captured Chios, delivered over by treachery; thence he sailed to Lesbos, and though Mitylene did not come over to him, he became master of the remaining cities of Lesbos. Disposing of these, he put in at Mitylene, and fenced off the city by a double stockade from sea to sea; then he built five strategic camps and had no trouble in holding the country. Part of his fleet guarded the Mitylenean harbour; other ships he despatched to the promontory of Lesbos, Sigrium, where cargo vessels from Chios and Geraistus and Malea usually put in, and so he patrolled the coast, to prevent help from coming to Mitylene by sea. While thus engaged he fell ill and died; the severest blow during this period to the hopes of Persia. Autophradates, however, and Pharnabazus son of Artabazus, to whom, being his nephew, with his dying breath Memnon handed over his command, till Dareius should take further measures, carried on the blockade vigorously. Mitylene thus barred from the landward side and watched on the seaward side by a flotilla of blockading ships sent to Pharnabazus, and undertook that the mercenaries whom Alexander had despatched to fight for them should be sent about their business, that the Mityleneans should remove the pillars on which were inscribed their agreement with Alexander, and become allies of Dareius on the basis of the peace of Antalcidas with King Dareius, and that the exiles should return into possession of half the property held at the time of their exile. Such were the terms of the Mitylenean agreement with the Persians. Pharnabazus, however, and Autophradates, once within the city, brought in a garrison and set Lycomedes of Rhodes in command of it, and made Diogenes, one of the exiles, tyrant over the city: they also exacted a fine from Mitylene, taking part from the rich citizens by force, and the rest by a general tax.

II. When they had made these dispositions, Pharnabazus sailed towards Lycia with the mercenaries, Autophradates to the other islands. At this time Dareius sent Thymondas son of Mentor to take over the mercenaries from Pharnabazus and lead them to Dareius, and to instruct Pharnabazus to take over Memnon's command. Pharnabazus duly handed over the mercenaries to Thymondas, and sailed to join the fleet and Autophradates. On rejoining they sent ten ships to the Cyclades under Datames, a Persian, while they proceeded with a hundred sail to Tenedos. They reached the "north harbour" of Tenedos and sent to the city and ordered the destruction of the inscribed pillars of the agreement made by Tenedos with Alexander and the Greeks, and the observance of the Peace of Antalcidas made with Dareius. The whole inclination of Tenedos was towards Alexander and the Greeks; but at the moment there seemed no other hope of safety save in accepting the Persian terms, since Hegelochus, who had orders from Alexander again to assemble a

fleet, had not raised a sufficient force to expect from him any speedy help. It was in this way rather by terrorism than by their will that Pharnabazus received the surrender of the island of Tenedos.

Meanwhile Proteas son of Andronicus had collected from Euboea and the Peloponnese certain ships of the line, as ordered by Antipatros, so as to be a naval guard to the islands and the mainland of Greece, supposing — as reports suggested — that the Persians should descend upon it. But learning that Datames was anchored near Siphnos with ten ships he put to sea with fifteen sail by night towards Chalcis on the Euripus. Then at dawn putting in at the island of Cythnus, he lay there during the day-time, to get surer intelligence about the ten ships, and also to swoop down on the Phoenicians at night, which would scare them the more. Finding for certain that Datames was anchored at Siphnos, he sailed to the attack, night though it was, attacking just at dawn when the enemy expected nothing, and capturing eight ships with their crews; Datames with two triremes fled unobserved at the first charge of Proteas' ships and safely joined the rest of the fleet.

III. Alexander, then, reached Gordium, and was seized with an ardent desire to ascend to the acropolis, where was the palace of Gordius and his son Midas, and to look at Gordius' wagon and the knot of the chariot's yoke. There was a widespread tradition about this chariot around the countryside; Gordius, they said, was a poor man of the Phrygians of old, who tilled a scanty parcel of earth and had but two yoke of oxen: with one he ploughed, with the other he drove his wagon. Once, as he was ploughing, an eagle settled on the yoke and stayed, perched there, till it was time to loose the oxen; Gordius was astonished at the portent, and went off to consult the Telmessian prophets, who were skilled in the interpretation of prodigies, inheriting — women and children too — the prophetic gift. Approaching a Telmessian village, he met a girl drawing water and told her the story of the eagle; she, being also of the prophetic line, bade him return to the spot and sacrifice to Zeus the King. So then Gordius begged her to come along with him and assist in the sacrifice; and at the spot duly sacrificed as she directed, married the girl, and had a son called Midas. Midas was already a grown man, handsome and noble, when the Phrygians were in trouble with civil war; they received an oracle that a chariot would bring them a king and he would stop the war. True enough, while they were discussing this, there arrived Midas, with his parents, and drove, chariot and all, into the assembly. The Phrygians, interpreting the oracle, decided that he was the man whom the gods had told them would come in a chariot; they thereupon made him king, and he put an end to the civil war. The chariot of his father he set up in the acropolis as a thank-offering to Zeus the King for sending the eagle. Over and above this there was a story about the wagon, that anyone who should untie the knot of the yoke should be lord of Asia. This knot was of cornel bark, and you could see neither beginning nor end of it. Alexander, unable to find how to untie the knot, and not brooking to leave it tied, lest this might cause some disturbance

in the vulgar, smote it with his sword, cut the knot, and exclaimed, "I have loosed it!" — so at least say some, but Aristobulus puts it that he took out the pole pin, a dowel driven right through the pole, holding the knot together, and so removed the yoke from the pole. I do not attempt to be precise how Alexander actually dealt with this knot. Anyway, he and his suite left the wagon with the impression that the oracle about the loosed knot had been duly fulfilled. It is certain that there were that night thunderings and lightnings, which indicated this; so Alexander in thanksgiving offered sacrifice next day to whatever gods had sent the signs and certified the undoing of the knot.

IV. Next day Alexander set forward towards Ancyra of Galatia; there an embassy of Paphlagonians met him, giving submission of their tribe and agreeing to terms; they begged him not to enter their country in force. Alexander instructed them to take orders from Calas, satrap of Phrygia. He himself marched to Cappadocia, received surrender of all this country this side of the River Halys and a good deal of the far side. He made Sabiktas satrap of Cappadocia and pushed on to the Cilician gates. When he reached the camp of Cyrus, who had been with Xenophon, and saw the Gates strongly held, he left Parmenio there with heavier-armed foot battalions, while he himself, about the first watch, took the bodyguard, archers and Agrianes, and marched by night to the Gates, meaning to take the guards unawares. But his march was observed; none the less, the enterprise succeeded; for the guards, finding that he was leading in person, left their posts and fled. Next day at dawn he passed the Gates with his full force and descended into Cilicia. There it was reported to him that Arsames, who had all along been anxious to save Tarsus for the Persians, learning that he had passed the Gates, was minded to desert the city; so the Tarsians were afraid he would plunder the city before deserting it. Learning this, Alexander brought up at full speed the cavalry and the lighter mobile troops, so that Arsames learning of his onrush fled to King Darius without harming the city.

Here Alexander fell ill from fatigue; so at least Aristobulus says; others relate that he dived into the River Cydnus and had a swim, anxious for the bathe since he was forworn with sweat and heat. The Cydnus runs right through the city, and as its springs are in Mount Taurus, and it runs through open country, it is cold and clear. Alexander therefore caught a cramp, and suffered from violent fever and insomnia. All his physicians gave him up save Philip, an Acarnanian doctor, who attended him, very much trusted in medical matters, and, moreover, a brave man in the field; he proposed a strong purge; and Alexander bade him administer it. He made up the draught therefore; at the moment a note was given Alexander from Parmenio, "Beware Philip! I learn that Darius has bribed him to murder you." Alexander read the letter, held it in his hand, took the glass with the draught, and gave the note to Philip to read. At one and the same moment Alexander drank the dose and Philip read Parmenio's note. At once Philip made clear that all was well with his prescription; he showed no guilty conscience at the letter, but bade Alexander

follow out his remaining instructions; obedience would mean recovery. The purge worked and eased the illness; and Alexander gave proof to Philip that he was his firm friend, as also to his suite generally that he trusted and did not suspect his friends; and he showed also his bravery in face of death.

V. Next he sent Parmenio to the other Gates which divide the Cilician and Assyrian territories, to seize and occupy the pass, giving him the allied infantry, the Greek mercenaries, and the Thracians under Sitalces, with the Thessalian horse. Later on, he left Tarsus, and in one day reached Anchialus, founded, as legend says, by Sardanapalus the Assyrian. The circumference and the foundations of the walls show that the city was, when founded, a large one, and grew to great power. Sardanapalus' tomb was near the walls of Anchialus; over it stood Sardanapalus himself, his hands joined as if to clap, and an epitaph was inscribed in the Assyrian script; the Assyrians said that it was in verse. In any case the general meaning was: "Sardanapalus son of Anakyndaraxes built Anchialus and Tarsus in one day; do thou, stranger, eat and drink and be merry, since other human things are not worth *this*" — the idea being the hand-clap; and (it was said) the word "be merry" had a less delicate original in the Assyrian.

From Anchialus he reached Soli; he took a guard into Soli, and fined them two hundred silver talents, because they were still inclined towards Persia. Thence he took three battalions of the Macedonian infantry, all the archers, and the Agrianes, and marched upon the Cilicians who held the heights. In seven days — no more — he partly drove them out, partly received surrenders, and returned to Soli. There he learnt that Ptolemaeus and Asandros had conquered Orontobates the Persian, who was guarding the citadel of Halicarnassus and held Myndus, Cannus, Thera, and Callipolis, and had won over also Cos and Triopium. The message was that they had beaten him in a pitched battle with a loss of 700 of his foot and 50 cavalry, and at least 1000 prisoners. At Soli Alexander sacrificed to Asclepius, and held a review of his whole army, with a torch relay race and athletic and literary competitions. Soli he allowed to continue democratic. He then proceeded to Tarsus and sent the cavalry to Philotas, to take them to the River Pyramus through the Aleian plain. Then he, with the infantry and the royal squadron, went to Magarsus and sacrificed to Athena of Magarsus. Thence he came to Mallus and made due offerings to Amphilocheus, as a hero; he found the Mallians in civil commotion and put a stop to it; he remitted the tribute paid to Dareius, since Mallus was a colony of Argos, and he himself claimed descent from the Argive Heracleidae.

VI. Alexander was still at Mallus when a report came that Dareius with his full force was encamped at Sochi, a place in Assyrian territory, two marching days from the Assyrian Gates. Alexander therefore assembled his staff and told them the news of Dareius and his march, on which they urged him to lead straight on. He thereupon thanked them and dismissed the Council; and next day he marched as if to attack Dareius and the Persians. In two days he passed

the Gates and camped near Myriandrus, and in the night there came a severe storm, heavy rain, and violent gale, which kept Alexander in his camp.

Darius meanwhile dallied with his army, since he had selected a plain in the Assyrian land as being open all round, convenient for the multitude of his host, and suitable for the manoeuvres of his horsemen. Amyntas son of Antiochus, a deserter from Alexander, advised him not to leave this country; there was, he said, elbow-room favourable for the numbers and the equipment of the Persians. Darius then abode where he was. But Alexander having spent much time in Tarsus on account of his illness, and a good deal at Soli, where he sacrificed and held the review, and again spent some days in his raid on the Cilician hillmen, all this delay made Darius waver in his decisions. Moreover, Darius' wishes generally coloured his thoughts, and he liked the pleasanter thoughts; and false courtiers, such as will always haunt kings, led him on to decide that Alexander had no wish to proceed further. In fact, they said, he was hesitating on hearing of Darius' own approach. On all sides they egged him on, telling him that he would trample underfoot the Madeconian force with his cavalry. Amyntas, however, persisted that Alexander would come wherever he found Darius to be, and bade him remain where he was. But it was the pleasanter, and so the worse, counsels which prevailed; moreover, some evil genius led Darius into the very position where his cavalry did not much help him, nor indeed his numbers, his store of javelins, and of archery; where he could make no display of the splendour of his army, but made a mere gift of the victory to Alexander and his force. Fate indeed had resolved that Persia should forfeit the sovereignty of Asia to Macedon, as Media had lost it to Persia, and Assyria, even earlier, to Media.

VII. Darius, then, crossed the height by the Amanian Gates and marched towards Issus; and he slipped in unperceived behind Alexander. Seizing Issus he grievously mutilated and slew all the invalid Macedonians left behind there whom he captured. Next day he advanced to the River Pinarus. Alexander, hearing that Darius was in his rear, but not crediting the report, embarked some of the territorials in a thirty-oared ship and sent them back to Issus, to verify the report. Those who sailed in this vessel discovered the more easily the Persians encamping there, since the coast takes the form of a bay, and they reported to Alexander that Darius was at hand.

He, summoning commanders, squadron leaders, and allied officers, bade them be of good cheer in view of dangers successfully surmounted in the past; besides, the coming battle was to be between themselves, already proved victors, and the Persians, already once vanquished; more than that, heaven itself was a better strategist on their own side, having put it into Darius' mind to hem his force into the narrow pass, leaving to them the open country behind, so that they had a space of just the size for the deployment of their phalanx, while the Persians would have no benefit from their numbers, since their men and their resolution were no match for those of the Greeks. "We Macedonians," he continued, "are to fight Medes and Persians, nations long

steeped in luxury, while we have long been hardened by warlike toils and dangers; and above all it will be a fight of free men against slaves.

And so far as Greek will meet Greek, we shall not be fighting for like causes; those with Darius will risk their lives for pay, and poor pay too; our troops will fight as volunteers for Greece. As for our foreign troops, Thracians, Paeonians, Illyrians, Agrianes, the stoutest in Europe, and the most warlike, will be ranged against the feeblest and softest hordes of Asia: nay, further, you have an Alexander engaging in a duel of strategy against a Darius." Thus he drew out their superiority in the coming struggle; he showed that the stakes of their hazard were great too. It was not Darius' satraps of whom they were to be masters now, nor the cavalry that lined the Granicus, nor the twenty thousand foreign troops, but the flower of Medes and Persians and their subject nations in Asia; the Great King was there himself; nothing remained after this final struggle but to lord it over all Asia and set an end to their many heroic labours. Besides, he reminded them of all they had already achieved with brilliant success for their common cause; any noble individual act of bravery he cited, both the deed and the man; with some delicacy he mentioned his own personal risks in previous battles. He alluded, we are told, to Xenophon and his Ten Thousand, far below themselves in number or in repute, with no cavalry, neither Boeotian nor Peloponnesian, neither Macedonian nor Thracian, nor such other horse as they now had; no archers nor slingers, save a few Cretans and Rhodians, and those hastily scraped together by Xenophon when in sore straits. Yet the Ten Thousand turned to flight the Great King himself at the very gates of Babylon, and marched victoriously against the various tribes which barred their way as they descended to the Euxine Sea; of all this he told them, and whatever else, at such a time, in face of dangers, a brave general would by way of encouragement tell brave men. They crowded round and clasped their king's hand, and cheering him to the echo bade him lead on.

VIII. For the moment, however, Alexander bade his troops take their meal, but he sent on towards the Gates a few horsemen and archers to reconnoitre the road that lay behind them; then he himself at nightfall with his whole force marched off to seize the Gates again. When, about midnight, he held the passes once more, he halted his army for the rest of the night on the crags, having carefully set outposts. Just upon dawn he descended from the Gates along the road; and as long as the narrows lasted he led in column; but when it grew broader he deployed his column into phalanx, bringing up battalion after battalion of men-at-arms, on the right, up to the ridge, on the left, to the sea. The cavalry so far had been ranged behind the infantry; but when they got into open ground, at once he drew up his army in battle order; first on the right wing towards the mountain ridge, in front, he placed the picked infantry troops and his bodyguard, under Nicanor son of Parmenio, next to them Coenus' battalion, and then that of Perdiccas. These, right to left, stretched to the centre of the men-at-arms. On the left, first came Amyntas' battalion, then

Ptolemaeus', and next Meleager's. Craterus was put in command of the infantry on the left, but Parmenio of the entire left wing, under orders not to edge away from the sea, lest the Persians should surround them, since from their great numbers they were likely to overlap the Greeks in extended line.

Darius for his part, when the approach of Alexander in battle order was reported to him, sent about 30,000 of his cavalry over the River Pinarus and 20,000 light infantry with them, that he might at his leisure deploy the rest. Foremost of his heavier troops he placed the Greek mercenaries, 30,000 of them, facing the Macedonian phalanx; next, on either side, 60,000 of the Kardakes, who were also heavy-armed troops; this was the number which the ground where they stood allowed to be posted in line. He stationed also about 20,000 by the ridge on his left to face Alexander's right; some of these actually got to the rear of Alexander's force, since the mountain ridge where they were posted opened here and there to some depth and had, in fact, bays like the sea; then trending outwards again it brought those posted on the heights to the rear of Alexander's right wing. The general mass of their light and heavy troops arranged by their territories and to an unserviceable depth was behind the Greek mercenaries and the Persian phalanx. Historians put Darius' fighting force at some 600,000.

Alexander, however, finding the ground opening somewhat as he went forward, brought on his cavalry and the so-called "Comrades," the Thessalians, and the Macedonians. These all he posted with himself on the right wing; any Peloponnesians and other allies he sent to Parmenio on the left.

Darius, his phalanx once in due order, recalled by signal such cavalry as he had thrown in front of the river to cover his deployment. Most of these he posted over against Parmenio on the right wing, by the sea, because it was rather better ground for cavalry; part, however, he sent to the left, near the hills. But as they proved useless there from want of space he ordered the greater number of them also to ride round to his right wing. Darius himself held the centre of his whole host, the regular position for Persian kings; Xenophon son of Gryllus has accurately described the general idea of this arrangement.

IX. Meanwhile Alexander, observing nearly all the Persian cavalry transferred to his left, resting on the sea, while he had only the Peloponnesians and the other allied horse on this side, despatched at full speed the Thessalian cavalry to the left, with orders not to ride in front of the line, so as not to be sighted by the enemy, but to pass quickly at the rear of his phalanx. But he pushed forward the cavalry patrols on his right, under Protomachus, and the Paeonians under Antiochus, the Agrianes under Attalus, some of the cavalry and of the archers, He threw back at an acute angle towards the foothills in his rear, so that on his right wing his line forked into two parts, one facing Darius and the main body of Persians across the river, the other towards the force posted in his rear in the hills. On the left wing, of the infantry, foremost

were the Cretans and Thracians, under Sitalces, with the cavalry of the left wing in advance of these. The foreign mercenaries were distributed among all the troops. But as his line did not seem very solid on his right, and the Persians seemed likely to overlap them considerably there, he ordered from the centre two territorial squadrons and the squadron from Anthemus, whose squadron leader was Peroedes son of Menestheus, and that called the Leugaeon, under Pantordanus son of Cleander; the word being passed that they were to transfer unobserved to the right wing. The archers and some of the Agrianes and of the Greek mercenaries he led to the front of his right wing and so extended his line to outflank the Persian wing. For since the troops posted in the hills had not descended — nay, on a raid of the Agrianes and a few archers, at Alexander's order, they had been easily dislodged and had fled to the summit — Alexander understood that he could use those who had been posted to hold them in check to deepen his phalanx. To watch the hill troops he reckoned it enough to tell off three hundred horsemen.

IX. His forces thus marshalled, Alexander led them on for some time with halts, so that their advance seemed quite a leisurely affair. For Dareius did not yet lead on the Persians, arrayed as at the first, but remained on the river banks, which were in many places precipitous, in some parts building up a stockade, where they appeared more accessible. It was here that Alexander's staff perceived Dareius to be a man of no spirit. But when the two armies were close, Alexander riding along his front bade them be good men and true, calling aloud the names, with all proper distinctions, not only of the commanders, but even squadron leaders and captains, as well as any of the mercenaries who were conspicuous for rank or for any deed of valour. There came an answering cry to him from all sides to tarry no longer, but to charge the foe. He continued to lead on in line, at first slowly, though with Dareius' force in full view, desiring that no part of the phalanx should fluctuate in the more rapid advance and so become disparted; but once within range, first Alexander's suite and himself too, in his post on the right wing, took the river at the double, in order to confound the Persians by the swoop of their attack, and by joining in the mellay the sooner to receive the less harm from the Persian archers. All fell out as Alexander had guessed. For the moment the battle joined, the Persian left gave way; and here Alexander and his immediate following scored a triumphant success. But Dareius' Greek mercenaries, where the Macedonian phalanx showed a gap, having broken away to the right wing — for Alexander had flung into the river in hot haste — had come to blows with the Persians and were already driving them back at that point, while the Macedonian centre did not get to work with like enthusiasm, and finding the banks in many places steep could not keep their front unbroken — the Greeks, I say, at this point charged the Macedonians just where they saw the phalanx most agape. There the action was severe, the Greeks tried to push off the Macedonians into the river and to restore victory to their already retreating wing; but the Macedonians, seeing Alexander's

success assured, did not mean to be a whit behind, nor to suffer any eclipse of their prestige and their proud title of "invincible." There arose also a racial rivalry between Greeks and Macedonians. Here it was that Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus fell, a good man and true, and about a hundred and twenty distinguished Macedonians.

XI. Now the battalions on the right wing, seeing the Persians opposed to them already turned back, inclined towards Dareius' mercenaries and their own hard-pressed centre, and drove these from the river, and then overlapping the now broken Persian left, by an oblique move, attacked and were in a trice cutting down the mercenaries. However, the Persian cavalry posted opposite to the Thessalians did not keep their ground on the river bed in the action, but crossed manfully and charged the Thessalian squadrons, and here there was a desperate cavalry fight; the Persians did not give way till they saw Dareius in flight and till their mercenaries were cut off, mowed down by the phalanx. But then the rout was open and universal. The Persian horses suffered much in the retreat, with their riders heavily armed, while the riders too, hurrying by narrow roads in a crowded horde, in terror and in disorder, were as much damaged being ridden over by one another as by their pursuers. The Thessalians stoutly pressed them, and there was as much slaughter in the cavalry as in the infantry flight.

Dareius, for his part, the moment his left wing was panic-stricken by Alexander and he beheld it thus cut off from the rest of his army, fled just as he was in his chariot, and in the van of the fugitives. So long as he found level ground, he found safety in his chariot; but when he met defiles and other difficulties, he left his chariot and threw away his shield and his outer mantle, nay, left even his bow in the chariot, and fled on horseback; night, speedily falling, saved him from becoming Alexander's captive. For Alexander pursued with all his might as long as daylight held; but when it grew dark and he could not see his way, he turned back towards the camp, taking, however, Dareius' chariot, and with it his shield, bow, and mantle. The fact is that his pursuit was the slower, since he had wheeled back at the first breaking through of the phalanx and had not himself turned to pursue till he had seen the mercenaries and the Persian cavalry driven back from the river.

Of the Persians fell Arsames and Rheomithres and Atizyes of the cavalry commanders on the Granicus; Sabakes the satrap of Egypt, and Bubakes, of the Persian nobles; as for the rank and file, some 100,000, among which were over 10,000 cavalry, so that Ptolemaeus son of Lagos, who then was with Alexander, says that the pursuers of Dareius meeting a deep gully in the pursuit crossed it on bodies of the dead. Dareius' camp was stormed and captured, with his mother, wife, who was sister also of Dareius, and his infant son; two daughters also were taken, and in their suite some few noble Persian ladies. For the other Persians had sent their women-folk and baggage to Damascus; Dareius too had sent thither the greater part of his money and all else that goes along with a great king, even on campaign, to meet his

extravagant way of living; they found, therefore, in the camp not above three thousand talents. Yet even this wealth at Damascus was captured soon after by Parmenio, who was specially detailed to do so. So ended this battle, fought in the archonship at Athens of Nicocrates and in the month Maimakterion.

XII. Next day, despite a sword wound in his thigh, Alexander went round to see the wounded; and the dead he gathered together and gave them a splendid military funeral, the whole army marshalled in their finest battle array. He praised all who, by his own personal witness, or by the agreed report of others, he knew had done valorous deeds in the battle; these one and all he honoured by a donation suitable to their desert. He appointed as satrap of Cilicia Balacrus son of Nicanor, one of the royal bodyguard; and chose to take his place in the guard Menes, son of Dionysius; and in place of Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, who had fallen in the fight, he appointed Polysperchon son of Simmias commander of his battalion. To the citizens of Soli he remitted the fifty talents still due from the fine he had imposed, and restored their hostages.

Nor did he neglect Dareius' mother, queen, or children. Some of the biographies of Alexander relate that the night after his return from the pursuit of Dareius he entered Dareius' pavilion, which had been put aside for his own use, and heard a lamentation and other confused sound of women's voices near the pavilion; he enquired what women they were and why they were accommodated so near him; and was told, "Sire, it is Dareius' mother, wife, and children; hearing that you possess his bow and the royal mantle and that his shield has been brought back, they are wailing for him as dead." Alexander thereupon sent Leonnatus to them, one of the Companions, bidding him tell them that Dareius still lived; that he while escaping left his arms and mantle in the chariot, and that Alexander had no more than these. Leonnatus entered the tent and gave Alexander's message about Dareius, adding that Alexander granted them the right of royal state and all other marks of royalty, with the title of princesses of the blood, since he had made war with Dareius from no personal enmity but had legitimately fought for the sovereignty of Asia. This is the account of Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus; there is, however, a story that Alexander himself next day visited the tent with Hephaestion alone of his suite; and Dareius' mother, mistaking the king — for both were accounted alike — approached Hephaestion and prostrated herself before him, for he appeared the taller. Hephaestion, however withdrew, and one of the Queen-mother's attendants pointing to Alexander said that he was the king; whereupon she also withdrew in confusion at her mistake; Alexander remarking that she had made no error, for Hephaestion was also an Alexander. This I have included not as necessarily true nor yet altogether untrustworthy. If it so happened, I have nothing but praise for Alexander for his compassion towards these women, and for his thus trusting and honouring his comrade; if it is the sort of thing that the historians thought Alexander would have said and done, and hence they accept it, I still have nothing but praise for

Alexander.

XII. Dareius meanwhile fled through the night with a handful of his suite; but in the daylight he kept picking up such Persians as had got off safe from the battle and also some of the foreign mercenaries; and with a body of about 4000 in all he rode at full speed to the River Euphrates, meaning to put the river between Alexander and himself as soon as might be. Amyntas, however, son of Antiochus and Thymondas son of Mentor and Aristomedes of Pherae and Bianor the Acarnanian, all deserters to Dareius, with their troops to the number of 8000, when posted in battle formation, fled straight to the hills and reached Tripolis in Phoenicia. There they picked up the ships which had been hauled ashore; the same ships which had brought them from Lesbos. They launched as many of these as they thought enough for their convoy; the rest they burnt in the dockyards, to avoid a speedy pursuit, and made for Cyprus and thence to Egypt, where a little later Amyntas, stirring up trouble, was killed by the Egyptians.

Meanwhile Pharnabazus and Autophradates for their part had been waiting at Chios; they had appointed a guard for Chios, and they now sent part of their fleet to Cos and Halicarnassus; they themselves with the hundred swiftest ships put to sea and arrived at Siphnus. Agis king of Sparta met them there with a single trireme to beg for funds for the war and to ask that as many ships and men as possible should be sent to him in the Peloponnese. Just at this moment came the news of the battle of Issus. Utterly dumbfounded at the news, Pharnabazus with twelve triremes and fifteen hundred of the mercenaries made for Chios, fearing lest the Chians, on the news of the defeat, might rebel. Agis, meanwhile, getting thirty silver talents from Autophradates and ten triremes, despatched Hippias to take them to his brother Agesilaus at Taenarum. He ordered him to tell Agesilaus to pay the crew in full and sail by the shortest route to Crete, to put all there in order. But Agis remained there for the present among the islands, joining Autophradates later at Halicarnassus.

Alexander appointed as satrap of Lowland Syria Menon son of Kerdimmas, giving him, to garrison the country, the allied cavalry. He himself went towards Phoenicia. On his way Straton son of Gerostratus met him; he was sheik of Aradians and those near Aradus; Gerostratus sailed with Autophradates, and the rest of the princes of Phoenicia and the kings of the Cyprians sailed with him too. But Straton meeting Alexander crowned him with a golden crown, yielding up to him the island of Aradus and Marathus which lay opposite it on the mainland, a great and prosperous city, with Sigon and Mariamne and all else under his sway.

XIII. While Alexander was yet at Marathus, envoys reached him from Dareius, bringing a letter from him, and themselves under orders to beg Alexander to release to Dareius his mother, wife, and children. The letter ran: Philip and Artaxerxes were in peace and alliance; and when Arses son of Artaxerxes became king, Philip took the first wrong step towards King Arses,

having suffered no ungracious treatment at his hands. But since Dareius had been King of Persia, Alexander had sent no envoy to him to confirm this ancient friendship and alliance, but had actually crossed in full force into Asia and had done much harm to the Persians. Dareius therefore had come down to defend his country and to save his ancestral sovereignty. The battle had gone as some god had willed it; but he, a king, begged from a king his captive mother, wife, and children; and was ready to make friendship and an alliance with Alexander; and for these things he begged Alexander to send to him along with Meniscus and Arsimes, the envoys from Persia, duly authorised persons to receive sureties from him, and to give him sureties from Alexander.

Alexander replied to this, sending with Dareius' envoys Thersippus, bidding him deliver the letter to Dareius, but to discuss no point with him. This is how Alexander's letter runs: "Your ancestors invaded Macedonia and the rest of Greece and did us much harm, though we had done none to them; I have been duly appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Greeks, and invaded Asia desiring to take vengeance on Persia; but it was you who began the mischief. You assisted Perinthus, which wronged my father; and Ochus sent a force into Thrace, which is under our sovereignty. My father was murdered by conspirators, whom you instructed, as you yourselves boasted in your letters, before all the world; you assassinated Arses with the help of Bagoas, (Alexander seems inaccurate. Bagoas apparently murdered Arses independently and then placed Dareius on the throne, later attempting to poison him, but was "hoist with his own petard," being compelled to drink the poison himself.) and seized the throne unjustly and, according to Persian law, illegally, doing grievous wrong to Persians; you sent improper letters to the Greeks about me, urging them to declare war upon me. You despatched sums of money to the Lacedaemonians and certain other Greeks, and when no other city received these, save the Lacedaemonians, and when your envoys corrupted my friends and sought to destroy the peace I had made in Greece, I took up arms against you; but it was you who started the quarrel. And whereas I conquered in battle first your generals and satraps, and now yourself and your own force, and hold the country — by the gift of heaven — I hold myself responsible for all of your troops who did not die in the field but took refuge with me; indeed they are with me of their own free will and of their will serve in my army. Regard me then as Lord of all Asia and come to me. If you fear lest by coming you may receive some ungracious treatment at my hands, send some of your friends to receive proper pledges. When you come to me, request and receive your mother, wife, and children, and what you will. You shall have whatsoever you persuade me to give. And in future when you send, send to me as Supreme Lord of Asia, and do not direct what you require as on equal terms, but tell me, as lord of all your possessions, if you have need of aught; otherwise I shall take steps concerning you as a misdemeanant. If you claim your kingdom, stand your ground and fight for it and flee not, since I will pursue you whithersoever you go."

XIV. This was Alexander's letter to Dareius. As soon as he learned that the moneys which Dareius had sent with Cophen son of Artabazus to Damascus had been seized, and that all the Persians left to guard them with the rest of the royal equipage had been seized also, he bade Parmenio take the spoil back to Damascus and guard it there. But as for the Greek envoys who had reached Dareius before the battle, when he learned that these also were captured, he ordered them to be sent to him. They were Euthycles the Spartiate, Thessaliscus son of Ismenius, and Dionysidorus, Olympian victor, of Thebes; and Iphicrates son of Iphicrates the general, of Athens. When these envoys reached Alexander, he at once dismissed Thessaliscus and Dionysidorus, Thebans though they were, partly from compassion for Thebes and partly because it seemed that they had acted pardonably, since their city had been enslaved by Macedonians, and they were looking for what help they could get for themselves and for their country, too from Dareius and Persia; Alexander therefore took a kindly view of the doings of both; but privately he said that he released Thessaliscus from regard for his family — since he was one of the Theban nobles — and Dionysidorus because of his athletic victory at Olympia. Iphicrates, from friendship for Athens and remembrance of his father's fame, he retained about his person with especial honour; when at last Iphicrates died he sent his bones to his relatives at Athens. Euthycles, however, as a Lacedaemonian, citizen of a city of bitter hostility to him at the moment, and unable to produce any reasonable claim to pardon, at first he kept under open arrest; but later, when successes crowded in upon him, he released him also.

Alexander marched from Marathus and received the surrender of Byblus, Sidon also, invited by the Sidonians themselves, who loathed Persia and Dareius. Thence he proceeded towards Tyre, and on the way Tyrian envoys met him, sent by the community to say that Tyre had decided to accept Alexander's orders. He commended both the city and its envoys — for they were not only Tyrian nobles but numbered among them the son of their king, who himself was at sea with Autophradates' fleet — and bade them return and tell the Tyrians that he proposed to come to Tyre and sacrifice to Heracles.

XVI. There is, you must know, at Tyre the most ancient temple of Heracles of which there is any record; not the Argive Heracles, son of Alcmena; for Heracles was honoured at Tyre many generations before Cadmus sailed from Phoenicia, occupied Thebes, and had a daughter Semele, mother of Dionysus son of Zeus. For Dionysus would appear to be in the third generation from Cadmus, in the line of Labdacus son of Polydorus, son of Cadmus; while the Argive Heracles was probably in the line of Oedipus son of Laius. The Egyptians worship another Heracles, different from the Heracles of Tyre and Greece; Herodotus says that the Egyptians reckon him one of the Twelve Deities, just as the Athenians worship a different Dionysus, son of Zeus and Kore. It is to him — not the Theban Dionysus — that the mystic chant "Iacchus" is sung. So also I think that the Heracles honoured at Tartessus by

the Iberians — where are the “Pillars” called “of Heracles” — is the Tyrian Heracles, since Tartessus is a Phoenician possession, and the temple to the Heracles there has been built in the Phoenician style and the sacrifices are offered in Phoenician ritual. Geryones, moreover, to whom the Argive Heracles was sent by Eurystheus, to raid the oxen of Geryones and bring them to Mycenae, has no connection with Iberia — at least so Hecataeus the Chronicler says; nor, according to him, was Heracles sent to some island, Erytheia, beyond the Great Sea; but rather that Geryones was king of the mainland round Ambracia and Amphiloichi, and that from the mainland here Heracles drove off the oxen; and that was in itself achievement enough. What I do know is that even now this part of the mainland is capital pasture and rears excellent oxen; and I reckon it quite likely that Eurystheus got wind of the fame of these mainland oxen and of the name of the king, Geryones; but I feel sure that Eurystheus would have no knowledge of the name of the king of the Iberians, right at the ends of Europe, nor whether there were fine cattle or not in those parts, unless anyone cares to bring in Hera, as passing on the news of them to Heracles through Eurystheus, and thus veil by the myth the general unlikeliness of the tale.

It was to this Tyrian Heracles that Alexander said he wished to sacrifice. When this was announced at Tyre by the envoys, the Tyrians were prepared to obey all Alexander’s other behests, but would have no Persian nor Macedonian within their city, for this resolve they felt to be most honourable for the present and safest for the future, looking at the yet uncertain issue of the war. When Alexander received this answer he angrily sent back the envoys, but assembling the Companions and the commanders of the army, with battalion and squadron commanders, he made the following speech.

XV. “My friends and allies, so long as Persia is supreme at sea I cannot see how we can march in safety to Egypt. Nor, again, is it safe to pursue Dareius, leaving in our rear the city of Tyre, of doubtful allegiance, and Egypt and Cyprus still in Persia’s hands, especially in view of the state of Greek affairs. There is a fear lest the Persians, again seizing the coast places, when we have gone in full force toward Babylon and Dareius, should with a larger army transfer the war into Greece, where the Lacedaemonians are at the moment fighting us; and Athens is kept in its place for the present by fear rather than goodwill towards us. But with Tyre once destroyed, Phoenicia could all be held, and the best and strongest part of the Persian navy, the Phoenician element, would most probably come over to us. For neither the rowers nor the marines of Phoenicia will have the courage, if their cities are in our hands, to sail the sea and run its dangers for the sake of others. After this Cyprus, moreover, will either come readily to our side or be captured easily by a naval raid. Then if we hold the sea with our Macedonian ships, and the Phoenician navy too, and with Cyprus Ours, we should firmly hold the sea-power, and in virtue thereof our expedition to Egypt would be easy. Then, when we have possession of Egypt, we shall have no cause for uneasiness for Greece and our

own home, and we shall make the expedition to Babylon, with security at home, and with our enhanced prestige, with the whole sea cut off from Persia and all the country this side of Euphrates.”

XVI. With words like these Alexander easily won over his staff to the attack on Tyre, and he had an omen to help him, for in a dream that night he found himself approaching the wall of Tyre, and there was Heracles, stretching out to him his right hand, and conducting him into the city. Aristandros interpreted the dream thus: Tyre would be taken, but with much toil, for toil was the mark of Heracles' achievements. The plain fact is that anyone could see that the siege of Tyre would be a big business. The city was an island, and strengthened all round with high walls; moreover, any movements from the seaward side were in Tyre's favour, as the Persians were still supreme at sea and the Tyrians had plenty of ships left.

But Alexander's arguments, none the less, winning the day, he decided to build a mole from the mainland to the city. At this part is a shallow strait; towards the mainland are shallows and patches of mud; but next the city where is the deepest part of the crossing is a depth of about three fathoms. But there was plenty of stones and wood, which they heaped above the stones; then it was easy to fix stakes in the mud, and the mud itself made a good and safe binding for the stones. The Macedonians were eager for the work, and Alexander too; he was himself present, explained each step, and encouraged the workers, besides rewarding with a gift those who did any specially good work. As long as the building of the mole was near the mainland, the work went on without difficulty; for the depth was not great for the structure, and no one hindered. But when they got into deeper water and also nearer the city, they were in great distress by reason of volleys from the high walls; since the workers were clad rather for work than for warfare; and the Tyrians sailing up in their triremes on this side and on that, being still masters of the sea, made in many places the building up of the mole impossible for the Macedonians. On this the Macedonians built two towers above the mole, which had now run far over the sea, and engines on the towers; they placed hides and skins to cover them, so that they could not be pelted with fire-darts from the wall, and that the builders might have also a screen against arrows; besides, any Tyrians who rowed up and tried to damage the builders of the mole, receiving volleys from the towers, would probably be easily repulsed.

XVII. The Tyrians, however, took counter steps thus; they filled a cavalry transport with dry boughs and a good deal of other combustible wood, fixed two masts in the bows, and built high bulwarks round, extending as far as possible, so as to contain as many chips and shavings and torches as possible; to say nothing of pitch, sulphur, and anything else to stir a great blaze, which they liberally added. Then they lashed a double yardarm to each mast, and from it hung, in cauldrons, anything which either poured or thrown on would increase the flame, and they ballasted the stern to lift the bows as high as possible by the weight aft. Then they waited for a wind blowing towards the

mole, and making fast hawsers towed the transport astern with triremes. When they came near the mole and the towers, they lighted the material and as violently as possible hauled with the triremes and dashed the ship on the edge of the mole. The crew of the ship, already burning fiercely, easily swam off. Soon enough a great fire fell on the towers, and as the yards broke, they poured into the fire anything that had been made ready to feed the flame. The men in the triremes lay to near the mole, and shot at the towers, so that it was not safe for anyone bringing materials to quench the fire to get near. At this stage, the towers being well alight, the citizens sallied in large numbers, and jumping into small boats put in at different parts of the mole and easily tore down the palisade set up to protect it; besides, they burned all the engines which had not been caught by fire from the ships. Alexander, however, bade his men to build the mole broader from the mainland, so as to hold more towers, and the engineers he bade construct more engines. While these were being got ready, he with the bodyguard and the Agrianes made for Sidon, to collect all his triremes there, since the siege seemed more difficult as long as the Tyrians held the sea.

XVIII. Meanwhile Gerostratus king of Aradus and Enylos of Byblus, learning that Alexander held their cities, left Autophradates and his fleet and arrived with their own contingents, and with them the Sidonian triremes, so that a total force joined him of some eighty Phoenician sail. There arrived also at the same time triremes from Rhodes, nine, in addition to their state guardship, three from Soli and Mallos and ten from Lycia, and a fifty-oar from Macedon, its captain Proteus son of Andronicus. Soon also the kings of Cyprus put in at Sidon with about 120 sail, having learnt of Dareius' defeat on the Issus, and scared by Alexander's hold over all Phoenicia. To all these Alexander let bygones be bygones, supposing that it was rather from necessity than choice that they had joined naval forces with the Persians.

While his engines were being fitted together, and his ships were being equipped for the attack and for trying the issue of a naval battle, Alexander with some of the cavalry squadrons, the Agrianes, and the archers, marched towards Arabia to the mountain called Antilibanus. Part of this country he captured, part he received in surrender, and in ten days returned to Sidon, and found Cleandros son of Polemocrates arrived from the Peloponnese and with him four thousand Greek mercenaries.

When his navy was in due array, he put on deck as many of his bodyguard as he thought sufficient for the action — unless, of course, the engagement should rather be a matter of breaking through and charging than of hand-to-hand fighting — and weighing anchor sailed from Sidon to Tyre with his ships in close order; himself on the right wing, that is, seaward, and with him the Cyprian kings and all the Phoenicians, except Pnytagoras, who, with Craterus, commanded the left wing of the whole armada. The Tyrians first decided to give battle by sea, should Alexander attack them there. But then sighting a host of ships far beyond their estimate — for they were unaware so far that all

the Cyprian and all the Phoenician ships were with Alexander — and observing the attack coming in regular order — I must note that just before closing on the city Alexander's ships while still in the open had lain to, hoping to draw out the Tyrians to an engagement, and then as they did not put out in their original order came on at great speed — the Tyrians, I repeat, observing this, refused battle; but with so many of the triremes as the mouths of their harbours would hold they blocked the entrance and guarded them, so that the enemy's armada could not anchor in any of the harbours.

Alexander, however, on the Tyrians' refusal, sailed towards the city; he would not force an entry into the harbour facing Sidon because of the narrowness of the entry; and also because it was blocked with several triremes, bows on; still the Phoenicians charged, bow to bow, the three triremes which were moored farthest out, and sank them; their crews swam comfortably to the friendly shore; and on this Alexander's fleet came to anchor near the new-made mole along the shore, where there seemed to be protection from the winds. Next day Alexander ordered the Cyprians, with their contingent and with Andromachus the admiral, to blockade the city at the harbour that faced Sidon, and the Phoenicians to do the same at the harbour on the other side of the mole, facing towards Egypt, where was his own pavilion.

XIX. By this time a good many engineers had collected from Cyprus and the whole of Phoenicia, and a large number of engines had been built, some on the mole, some on the transports which Alexander had brought with him from Sidon, and some on the slower triremes. When everything was ready, they brought forward the engines at the end of the new-made mole and from the ships which lay to alongside the walls at all points and which now began to attack them.

The Tyrians set wooden towers on the battlements which faced the mole, so as to fight therefrom; and wherever else the engines were being brought to bear, they defended themselves with missiles and with fiery arrows assaulted the ships themselves, so that the Macedonians feared to approach their wall. The walls facing the mole were about 150 feet high and of corresponding breadth, stoutly built of big blocks of stone fitted in mortar. Even at this point the Macedonian transports and triremes, which brought up engines against the wall, found it not easy to approach the city, since heaps of stones cast into the sea prevented their approaching closely. These stones Alexander determined to drag out of the sea; but this work went on with difficulty, being carried on from ships and not from land; moreover, the Tyrians protected with armour certain of their ships and bore down on the anchors of the triremes and cut the cables, thus making it impossible for the enemy's ships to lie near by. But Alexander protected several thirty-oars in the same way, and laid them athwart in front of the anchors to repel the attack of the Tyrian ships. Even so, divers plunging in cut the cables. So the Macedonians used chains for anchor cables, and lowered them, so that the divers were made useless. Then standing

on the mole they cast running knots round the stones and drew them out of the sea, and then hurled them with their engines into deep water, where there was no more chance of their being thrown in the way and doing any more harm. Thus, when they had cleared the approach to the wall, the ships lay alongside quite easily.

The Tyrians, now hard pressed all round, determined to attack the Cyprian vessels which were blockading the harbour that fronted Sidon. For a long time they kept sails stretched in front of the harbour mouth, that the manning of the triremes might not be seen, and about midday, when the Greek sailors were scattered on necessary business and Alexander had just retired from the ships on the south of the city to his pavilion, they manned three quinquiremes and quadriremes, and seven triremes, with their smartest crews and the bestarmed marines, to fight from the decks, and — what is more — their bravest sea-fighting men, and first gently rowed out in single file, rowing without anyone to call the stroke; but when they were turning towards the Cyprian ships and were on the point of being seen, then, with shouting and calling of the time and with orderly and regular strokes, on they came.

XX. On that day, as it fell out, Alexander had retired to his pavilion, but had not rested there, as his custom was, but returned to the ships quite soon. The Tyrians falling all unexpected on the anchored ships, finding some quite empty, and others being hastily manned from any who chanced to be there at the noise and the attack, at the first charge sank the pentereme of King Pnytagoras, with those of Androcles of Amathus and Pasicrates of Thurion; the rest they drove ashore and broke up.

Alexander, however, learning of the sally of the Tyrian triremes, bade most of his ships to lay to at the harbour mouth as soon as each was manned, that no other Tyrian ships might sally; then he took what quinqueremes he had and some five triremes, which had got their crews on board in all haste, and sailed round the city against the Tyrians who had broken out. Those on the wall, seeing the enemy attack and Alexander himself aboard, bade their own men with shouts to put about, and as no one could hear from the general noise, they used various signals to ensure their retreat. The seamen, observing too late the attack of Alexander's ships, went about, and hurried back to the harbour. A few of the Tyrian ships managed to get to safety, but Alexander's ships charged the bulk of them and put some out of action, while a quinquireme and a quadrireme were captured at the very entrance of the harbour. There was no great slaughter of the crews, for they, as soon as they saw that their ships were held up, swam off without much difficulty into the harbour.

Now that the Tyrians could look for no help from their ships, the Macedonians began to bring up their engines against the wall. When brought along the mole, they did nothing worthy of remark, owing to the strength of the walls; but, on the side of the city looking towards Sidon, the Greeks brought up some of their ships which carried engines. But as they did not

succeed even here, Alexander turned to the south and the harbour facing towards Egypt, testing the wall from all sides. There first the wall was badly shaken and a part broken down, and thereupon Alexander made a slight and tentative attack so far at least as throwing bridges over the broken part of the wall: the Tyrians, however, easily repulsed the Macedonians.

XXI. The third day afterwards, having waited for a calm, and urging his battalion commanders to action, Alexander brought up against the city the engines on board the ships. First he battered down the wall for a good space. But when the breach seemed wide enough, he ordered up the engine-carrying ships; besides, he sent in two others, fitted with gangways, which were to be let fall on the breach of the wall. One of the ships the bodyguard took over, Admetus being its captain; the other was manned by Coenus' battalion, called the territorial infantry. He was ready himself with his bodyguard to rush in wherever the wall gave. A part of his triremes he ordered to sail round about either harbour, to see if perhaps (the Tyrians being busy with the attacking troops) they might force an entrance. Other vessels which carried ammunition for the engines or had archers on deck, Alexander ordered to circle about the wall, and put in wherever it was possible, and lay to within range, so long as it should be impossible to lie alongside; so that the Tyrians should be attacked from all sides and become distracted by their danger.

As soon as Alexander's ships closed upon the city and the gangways were thrown upon the wall from the ships, the guards stoutly mounted the wall by these; not only did Admetus behave valiantly that day, but Alexander was with them, both taking a conspicuous part in the action and keeping his eyes open for any brave or brilliant action of the rest. And the part of the wall captured first was, in fact, just where Alexander had posted himself; the Tyrians were rather easily beaten off from it, since now for the first time the Macedonians had an approach that was solid and not precipitous on all sides. Admetus, first on the wall, and cheering his men on, was wounded by a spear and died there; after him Alexander followed up and seized the wall with his followers. Holding then some of the towers and the curtains between them, he passed on through the battlements towards the royal quarters; this way it appeared that descent into the city would be easier.

XXII. To turn to the ships and their crews, the Phoenicians near the southern harbour, where they were moored, forcing their way and tearing asunder the booms, played havoc with the ships in the harbour, attacking some afloat, and driving others ashore; the Cyprians by the northern harbour, which had not even a boom, sailed in and captured the city on this side. The main body of the Tyrians deserted the wall when they saw it was in the enemy's possession: but they massed together at what is called the Shrine of Agenor, and there made a stand against the Macedonians. There Alexander with his bodyguard came upon them, and some he slew there, still fighting; the rest he turned to flight and pursued. There was a bloody massacre; now that those coming from the harbour were already masters of the city, and Coenus'

battalion had passed inside. For the Macedonians fell furiously on everything, enraged at the length of the siege, and also because the Tyrians having captured some of their men sailing from Sidon had dragged them up on to the wall, so that the Greek camp might see them, and slew them and cast them into the sea. Eight thousand Tyrians fell; of the Macedonians, in this actual attack, Admetus, the first to mount on the wall, after proving himself a brave man, and with him twenty of the guards; in the entire siege the losses were about four hundred.

As for those who fled to the temple of Heracles — these were the more important Tyrians, King Azemilcus, and some Carthaginian visitors, come to their mother-city to pay honour to Heracles, according to some ancient custom — to all these Alexander granted complete pardon; the rest he sold into slavery; there were sold, what with Tyrians and foreigners captured at Tyre, some 30,000. Alexander sacrificed to Heracles and held a procession in his honour, with his whole army under arms; there was a naval review also in honour of Heracles, and Alexander held games in the Temple enclosure and a torch-race; the engine which battered the wall he dedicated in the temple; and the Tyrian sacred ship, consecrated to Heracles, which he captured in the attack, he hallowed to Heracles with an inscription, either of his own composition or of someone else's not worth recording; that is why I did not trouble to copy it. Tyre then was captured, in the archonship at Athens of Anicetus in the month Hecatombaeon.

XXIII. While Alexander was still busied with the siege, envoys from Dareius came to him offering, from Dareius to Alexander, 10,000 talents for his mother, wife, and children; with the proposal that all the country within the Euphrates to the Greek sea should be Alexander's; that Alexander should marry Dareius' daughter and be his friend and ally. On these suggestions being read in the staff council, Parmenio (so we are told) affirmed that were he Alexander he would close with these terms and stop the war without further risks; then Alexander answered Parmenio that he would indeed have done this were he Parmenio, but being Alexander he would reply to Dareius in the words he actually used; he needed no money from Dareius, nor to receive a part of the country in place of the whole; for all the country and all the treasures were already his; if he chose to marry Dareius' daughter, he would marry her, even if Dareius did not give her; and Dareius, if he desired friendship at his hands, must come to him. When Dareius received this reply he cancelled all proposals to Alexander and began to prepare again for war.

Alexander now determined to make his expedition to Egypt. The rest of Syrian Palestine (as it is called) had already come over to him, but a certain eunuch, Batis, who was master of Gaza, did not join Alexander, but brought against him a force of Arab mercenaries, and having got ready some time before provision for a long siege, trusting, moreover, in the fortress, that it never could be taken by assault, decided not to admit Alexander into the city.

XXIV. Gaza is about 20 stades from the sea, and the approach is over deep

sand, and the sea over against the city is broken into pools. The city of Gaza was large, and built on a lofty mound, with a strong wall built round it. It was the last town on the edge of the desert as you go from Phoenicia to Egypt.

When Alexander reached the city, he encamped the first day where the wall seemed easiest to attack, and he ordered siege engines to be made up. The engineers, however, suggested that it was hopeless to take the city by force owing to the height of the mound. Alexander thought, on the contrary, that the more impracticable it was, the more it must be taken; for the miracle of the achievement would strike terror into his enemies, while not to take it would be a blow to his prestige when noised abroad to the Greeks and Darius. It was decided to raise a counter-mound round the city, and so bring the engines to bear on the walls, from the new mound, on the level. They built this mound chiefly against the city's southern wall, where the assault seemed most likely to succeed. And when the Macedonians thought they had built the mound of the proper height, they set up engines upon it and brought them up to the city wall. Just at this time, as Alexander was sacrificing, wearing garlands, and just about to initiate the first victim according to the ceremonial, a carnivorous bird hovering over the altar dropped on his head a stone which it was carrying in its talons. Alexander asked Aristander the seer what this omen of the bird meant, and he answered, "O King, you will capture the city; but for to-day you must look to yourself."

XXV. On this advice Alexander remained for a time by the engines, out of range; but on a strong sally from the city, the Arabs trying to set fire to the engines, and pelting the Macedonians, who were resisting below, from their commanding position, and even pushing them over the new mound, Alexander either disobeyed the seer's words on purpose or carried away in the action did not give them a moment's thought, but bringing on his guards helped the Macedonians where they were most hardly pressed. He did, in fact, hold them from being driven down the mound in ignominious flight; but he was hit by a shot from a catapult right through his shield and his corselet, into the shoulder. But perceiving that Aristander had been right about the wound, he was glad, since he felt that Aristander also guaranteed the capture of the city.

Alexander was not easily treated of his wound; but there arrived, sent for by sea, the engines with which he captured Tyre. He ordered a mound to be erected the whole way round the city, two stades broad, two hundred and fifty feet high. Then as soon as his engines had been set up and being brought up to the mound had considerably battered the wall, tunnels were driven here and there and the earth below secretly withdrawn till the wall gave, subsiding on the gaps, while the Macedonians cleared a great space with their volleys and drove back the defenders from the towers; the defenders, nevertheless, though with many dead and wounded, held bravely out against three onslaughts. But in the fourth Alexander brought up his phalanx of Macedonians on all sides, threw down the wall, now undermined, at one place, and breached it for a

great stretch in another, battered as it was with his engines, so that it was not hard to make the assault with ladders on the fallen portions. So the ladders were set against the wall, and then was much rivalry of the Macedonians, such as laid claim to valorous qualities, who would be first to mount the wall; the first proved to be Neoptolemus, one of the Companions and of the family of the Aeacidae. After him, battalion after battalion climbed up with their officers. As soon as the first few had entered into the wall, they tore down gate after gate, as they found them, and so admitted the entire army. The citizens, though their city was already in enemy hands, held together and still resisted; and they all perished there, fighting each man at his post. Their women and children Alexander sold into slavery; the city he populated with the neighbouring tribesmen and used it as a fortress town for the war.

BOOK III

I. ALEXANDER now set forth for Egypt — his original goal (That is, the original object of his southerly march, held up for a time at Tyre.) — and marching from Gaza he arrived on the seventh day at Pelusium in Egypt. His fleet was coasting along with him from Phoenicia towards Egypt; and he found them already at anchor at Pelusium. Mazaces the Persian, who had been appointed satrap of Egypt by Dareius, when he learnt both the result of the battle of Issus and the shameful flight of Dareius, and also that Phoenicia, Syria, and the greater part of Arabia were in Alexander's hands, being, moreover, without any Persian force, received Alexander in a friendly way into the cities and the country. Alexander for his part brought a garrison into Pelusium, and bade the officers of his fleet sail up the river as far as Memphis; he meanwhile went towards Heliopolis, with the river Nile on his right hand; all the districts on his route he took over, by surrender of the inhabitants, and through the desert he reached Heliopolis. Thence he crossed the river and came to Memphis. There he sacrificed in especial to Apis and also to the other gods; and held a contest both athletic and literary; the most famous artists in these branches came to him there from Greece. From Memphis he sailed down-stream towards the sea, taking on board the ships his guards, the archers, and the Agrianes, and of the cavalry the royal squadron of the Companions. When he had reached Canobus and sailed round Lake Mareotis he came ashore just where is now the city of Alexandria, named after Alexander. It struck him that the position was admirable for founding a city there and that such a city was bound to be prosperous. He was therefore filled with eagerness to get to work, and himself marked out the ground plan of the city, both where the market-place was to be laid out, how many temples were to be built, and in honour of what gods, some of these Greek, and Isis, the Egyptian; and where the wall was to be built round it. In view of all this he offered sacrifice, and the sacrifice proved favourable.

II. A story of the following sort is told, and I see no reason to disbelieve it; Alexander desired to leave behind for the builders the ground-plan of the fortification, but had nothing wherewith to mark the ground. One of the builders, however, had the happy thought of collecting the meal which the soldiers carried in vessels, and of dropping it upon the ground wherever the king led the way. Thus the circle of the surrounding wall which he proposed to make for the city was marked out. The soothsayers, and among them especially Aristander the Telmessian, who was reported to have made many other correct prophecies to Alexander, reflecting upon this, said that the city would be prosperous in all respects, but especially in the fruits of the earth.

Meanwhile Hegelochus arrived by sea in Egypt and reported to Alexander that Tenedos had revolted from the Persians and joined the Macedonians, in fact they had joined the Persians against their will; the people of Chios too

had invited him and his men into the city, despite those whom Autophradates and Pharnabazus had settled in the city, and who now were in possession of it; moreover, that Pharnabazus had been captured there, and with him Aristonicus the despot of Methymna who had sailed into the harbour of Chios with five pirate ships, not having learnt that the Macedonians had possession of the harbour; he had also been misled by those who guarded the entrance of the harbour, who asserted that Pharnabazus' fleet was in the roadstead there; the pirates indeed had all been cut down by his own men, but Aristonicus he brought to Alexander, with Apollonides the Chian and Phisinus and Megareus, and all the rest who had assisted the revolt of the Chians, and, at the time being, were tyrannically in command of the government of the island. He reported also that he had captured Mitylene from Chares who was holding it, and had received in surrender the other cities in Lesbos also. Amphoterus with sixty ships he had sent to Cos; for the people of Cos asked them to come; and he had sailed himself to Cos and found it already in the possession of Amphoterus. All the remaining captives Hegelochus brought in, except Pharnabazus, who had slipped his guards in Cos and escaped. Alexander sent the despots who came from the cities to their cities, so that the citizens might take such justice upon them as they pleased; but those with Apollonides, the Chians, he sent to the city of Elephantine of Egypt, with a strong guard.

III. After this an overmastering desire came upon Alexander to pay a visit to Ammon in Libya; partly to consult the oracle, since the oracle of Ammon was reputed to be infallible, and Perseus and Heracles were both said to have consulted it: Perseus when he was sent by Polydectes to destroy the Gorgon, and Heracles when he was journeying into Libya to find Antaeus, and into Egypt to find Busiris. Then, besides, Alexander felt a kind of rivalry with Perseus and Heracles, being descended from them both; nay, he also traced his descent in part from Ammon, just as the legends traced the descent of Heracles and Perseus from Zeus. In any case he set out for Ammon with this idea, hoping to learn about himself more accurately, or at least to say he had so learnt.

As far as Paraetonium he advanced along the coast through country which though desert is not wholly waterless, a distance of sixteen hundred stades, as Aristobulus tells us. Thence he turned into the interior, where the oracle of Ammon was. The way thither is desert; most of it is sand, and waterless. Alexander, however, had plenty of rain, and this too was attributed to the divine influence. This also was attributed to divine power; whenever the south wind blows in that country, it makes a great heap of sand upon the route and obscures the marks of the road, and one cannot get one's bearings in the sand any more than at sea; since there are no marks along the route nor any mountain anywhere nor tree nor solid hillocks standing up, by which the wayfarers might get some inkling of their proper course, as sailors do from the stars; the fact was, indeed, that Alexander's army fairly went astray, and the guides were in doubt as to the route. Now Ptolemaeus son of Lagos says that

two serpents preceded the army uttering speech, and Alexander bade his leaders follow them and trust the divine guidance; and the serpents did actually serve as guides for the route to the oracle and back again. But Aristobulus, with the more common version, has it as follows: two crows flying in advance of the army acted as guides to Alexander. That some divine help was given him I can confidently assert, because probability also inclines this way; but the story has been deprived of exactitude by the way in which various writers about Alexander have given various accounts.

IV. The district in which the Temple of Ammon lies is desert all round, covered with sand, and without water. But the site, in the centre, is small (its broadest stretch only comes to about forty stades) and is full of garden trees, olives and palms, and it alone, of all the surrounding country, catches the dew. A spring, too, rises from it, not at all like ordinary springs which rise from the ground. For at midday the water is cold to the taste and even more to the touch, it is as cold as can be, then when the sun sinks towards evening it is warmer, and from evening on it grows warmer and warmer till midnight, and at midnight it is at its warmest; but after midnight it cools off in turn, and from dawn onwards it is already cold, but at midday coldest. This goes on in due rotation day by day. Then there are natural salts in this district, to be obtained by digging; some of these salts are taken by priests of Ammon to Egypt. For whenever they are going towards Egypt, they pack the salt into baskets woven of palm leaves and take them as a present to the king or to someone else. The grains of this salt are large, some of them have been known to be more than three fingers' breadth; and it is as clear as crystal. Both Egyptians, and others who are particular about religious observance, use this salt in their sacrifices, as being purer than the sea-salts. There Alexander surveyed the site with wonder, and also made his enquiry of the god; he received the answer his soul desired, as he said, and turned back towards Egypt, as Aristobulus says, going the same way back, but as Ptolemaeus son of Lagos says, another way direct to Memphis.

V. There came to him at Memphis a good many embassies from Greece, and he sent no one away disappointed of his request; and also a force from Antipater joined him, Greek mercenaries four hundred strong, under the command of Menidas son of Hegesandros; from Thrace came cavalry, about five hundred, under command of Asclepiodorus son of Eunicus. Thereupon Alexander sacrificed to Zeus the King and held a procession with his force under arms and held an athletic and literary contest. He also put Egyptian affairs in order; he appointed two Egyptian governors of provinces, Doloaspis and Petisis, dividing the whole country of Egypt between them; Petisis, however, declined the office, and Doloaspis took it all over. As garrison commandants at Memphis he appointed Pantaleon of Pydna of the territorial troops, and in Pelusium, Polemon, son of Megacles, of Pella; to command the mercenaries, Lycidas, an Aetolian, and as clerk in charge of the mercenaries Eugnostos son of Xenophantes, one of the territorials, and as their overseers,

Aeschylus and Ephippus of Chalcis. As governor of the neighbouring country of Libya he appointed Apollonius son of Charinus; and of Arabia about Heroöpolis, Cleomenes from Naucratis. He instructed him to permit the district governors to govern their own districts as had been their way all along, but that he was to exact from them the tributes, while they were ordered to pay these to him. As generals of the army which he was leaving behind in Egypt he appointed Peucestas son of Macartatus and Balacrus son of Amyntas, and as admiral of his fleet, Polemon son of Theramenes; and as bodyguard in place of Arrhybas he appointed Leonnatus son of Onasus; Arrhybas having died of disease. Antioch us also the commander of the archers had died, and in his place Alexander appointed as commander of the archers Ombrion a Cretan. Over the allied infantry, of which Balacrus had been commander, he set Calanus as general, since Balacrus was being left behind in Egypt. It is stated that he divided the government of Egypt between many officers, both from his surprise at the nature of the country and its strength, since it did not appear to him safe to entrust the command of all Egypt to one man. The Romans, too, I think, learnt a lesson from Alexander and keep Egypt under guard, and never send anyone from the Senate as proconsul of Egypt, but only those who are enrolled among them as Knights.

VI. When Spring began to show itself, Alexander started from Memphis in the direction of Phoenicia; a bridge was made for him over the River Nile at Memphis and over all its canals also. When he reached Tyre he found there his fleet already arrived to meet him. At Tyre he sacrificed a second time to Heracles and held an athletic and literary contest. There the *Paralus* from Athens met him, bringing as envoys Diophantus and Achilles; the entire crew of the *Paralus* were associated with them in the embassy. These achieved all the objects of their mission, and Alexander gave up to the Athenians all the Athenian captives taken on the Granicus. Learning that things in the Peloponnesus had taken a turn towards revolt in his favour, he sent Amphoterus to help such Peloponnesians as were quite sound as regards the Persian war and were not inclined to listen to the Lacedaemonians. Orders were, besides, given to the Phoenicians and Cyprians to send to the Peloponnese a hundred ships over and above those he was despatching under command of Amphoterus.

Alexander himself was already starting inland towards Thapsacus and the River Euphrates, having set Coeranus, a Beroean, over the collection of taxes in Phoenicia, and Philoxenus to be collector in Asia, this side of the Taurus. The guardianship of such moneys as were with him he entrusted (in lieu of these officers) to Harpalus son of Machatas, just returned from exile; for this Harpalus had in the first instance been sent into exile while Philip was still on the throne, because he was loyal, and Ptolemaeus son of Lagos was exiled on the same account, and Nearchus son of Androtimus and Erigyios son of Larichus and Laomedon his brother, since Alexander had various suspicions towards Philip, because Philip had taken Eurydice to wife, and had treated

with contumely Olympias the mother of Alexander. On Philip's death those who were in exile on Alexander's account returned, and of them he appointed Ptolemaeus one of the bodyguards, Harpalus an officer of finance, since his bodily strength was not equal to fighting, Erigyius commander of the allied cavalry, and Laomedon his brother, since he knew, besides his own, the Persian language, officer in charge of the Persian captives; Nearchus he made satrap of Lycia and the country bordering upon Lycia as far as Mount Taurus. To return to Harpalus; not long before the battle of ISSUS he was led astray by Tauriscus, an evil man, and fled with Tauriscus, who made his way to Italy to Alexander of Epirus, and died in Italy; Harpalus, however, took refuge in the Megarid. Alexander, however, persuaded him to return, giving him assurances that he would not suffer at all for this flight of his; and sure enough he did not suffer, but was set again in charge of the treasure. He sent to Lydia as satrap Menandros, one of the Companions, setting Clearchus in command of the mercenaries of whom Menandros had charge. In place of Arimmas he made satrap of Syria Asclepiodorus son of Eunicus, since he considered Arimmas to have malingered in the matter of supplying such things as he had been ordered to supply for the army detailed for the march into the interior.

VII. Alexander arrived at Thapsacus in the month Hecatombaeon, when Aristophanes was archon at Athens. There he found the river bridged by two bridges. The fact was that Mazaeus, to whom Dareius had entrusted the guarding of the river, with about three thousand cavalry, and of these two thousand being Greek mercenaries, for some time kept his guard over the river, and so the bridge had not been completed by the Macedonians right up to the opposite bank, for fear that Mazaeus' troops would attack the bridge at its extremity; but Mazaeus on learning that Alexander was already marching up hurried off with all his forces. So soon as ever Mazaeus fled, the bridges were thrown right over to the far bank and Alexander crossed over with his troops.

Thence he continued inland, keeping on his left the Euphrates and the mountains of Armenia, through the country called Mesopotamia. But on leaving the Euphrates he did not lead direct on Babylon, since going by the other road he found everything more convenient for the troops, and it was easy to obtain fodder for the horses and any necessities from the country, and, what is more, the heat did not burn so strongly. Some few men captured from those who had broken off from Dareius' army for scouting, reported that Dareius was encamped on the River Tigris, determined to check Alexander should he try to cross. Dareius, they said, had a much larger army than that with which he had fought in Cilicia. On hearing this Alexander hurried off towards the Tigris, but on arriving there he found neither Dareius himself nor the guard which Dareius had left behind. Yet he crossed the river, with difficulty, it is true, on account of the swiftness of the current, but without any attempt at hindrance.

There he gave his army a rest; there too there was an almost total eclipse of

the moon. Alexander sacrificed to the Moon, to the Sun, to the Earth; who are all said to be concerned in an eclipse. Aristandros concluded that the eclipse was favourable to the Macedonians and Alexander, and that the battle would take place during that selfsame moon, and that the sacrifices portended victory to Alexander. Then, leaving the Tigris, Alexander passed through the country of Aturia with the Gordyaeon mountains on his left, and the Tigris on his right. On the fourth day after the crossing, his advance scouts reported that enemy cavalry were sighted here over the plain, but they could not guess their numbers. So drawing up his force he advanced as to battle; when other scouts rode in, and those having had a more precise view reported that they thought the cavalry to number not above a thousand.

VIII. Alexander, then, taking with him the royal squadron, one squadron of territorials, and, from among the advanced scouts, the Paeonians, moved on rapidly, ordering the rest of the army to follow at walking pace. But the Persian cavalry observing the troops with Alexander coming up rapidly, lost no time in flight. Alexander pressed on pursuing, and though the greater number of them got off, the Greeks slew some whose horses wearied in the flight, and captured others alive with their mounts. From these they learnt that Darius was not far off with a large force.

This was because there had come to the help of Darius such of the Indians as border upon the Bactrians, with the Bactrians and Sogdians themselves; all these were under the command of Bessus the satrap of Bactria. With these there came also certain Sacae, a Scythian people, of the Scyths who inhabit Asia, not as subjects of Bessus, but owing to an alliance with Darius; Mauaces was their commander, and they were mounted archers. Barsaentes, satrap of the Arachotians, led both the Arachotians and the Indian hillmen, as they are called. Satibarzanes satrap of the Areians led the Areians. But the Parthyaean, the Hyrcanians and the Tapurians, who were all cavalry, were commanded by Phrataphernes. Atropates led the Medes; along with the Medes were ranged Cadusians, Albanians, and Sacesinians. The tribes bordering on the Red Sea were marshalled by Ocondobates, Ariobarzanes, and Orxines. The Uxians and Sousianians acknowledged the leadership of Oxathres son of Aboulites. Bupares was in command of the Babylonians. The Carians who had been transplanted and Sitacenians were brigaded with the Babylonians. Of the Armenians, Orontes and Mithraustes were commanders; of the Cappadocians, Ariaces. The Syrians of Lowland-Syria and all from Mesopotamian Syria were under Mazaeus. The number of Darius' forces was given as 40,000 horse, 1,000,000 foot, 200 scythe-chariots, a few elephants, the Indians on this side of the Indus having some fifteen.

With this army Darius had encamped at Gaugamela by the River Bumodus, about six hundred stades from the city Arbela, in a position level on all sides. For what few uneven parts for cavalry there had been the Persians had mostly made convenient both for chariot driving and for cavalry to ride over; for certain persons persuaded Darius that in the battle of Issus he had,

all said and done, suffered disadvantage from the narrowness of the battlefield; and Dareius very readily assented.

VII. On receiving this information from the captured Persian scouts, Alexander stopped where he had received it, for four days; he rested his army after their march and strengthened his camp by a ditch and palisade. For he had decided to leave behind the baggage animals and any non-combatants among his men, and himself with the combatant troops to advance to the battle burdened with nothing but their arms. He therefore marshalled his force at night and led them off just about the second watch, so as to meet the enemy at dawn. Dareius for his part, on hearing that Alexander was already advancing, arrayed his army for battle; while Alexander was bringing up his army also in due battle array. The forces were about sixty stades apart, but did not as yet sight one another, for there were hills intervening in front of both.

When Alexander was about thirty stades away and his army was already descending these hills, sighting the enemy he drew up there his phalanx; and summoning the Companions, the generals, the cavalry commanders, and the commandants of the allies and the mercenary troops, he discussed the question whether he should advance his phalanx at once from that point, as most of them urged, or, as armenio thought best, camp for the time being, make a complete survey of the whole ground, in case there should be any part suspicious or impassable, or perhaps ditches, or hidden stakes fixed in the soil, and make a thorough reconnaissance of the enemy's dispositions. Parmenio's advice prevailed and they camped there, but in the order in which they were to engage.

But Alexander, taking with him the light-armed troops and the territorial cavalry, rode all round surveying the ground which was to be the battlefield. Then he returned and again summoned the same officers, and said that there was no need for him to inspire them to the fight; they had long ago been inspired by their own bravery and by their many splendid exploits already done; but he called on each of them to encourage his own men; the infantry captains their companies, the cavalry commanders their own squadrons, the brigadiers their brigades, and the infantry commanders each the phalanx placed under him. In this battle, he pointed out, they were going to fight, not as they had before, for Lowland-Syria or Phoenicia, nor for Egypt, but the sovereignty of all Asia was there and then to be decided. There was then no need for him to stir them to noble deeds by a long speech — such valour was inborn in them — but rather that each in his own heart would think of discipline in danger, and complete silence when they must go forward in silence, and of a ringing cheer when it was right to cheer, and of the most frightful battle-cry when it was time to raise it; and that each should smartly obey orders, and pass on smartly too the orders to the ranks; one and all remembering, and the army as a whole, that in his own neglect there was universal danger, and in his own diligent achievement universal success.

X. With these and similar words, though brief, he exhorted them, and was

in turn urged by the commanders to rely on them. So he bade his army take their meal and rest. It is related that Parmenio came to him to his tent and advised him to attack the Persians at night, for he would thus fall upon them unready and confused and more open to panic in the night-time. Alexander, however, replied — since others were listening — that it was a low thing to steal the victory, and that Alexander must win his victory openly and without sleight. This loftiness of his did not seem mere excess of vanity, but rather confidence amid dangers; and as I fancy he reasoned well in this matter; for at night many unforeseen occurrences have happened as much to those who were well prepared as to those who were ill prepared for battle, and have caused failure to the stronger and thrown the victory into the hands of the weaker, contrary to the expectations of both. Alexander as a rule ran risks in his battles, but yet he thought night was too risky, and besides, given one more defeat of Darius, the secret attack by the Greeks under cover of night would excuse Darius from any confession of being a worse general with worse troops; while should any unexpected disaster happen to themselves, the enemy had a friendly country round them, with which they were familiar, while they themselves were in an unknown country full of enemies, and of these a good number were prisoners who would be sure to make an onslaught at night, not only in case of failure but even if they did not clearly win a preponderating victory. For these reasons I commend Alexander, and equally so for his bold resolve for a daylight action.

XI. Darius and his army remained during the night marshalled in the order which they had drawn up at first; for they had no proper entrenched camp surrounding them, and also they feared all along that the enemy would make a night attack. This more than anything else hampered the fortunes of the Persians at this crisis, their long stand under arms and their fear, such as usually comes before great dangers, not suddenly created from the crisis of the moment, but long dwelt on, and having long since unnerved their minds.

The army was drawn up thus; for, as Aristobulus tells us, the written arrangements as Darius arranged it were afterwards captured. The left wing the Bactrian cavalry held, and with them the Dahans and the Arachotians; next to them were arrayed Persians, cavalry and infantry mixed, and after the Persians Susians, and after the Susians Cadusians. This was the disposition of the left wing up to the centre of the entire phalanx. On the right were marshalled the troops from Lowland-Syria and Mesopotamia; and next, on the right, were Medes, and within them Parthyaean and Sacians, then Tapurians and Hyrcanians, and then Albanians and Sacasinians, right up to the centre of the entire phalanx. In the centre, where was King Darius, were posted the king's kinsmen, the Persians whose spears are fitted with golden apples, (The "apples" were possibly pomegranates or quinces. Apples, however, were symbols of the sun.) Indians, the "transplanted" Carians, as they were called, and the Mardian bowmen. The Uxians, Babylonians, Red Sea tribes, and Sitacenians were in deep formation behind them. Then, in advance, on the left

wing, facing Alexander's right, were the Scythian cavalry, some thousand Bactrians, and a hundred scythe-chariots. The elephants were posted ahead of Darius' royal squadron, and fifty chariots. In front of the right wing were posted the Armenian and Cappadocian cavalry and fifty scythe-chariots. The Greek mercenaries, close by Darius, and his Persian troops, on either side, were stationed exactly opposite the Macedonian phalanx as being the only troops able to meet the phalanx.

Alexander's army was marshalled thus: his right wing was held by the mounted Companions, the royal squadron being in advance of them; it was commanded by Cleitus son of Dropides; next came Glaucias' squadron, next Aristo's, next that of Sopolis son of Hermodorus, next that of Heracleides son of Antiochus, then that of Demetrius son of Althaemenes, next Meleager's, and finally of the royal squadrons that commanded by Hegelochus son of Hippostratus. Of the mounted Companions as a whole Philotas son of Parmenio was commander-in-chief. Of the Macedonian infantry phalanx, next to the cavalry was stationed first the picked corps of the bodyguards and then the rest of the bodyguards; they were under Nicanor son of Parmenio; after them came the brigade of Coenus son of Polemocrates, next that of Perdiccas son of Orontes, then that of Meleager son of Neoptolemus, then that of Polysperchon son of Simmias, next that of Amyntas son of Andromenes; this was led by Simmias, since Amyntas had been sent to Macedonia to collect troops. The left of the Macedonian phalanx was held by the brigade of Craterus son of Alexander, Craterus himself commanding the left of the infantry. Following on them came the allied cavalry, under Erigyius son of Larichus; beyond them, right up to the left wing, were the Thessalian cavalry under Philippus son of Menelaus. The commander of the entire left was Parmenio son of Philotas, and round him rode the Pharsalian cavalry, the finest and most numerous of the Thessalian horsemen.

XII. This was the order in which Alexander had arranged his front; but he posted a second line so as to duplicate his phalanx. The commanders of this reserve line had been ordered, if they should see their own front line being surrounded by the Persian host, to wheel round and receive the Persian attack. In case, however, need should arise either to extend out the phalanx or to contract it, the half of the Agrianes under Attalus next to the royal squadron, on the right wing, along with them the Macedonian archers under Briso, were posted at a slightly inclined angle; next to the archers were so-called old guard of the mercenaries under Cleander. In advance of the Agrianes and the archers were the mounted scouts and the Paeonians, under Aretes and Aristo. In front of the entire body were the mercenary cavalry under Menidas. In advance of the royal squadron and the other Companions were stationed half the Agrianes and archers, and the javelin men of Balacrus who were opposed to the scythe-chariots. Menidas and his troops had been ordered, if the enemy should try to ride round their wing, to wheel and attack them on the flank. This was the disposition of Alexander's right wing: on the left had been posted, also at an

inclined angle, the Thracians under Sitalces, and next the allied cavalry, under Coeranus, and then the Odrysian cavalry, under Agathon son of Tyrimmes. In front of the whole body, at this point, was posted the paid foreign cavalry under Andromachus son of Hiero. The Thracian foot had been posted to guard the baggage animals. The entire army of Alexander numbered 7000 cavalry and about 40,000 infantry.

XIII. When the armies now were nearing one another, Dareius and his immediate followers were in full sight; there were the Persian “spearmen of the Golden Apples,” Indians, Albanians, the “transplanted” Carians, and the Mardian archers, all ranged over against Alexander and the royal squadron; Alexander, however, led off his men rather in the direction of his right, on which the Persians moved accordingly, their left far outflanking the Greeks. Already the Scythian cavalry, riding parallel with the Greeks, found touch with the troops posted in front of Alexander’s main body; but Alexander still continued steadily his march towards his right, and was nearly clear of the ground which had been trampled level by the Persians. On this Dareius, afraid lest — if the Macedonians reached the uneven ground — his chariots would be of no service, ordered the troops which were in advance of his left wing to wheel round the Greek right which Alexander was leading, so that the Greeks might not prolong their wing any farther. Upon this Alexander ordered his mercenary cavalry under Menidas to charge them. At once the Scythian cavalry, and the Bactrian which was brigaded with the Scythian, dashed out to meet them, and by sheer weight of numbers drove them back. But Alexander ordered Aristo’s brigade, the Paeonians, and the mercenaries to charge the Scythians, on which the Persians wavered. The rest of the Bactrians, however, joining up with the Paeonians and the foreign troops, at once restored to the battle those of their own men who were turning to flight, and thus made the cavalry engagement a close one. Alexander’s men fell in greater numbers, overwhelmed with the number of the Persians, and also because the Scythians, riders and horses alike, were better protected by defensive armour. Yet even so the Macedonians stood up against their onsets, and falling on them stoutly, squadron after squadron, broke their formation.

Meanwhile the Persians launched their scythe-chariots direct upon Alexander, in the hope of throwing his phalanx also out of formation; but in this they failed signally. For in the first place, as soon as they approached, the Agrianes and the javelin-men under Balacrus who had been stationed forward to screen the Companions’ cavalry met them with volleys; and secondly, they snatched at the reins, pulled down the drivers, and crowding round the horses cut them down. One or two did pass right through the Greek lines, for, as they had been ordered, they parted asunder where the chariots attacked; and thereby it fell out that the chariots passed through unscathed and the troops against which they were driven were unscathed also. These chariots too were afterwards overpowered by the grooms of Alexander’s army and the royal bodyguards.

XIV. When now Dareius brought on his complete phalanx, Alexander ordered Aretes to charge the Persian cavalry which was wheeling round the Greek right wing to enclose it; he himself for a short time led on his army in column; but when the cavalry who had been sent off to attack the Persians, wheeling round the Greek right, had broken in some degree the front of the Persian phalanx, he wheeled towards the gap, and making a wedge of the Companion cavalry and the part of the phalanx which was at this point, he led them on at the double, and, with a loud battle cry, straight at Dareius. Now for some little time it became a hand-to-hand fight; but when the cavalry with Alexander, and Alexander himself, stoutly fell on the enemy, actually hustling the Persians, and striking their faces with their spears, and the Macedonian phalanx, solid and bristling with its pikes, had now got to close quarters with them, and Dareius, nervous as he had been all along, saw nothing but terrors all around, he was himself the first to turn and ride away. Those too of the Persians who were trying to envelop the Greek right took fright at the vigorous charge of Aretes and his men.

At this place indeed the Persians' rout was complete, and the Macedonians following up kept slaughtering the fugitives. But Simmias' staff and the brigade under him were unable to join up with Alexander for the pursuit, but halted their phalanx where it was and continued the struggle, since the Macedonian left was reported to be in difficulties. And at this point the Greek formation was broken, and into the gap there thrust some of the Indians and of the Persian cavalry right up to the Macedonians' baggage animals; and there the action was becoming severe. For the Persians boldly fell upon their adversaries, being mostly unarmed men, and having never dreamt that anyone would make a cleavage through the phalanx, doubled as it was, and force their way right up to them; what is more, the Persian captives themselves, as the Persians broke in, joined with them in the action and fell upon the Macedonians. However, the commanders of the troops which formed the reserve to the first phalanx, learning what had happened, smartly turned about face, according to previous orders, and so appeared in the rear of the Persians and slew large numbers of them, crowded together as they were round the baggage animals. Some, however, gave way and so escaped. The Persians of the right wing, meanwhile, not having wind yet of Dareius' flight, wheeling round Alexander's left, were making a flank attack on Parmenio's troops.

XV. At this, since at first the Macedonians were between two fires, Parmenio sent to Alexander a despatch rider to report with all haste that his troops were in a desperate position and needed help. Alexander receiving this message turned back from further pursuit, and wheeling round with the mounted Companions came galloping down on the Persian right and charged first such of the enemy's cavalry as were in flight, the Parthyaean, some Indians, and the main host (and the strongest) of the Persians. Here raged the fiercest cavalry engagement of the whole action. For being drawn up by squadrons, and so in column, the Persians wheeled round and clashed with

Alexander's troops front to front: there was no javelin-throwing and no manoeuvring of horses, such as are usual in a cavalry engagement, but each tried to break his way through whatever opposed him, pressing on as if this were their one hope of safety. So they continued beating and battered, with no quarter given, as men now no longer fighting for someone else's victory, but for their own very lives. There about sixty of the Companions of Alexander fell, and Hephæstion himself, Coenus, and Menidas were wounded.

Yet even these foes did Alexander overcome, and those of the Persians who contrived to pass through Alexander's troops took to headlong flight. But Alexander was now ready to come to blows with the enemy's right wing, and here the Thessalian cavalry, who fought gloriously, had been no whit behind Alexander in the action, in fact those on the enemy's right were already taking to their heels when Alexander approached them, so Alexander turned back again and began once more his pursuit of Darius, and he pursued as long as the light held; and Parmenio's troops followed, pursuing their late opponents. But Alexander crossed the river Lycus and there encamped, to rest a little both his men and horses, but Parmenio took the Persian camp with the baggage trains, elephants, and camels.

Alexander rested his cavalry till towards midnight, and hurried on to Arbela, hoping to seize Darius there and his treasure and all the other royal belongings. He arrived at Arbela next day, having covered in all, since the battle, six hundred stades in the pursuit. However, he did not catch Darius at Arbela, for Darius had continued his flight without delaying; yet the treasure was captured there and the other belongings, including the chariot of Darius, which was again captured, and his spear too and bow and arrows were taken a second time.

Of Alexander's troops upwards of a hundred perished, but of horses, from wounds and distress in the pursuit, over a thousand, and among these nearly half of the Companions' horses. Of the Persian dead were counted some three hundred thousand, but even a greater number of prisoners were made than the slain, and the elephants and such chariots as had not been destroyed in the battle were also captured.

So ended this battle, in the archonship at Athens of Aristophanes and in the month Pyanepsion. Thus Aristander's prophecy came true, that in the selfsame month in which the moon was eclipsed Alexander's battle and victory should occur.

XVI. As for Darius, he fled straight from the battle by the Armenian mountains towards Media, and with him the Bactrian cavalry, as they had been posted to him in the battle; and also of the Persians the royal kinsmen and the greater number of the "spearmen of the Golden Apple." There joined him during the flight also some two thousand of the foreign mercenaries led by Paron the Phocian and Glaucus the Aetolian. The reason why he fled towards Media was because he imagined that Alexander after the battle would take the road to Susa and Babylon, since all that part was inhabited and the

road itself was easy for the baggage trains, and besides, Babylon and Susa naturally seemed to be the prize of the war. The road to Media, on the contrary, was not good for a large force.

Darius was not mistaken, for Alexander leaving Arbela at once took the road to Babylon. He was now not far from Babylon, and was leading his force in battle order, when the Babylonians came to meet him in mass, with their priests and chief men, each section of the inhabitants bringing gifts and offering surrender of the city, the citadel, and the treasure. Alexander entering Babylon bade the Babylonians build up again the temples which Xerxes destroyed, and especially the temple of Bel, whom the Babylonians honour before all gods. He appointed Mazaeus satrap of Babylon and Apollodorus of Amphipolis guard of the troops left behind with Mazaeus, and Asclepiodorus son of Philo to collect the taxes. He sent also as satrap to Armenia Mithrines, who had given up the acropolis of Sardis to Alexander. It was at Babylon he came across the Chaldaeans, and he carried out at Babylon all that the Chaldaeans suggested in regard to sacrifices, sacrificing especially to Bel, according to their instructions.

He himself, however, set out towards Susa, and there met him on the way the son of the satrap of Susa and a letter-carrier from Philoxenus, whom Alexander had sent to Susa directly after the battle. In Philoxenus' letter it was stated that the people of Susa had yielded up the city and that all the treasure was in safe-keeping for Alexander. In twenty days from Babylon Alexander arrived at Susa; he entered the city and took over the treasure, about fifty thousand talents of silver, and all the rest of the royal belongings. A good deal else was captured there, all that Xerxes brought back from Greece, and among this bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. These Alexander sent back to the Athenians, and they are now set up at Athens in the Cerameicus, on the way by which one ascends the Acropolis, just opposite the Metroön, not far from the altar of the Eudanemi. Anyone who has been initiated into the mysteries of the Twain Goddesses at Eleusis is aware that the altar of Eudanemos is in the plain.

There Alexander sacrificed with the traditional ceremonial, and held a torch race and an athletic contest. He left behind as satrap of the district of Susa Abulites a Persian, and as garrison commandant in the citadel of Susa, Mazarus one of the Companions, and, as general, Archelaus son of Theodorus; and then he advanced towards the Persians. Seaward he sent Menes as governor of Syria, Phoenicia and Cilicia. He gave him upwards of three thousand silver talents to take to the sea, and to send of these as much as Antipater should require for the Lacedaemonian war. There too Amyntas son of Andromenes arrived with his force which he was bringing from Macedon. Of these Alexander detailed the cavalry to join the Companions' cavalry, but the infantry he distributed among the various brigades, arranging them racially. He also formed two companies in each squadron of cavalry; there had formerly been no cavalry companies; and as captains he appointed those of

the Companions distinguished for valour.

XVI. Leaving Susa and crossing the river Pasitigres, Alexander invaded the land of the Uxians. Of these some, who dwelt in the plain lands, had obeyed the Persian satrap, and now surrendered to Alexander; but the Uxian hillmen, as they are called, had not owned allegiance to Persia, and on this occasion sent to Alexander and stated that they would on no other terms permit him to pass that way towards the Persians with his army unless they should receive what they usually received from the Persian king whenever he made a progress that way. Alexander sent them away, bidding them come to the pass; which, while they held it, made them feel that the way through into Persia was in their hands, there to receive the accustomed payment from himself also. Then he, taking with him the royal bodyguards, and the other guards, and some eight thousand of the rest of the army, during the night marched by another than the obvious road, being guided by the Susians; then passing along a rough and difficult path in one day, he fell upon the Uxian villages, captured a great deal of plunder, and slew many of them, being yet in their beds; the rest escaped to the hills. Then he marched swiftly to the pass where the Uxians were likely to oppose him in full force, in order to exact the customary toll. But he sent Craterus even further in advance, to seize the heights, whither he imagined the Uxians, if forced away, would retreat; but he himself came on at full speed and got first to the pass and held it, and with his men in due battle order he led them from a commanding position to attack the Uxians. They, however, astounded at Alexander's swiftness, and overmastered at the very position in which they had chiefly put their trust, fled without so much as coming to close quarters. Some of them were slain by Alexander's troops in the flight, and many also beside the road, which was precipitous. The greater number, however, escaped to the hills, where they encountered Craterus' force and were by this destroyed. These then were the "gifts" they received from Alexander; and it was only with difficulty that they obtained their request from him that they might retain their own territory and pay tributes to Alexander every year. Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, however, tells us that the mother of Dareius implored Alexander on their account to give them back their territory to dwell in. The tribute appointed was a hundred horses every year with five hundred transport animals and thirty thousand sheep. For the Uxians had no money nor arable land, but they were for the most part herdsmen.

XVII. After this, Alexander sent off the baggage trains, the Thessalian cavalry, the allies, the mercenaries, and all the other heavier-armed troops of his army with Parmenio, to lead them against the Persians by the main road which leads into their country. He himself took with him the Macedonian foot, the Companions' cavalry, the mounted scouts, the Agrianes and the archers, and marched at full speed through the hills. When he arrived at the Persian Gates he found there Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Persia, (Persia here = the Province of Persia.) with not less than forty thousand infantry and seven

hundred horse, having already built a wall across the Gates and encamped there by the wall, to bar Alexander's progress.

For the time being Alexander encamped there, but next day he marshalled his troops and led them to the assault of the wall. But as it appeared to be difficult to attack by reason of the awkwardness of the ground, and as his troops were suffering much damage, being assailed by volleys from commanding heights and even from catapults, he for the moment fell back on his camp. His prisoners, however, undertook to lead him round by a different road, so that he could make his way within the gates; but gathering from enquiry that this road was rough and narrow he left Craterus there in charge of the camp with his own brigade and Meleager's, a few of the archers, and about five hundred horse, bidding him, so soon as he should perceive that he himself had managed to get right round and was nearing the Persian camp (of this Craterus would easily be aware, for the buglers would signal it to him), to fall upon the Persian wall. So he advanced by night, and after traversing some hundred stades, brought up the bodyguard, with Perdiccas' brigade, the lightest armed of the archers, the Agrianes, the royal squadron of the Companions, and over and above this one double squadron of cavalry, and with them made a turning movement towards the gates, by the way in which the prisoners guided him. Amyntas, meanwhile, and Philotas and Coenus he had instructed to march the remainder of the army towards the plain, and to bridge the river which he must cross to enter Persia; but he himself traversed a difficult and rough path, and yet for the most part took it at full speed. He fell upon the first Persian guard before dawn, and destroyed both this and the greater part of the second; most of the third fled, yet not even these fled to Ariobarzanes' camp, but ran in terror from the spot just as they were to the hills; so that quite unobserved, just at dawn, he assaulted the enemy's camp. At the same moment as he attacked the trench, the bugles sounded, notifying Craterus' troops, and Craterus assaulted the wall. So the enemy, caught on all sides, never so much as came to blows, but fled; even so they were hemmed in on all sides; Alexander was pressing hard upon them here, Craterus' troops were hastening up there, so that the greater number of the Persians were forced to turn back to the walls and seek escape there. But by this time the walls themselves were in Macedonian hands. For Alexander had expected to happen just that which did happen; and so had left Ptolemy there with some three thousand infantry, so that the greatest part of the Persians were cut down by the Macedonians at close quarters. Even those who were attempting flight, and the flight had become a panic, threw themselves over the cliffs and perished; but Ariobarzanes himself with a handful of horsemen escaped to the hills.

Alexander once more at full speed led on towards the river; and he found there the bridge already made, and crossed without difficulty with his host. Thence once more at full speed he hurried on towards the Persians and arrived there before the garrison had plundered the treasure. He captured also

the treasure which had been at Pagarsadae in the treasury of Cyrus the First. As satrap of Persepolis he appointed Phrasaortes the son of Rheomithras. The Persian palace he set on fire; though Parmenio urged him to save it, arguing, among other things, that it was not seemly to destroy what was now his own property, and that the Asians would not thus be induced to join him, if he seemed determined not to hold fast the sovereignty of Asia, but merely to pass through it in triumph. Alexander, on the contrary, replied that he proposed to punish the Persians in recompense for what they had done in their invasion of Greece; for their wrecking of Athens, their burning of the temples, and for all the other cruel things they had done to the Greeks; for these, he said, he took vengeance. Yet I do not myself think that Alexander was politic in doing this; nor can I regard it as any retribution upon the Persians of earlier days.

XVIII. After this success Alexander marched towards Media, for he had learnt that Dareius was there. Dareius had determined, if Alexander should remain at Susa and Babylon, to wait there himself also, in Media, in case there should be some new move of Alexander's. But should Alexander march straight against him, he proposed to go inland towards the Parthaeans and Hyrcania, as far as Bactra, ravaging all the country and making any further progress impossible to Alexander. The women and all the belongings he had still with him and the closed waggons he sent to what are called the Caspian gates; then he, with the force he had collected from what he had left, waited in Ecbatana. Alexander, learning this, also advanced towards Media, and subdued the Paraetacae, invading their territory, and appointed satrap over them Oxathres son of Abulites, the [former] satrap of Susa. Then he himself, learning on the road that Dareius had decided to give battle to him and fight it out again — for he had had an accession of Scythians and Cadusians as allies — bade the baggage trains and their keepers and all the rest of the stores to follow; and taking the rest of the army he led them marshalled for battle. On the twelfth day he reached Media. There he learned that Dareius' force was not worth fighting with and that the Cadusians and Scythians had not arrived to help him, but that Dareius had resolved on flight. On this Alexander led on all the more rapidly. But when he was about three days' journey from Ecbatana there came to meet him Bistanes son of Ochus, the predecessor of Dareius as King of Persia; and he reported that Dareius had fled five days back, with his treasure from Media of seven thousand talents and a cavalry force of three thousand and infantry about six thousand.

Arriving at Ecbatana, Alexander sent back to the sea the Thessalian cavalry and the rest of the allies, paying each the agreed pay in full, and himself making a largess of two thousand talents; but anyone who would continue to serve him for pay on his own account he ordered to be enlisted, and a great number were so enrolled. He appointed Epocillus son of Polyeides to lead the remainder seaward, with cavalry besides to guard them, for the Thessalians had sold their horses on the spot. He instructed Menes also, so soon as they should reach the coast, to see to their being embarked on transports for

Euboea. Parmenio also he ordered to convoy the Persian treasure to the citadel in Ecbatana and hand it over to Harpalus; for he had left Harpalus in charge of the treasure, and with him as guard over the treasure some six thousand Macedonians, with cavalry and a few light auxiliaries; Parmenio himself he instructed to take the mercenaries and the Thracians and any other cavalry besides the territorial cavalry through the land of the Cadusians and march into Hyrcania. Cleitus also, the commander of the royal squadron, he ordered, so soon as he should reach Ecbatana from Susa — for he had been left at Susa sick — to take the Macedonians who had been left to guard the treasure and go towards the Parthaeans, where he himself also proposed to go.

XIX. Alexander then taking the Companions' cavalry and the mounted scouts and the mercenary horse under Erigyius, and the Macedonian phalanx, save those detailed to guard the treasure, and the archers and the Agrianes, began his march against Dareius; and by reason of the speed of his march many of his troops were left behind, worn out, and many horses died; but Alexander went on undeterred, and reached Rhagae in eleven days. This territory is one day's journey from the Caspian gates for anyone marching as Alexander did. Dareius, however, had contrived to pass already within the Caspian gates. Of those who shared his flight, many had deserted him during the flight, and had gone away to their homes, and a good number had surrendered to Alexander. Seeing, however, that he should not now catch Dareius by hot pursuit, Alexander remained there five days and rested his force; he appointed Oxodates satrap of Media, a Persian who had been arrested by Dareius and imprisoned at Susa; this caused Alexander to rely upon him. Alexander then marched towards the Parthaeans, and the first day he encamped by the Caspian gates, but on the second he passed within the gates as far as the district was inhabited. Then in order to get provisions thence, since he heard that the country beyond was desert, he sent Coenus to forage with the cavalry and a few foot-soldiers.

XX. Meanwhile there arrived to visit him one Bagistanes from Dareius' camp, a Babylonian and a noble, and with him Antibelus, one of Mazaeus' sons. They reported that Nabarzanes, commander of the cavalry which had shared Dareius' flight, and Bessus satrap of Bactria and Barsaentes satrap of the Arachotians and the Drangians, had arrested Dareius. On learning this Alexander pressed on faster than ever, with only the Companions, the mounted scouts, and the strongest and lightest of the infantry, carefully selected, and he did not await even Coenus and his men to return from their foraging. He posted Craterus to command those left behind and ordered him to follow, but not by forced marches. His own men had nothing but their arms and two days' rations.

Travelling all night and the next day till noon, he rested his troops a short time and then again hurried on all night, and at dawn he reached the camp, whence Bagistanes had come. But he did not catch the enemy; about Dareius he learnt that he had indeed been arrested and was being carried in a closed

waggon, and that Bessus had been given the sovereignty in place of Dareius and had been saluted as leader by the Bactrian cavalry and the other Persians who had fled with Dareius, save Artabazus and his sons and the Greek mercenaries. These, he learnt, remained faithful to Dareius, but being unable to prevent what had occurred had turned off the main road and were making for the hills by themselves, refusing to participate in the action of Bessus and his followers. Those who had seized Dareius had decided that if they should learn that Alexander was pursuing them they would give up Dareius to Alexander and make good terms for themselves. Should they learn that Alexander had turned back they would collect as large an army as they could and join in preserving their empire. Bessus was in command for the time being both from his relationship to Dareius and because this event took place in his satrapy.

Learning this, Alexander decided that he must pursue with the utmost vigour. Already his men and horses were growing utterly wearied beneath this continued exertion; none the less, Alexander pressed on, and accomplishing a great distance during the night and the following day till noon, he arrived at a village where the day before Dareius' conductors had bivouacked. Hearing there that the Persians had determined to continue their journey by night, he enquired of the inhabitants whether they knew of any shorter way to take him to the fugitives. They replied that they did; but that the road was desolate, having no water. But he bade them lead on by this road, and seeing that his infantry would not keep up with him if he pushed on at full speed, he dismounted some five hundred horsemen, and selecting from the officers of the infantry and the rest those whose strength was best maintained, he bade them mount the horses, carrying their usual infantry arms. Nicanor the commander of the bodyguard, and Attalus commander of the Agrianes, he ordered to lead those who were left behind along the road by which Bessus and his party had already proceeded; these were to travel in the lightest possible order, and the rest of the infantry was to follow in ordinary formation. Alexander then himself started off at dusk, and led on his troops at full speed; during the night he traversed some four hundred stades, and just at dawn came upon the Persians marching at ease and without arms, so that only a few of them turned to hinder his passage, but the greater part, as soon as ever they saw Alexander himself, not waiting to come to close quarters, took to flight; those who turned to make a fight of it, on losing a few of their number, also fled. Bessus and his immediate followers for a time took Dareius with them in the closed waggon; but when Alexander was now right upon them, Nabarzanes and Barsaentes wounded him and left him where he was, themselves escaping with six hundred horsemen. Dareius died of his wound soon after, and before Alexander had seen him.

XXI. Alexander sent Dareius' body to Persepolis, ordering it to be buried in the royal tomb, as were the other kings before Dareius. He appointed as satrap of the Parthyaean and Hyreanians, Amminaspes, a Parthyaean; he was one of

those who, with Mazacus, had surrendered Egypt to Alexander. Tlepolemus son of Pythophanes, one of the Companions, was appointed overseer of Parthyaea and Hyrcania.

Thus died Dareius, when Aristophon was archon at Athens and in the month Hecatombaeon. (330 B.C., July.) He was a man above all weak and incapable in warfare; but in other regards he had given proof of no harsh act, or perhaps had no chance to do so, since the moment of his accession was also the moment of the declaration of war by Macedon and Greece. Even had he desired, therefore, he had no chance to play the tyrant over his subjects, being set in the midst of greater dangers than they. His life was one series of disasters, nor, from his accession, had he any respite; at once there befell the cavalry disaster of his satraps on the Granicus, and then at once Ionia and Aeolis were in the enemy's hands, with Greater and Lesser Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria save Halicarnassus; soon followed the capture of Halicarnassus, and over and above all the coast-line as far as Cilicia. Next came his defeat at Issus, where he beheld his mother made captive with his wife and children; then Phoenicia and all Egypt was lost; and then again followed his own flight at Arbela, a shameful flight among the foremost, and his loss of the greatest host of all the Persian Empire; and now a fugitive from his own kingdom, and a vagabond, at last he was betrayed by his own guards to the worst of fates, both king and prisoner, hurried off with every mark of shame and finally perishing by conspiracy of those who were most bound in duty to him. These were the tragedies of Dareius' life. His lot in death was the royal tomb, his children nurtured and educated by Alexander as if he were still on the throne, and Alexander for his daughter's bridegroom. At his death he had reached about fifty years of age.

XXII. Alexander, taking over those of his force who had been left behind in the pursuit, advanced into Hyrcania. This country lies on the left of the road leading to Bactria; on the one hand it is bounded by high and wooded mountains, but the plain land in it stretches to the Great Sea which lies this way. (The Caspian) Alexander marched in this direction because he found out that the mercenaries who had been with Dareius had escaped this way to the Tapurian hills; besides, he intended also to subdue the Tapurians themselves. He divided his army into three parts, and himself led on by the shortest and hardest road with the greater part, and the lightest armed also, of his force; but Craterus with his own brigade and that of Amyntas, some of the archers, and a few horsemen, he sent against the Tapurians. Erigyius, on the other hand, he ordered to take the mercenaries and the rest of the cavalry and bring them along the highroad, which was longer, convoying the waggons, the baggage trains, and the rest of the host.

After he had crossed the first hills and had encamped there, Alexander took the bodyguard and the lightest armed of the Macedonian phalanx and some of the archers, and marched along a rough and difficult road, leaving behind troops to guard the roads where he thought there was danger, so that

the enemy who held the heights might not at any such spot attack those who were coming after. He himself with the archers crossed the pass and camped in the plain by a small river. While he was there, Nabarzanes, Dareius' cavalry general, and Phrataphernes the satrap of Hyrcania and Parthya and other most highly placed Persian officers of Dareius, came and gave themselves up. After waiting four days in the camp, he picked up those who had been left behind on the march, most of whom crossed with safety; the native hillmen, however, had attacked the Agrianes, who were the rearguard, but getting the worst of a long range skirmish withdrew.

Moving thence Alexander advanced towards Hyrcania to Zadracarta, a city of the Hyrcanians. Meanwhile Craterus and his troops had joined him; they had not fallen in with Dareius' mercenaries, but they had, partly by force and partly by the surrender of the natives, taken over all such territory as they had traversed. There also Erigyius arrived with the baggage trains and the waggons. Soon after, Artabazus came to join Alexander, and of his sons Cophen and Ariobarzanes and Arsames' and with them envoys from the mercenaries who had been with Dareius and Autophradates, satrap of the Tapurians. To Autophradates Alexander handed over the satrapy; but Artabazus and his sons he kept by him in honourable positions, especially as they were among the highest of the Persians and because of their loyalty towards Dareius. To the envoys of the Greeks, however, who begged him to grant them terms for the whole mercenary force, he replied that he would make no compact with them whatever; those who fought with foreigners against Greeks were doing grievous wrong, and flying in the face of Greek traditions. But he bade them come in a body and surrender themselves, leaving it to him, Alexander, to do what he would with them, or, if not, take what steps they could for their own safety. They replied that they placed themselves and the rest in Alexander's hands; and bade him send an officer to lead them, that they might have safe conduct to his camp. They were reckoned to be about one thousand five hundred. Alexander sent Andronicus, son of Agerrhus, and Artabazus to them.

XXIII. Then he himself proceeded against the Mardians, taking the bodyguards, the archers, the Agrianes, the brigades of Coenus and Amyntas, half of the Companions' cavalry, and the mounted javelin-men, for by this time he had a brigade of these. Passing through the greater part of the Mardian country, he slew many of them attempting to escape, and some turning to bay; a great number he captured alive. For no one had for a long time invaded their country, owing to the difficulties of transit, and because the Mardians were both poor and, besides being poor, warlike. So they never imagined that Alexander would have invaded their country, especially as he had already marched far out of his course, and thus were all the more caught unprepared. But many of them took refuge in the hills also, which are very lofty and precipitous in their country; feeling sure that Alexander would not reach so far as that. But when he did approach even in this direction, they sending envoys

surrendered themselves and their country; and Alexander dismissed them, and appointed as their satrap Autophradates, also made satrap of the Tapurians.

He himself returned to the camp whence he had set out to the Mardian territory, and received the mercenary Greeks who had arrived, and the Lacedaemonians' envoys who were on an embassy to the court of King Dareius, namely, Callicratides, Pausippus, Monimus, and Onomas, and, of the Athenians, Dropides. These he seized and kept under arrest. The envoys from Sinope he dismissed since the Sinopeans were not part of the Greek comity of nations, but being subject to Persia did not appear to have done anything outrageous in going as envoys to their own suzerain. Of the remaining Greeks he dismissed so many as before the peace and the conclusion of the alliance with Macedon had been serving with the Persian force; he dismissed also Heracleides, envoy of the Calchedonians; the rest he commanded to serve under him at the same rate of pay; and he set Andronicus over them, who had led them and had made it evident that he had made it a matter of considerable moment to preserve his men.

XXIV. When he had put all this in order he marched towards Zadracarta, the greatest city of Hyrcania, where was also the Hyrcanian palace. There he spent fifteen days, and sacrificed to the gods as custom directed, and held an athletic contest, and then he marched towards the Parthyaean, and thence to the borders of Areia and Sousia, a city of Areia, where also Satibarzanes met him, the satrap of the Areians. Alexander confirmed him in his satrapy, and sent with him Anaxippus of the Companions, giving him about forty of the mounted javelin-men, so that he might have guards to set at various places, and that the Areians might not suffer harm from the army on the passage.

Meanwhile certain Persians met Alexander, reporting that Bessus was wearing his cap royal fashion and clothing himself in Persian royal garb, called himself Artaxerxes instead of Bessus, and gave out that he was King of Asia. He had about him, they said, those Persians who had fled safe to Bactria and a good number of the Bactrians themselves; and he expected that Scythian allies would also join him.

Alexander with his whole force now reassembled advanced to Bactria, where Philip son of Menelaus met him from Media with the mercenary cavalry led by himself and the Thessalian volunteers, who had remained behind, and those under Andromachus.

Nicanor, however, son of Parmenio, commander of the bodyguards, had already died of sickness. But as Alexander advanced towards Bactria, news was brought that Satibarzanes, satrap of Areia, had massacred Anaxippus and the mounted javelin-men with him, and was arming the Areians and leading them in a body to the city Artacoana, where was the palace of the Areians; and that he had decided, on learning that Alexander had advanced forward, to go thence with his troops to Bessus, and with him to attack the Macedonians where opportunity should offer. When this was reported to Alexander he did not continue his march to Bactria; but he took the Companions' cavalry, the

mounted javelin-men, the archers, the Agrianes, and Amyntas' and Coenus' brigades, and leaving behind there the rest of the army and Craterus in charge, he advanced swiftly against Satibarzanes and the Areians, and traversing in two days the distance of six hundred stades arrived at Artacoana.

Satibarzanes for his part, learning of Alexander's proximity and astounded at the swiftness of his approach, fled with a few Areian horsemen; for in his flight he had been deserted by the majority of his soldiers, since they too learnt that Alexander was pressing on towards him. So many as Alexander found to have had a hand in the revolt and had at the time deserted their villages, with swift pursuits, he slew some here, some there, others he enslaved. As satrap of Areia he appointed Arsames a Persian. He then with the force left under Craterus, which had now joined him, marched towards the territory of the Zarangaeans; and arrived where their palace was. But Barsantes who then held the country, being one of those who had joined in attacking Dareius on the flight, learning that Alexander was approaching, fled to the Indians on this side of the river Indus; but the Indians seized him and sent him to Alexander, who put him to death for his treachery to Dareius.

XXV. It was there that Alexander learnt also of the conspiracy of Philotas son of Parmenio. Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus say that some report of it had been already made to him in Egypt, but he did not think it credible, both because of their long friendship with him and because of the honour he had shown to Parmenio, Philotas' father, and the trust he had reposed in Philotas himself. Ptolemaeus son of Lagus states as follows; Philotas was summoned before the Macedonians, and Alexander vigorously accused him, Philotas making his defence; and then those who had reported the plot came forward and convicted Philotas and his fellows with many manifest proofs, and chiefly this, that while Philotas himself agreed that he had heard of some sort of plot being laid against Alexander, he was proved guilty of having uttered no hint of it to Alexander, though he visited Alexander's tent twice daily. Philotas for his part was shot down by javelins by the Macedonians, and with him the other conspirators; but as for Parmenio, Polydames, one of the Companions, was sent to him with a letter from Alexander to the generals in Media, Cleander and Sitalces and Menidas; for they had been posted to the force which Parmenio commanded. By them Parmenio was put to death, possibly because Alexander could not believe that when Philotas was conspiring Parmenio had no share in his own son's conspiracy; or possibly because, even supposing he had no such share in it, Parmenio was already a grave danger, if he survived when his own son had been put to death, being so highly thought of both by Alexander himself and throughout all the army, and that not only the Macedonian army, but the mercenaries also, whom he had so often commanded both in his ordinary turn of duty and also in extraordinary commands by Alexander's express order and with Alexander's approbation.

XXVI. It is said that Amyntas son of Andromenes was brought to trial about the same time, with Polemon and Attalus and Simmias, brothers of Amyntas,

on a charge of having joined also in the conspiracy against Alexander, through their faith in Philotas and their friendship with him; and the conspiracy won more credence among the multitude because Polemon, one of Amyntas' brothers, as soon as Philotas was arrested, deserted to the enemy. But Amyntas at any rate with his brothers stood his trial, and made a vigorous defence before the Macedonians, and was acquitted of the charge; and the moment he was acquitted, he asked leave to go to his brother and bring him back again to Alexander; this the Macedonians permitted. He departed, therefore, that very day and brought back Polemon; and thus Amyntas seemed more clear of guilt than before. Soon after, however, when besieging some village he received an arrow wound, of which he died; so that all he gained from his acquittal was that he died with his good name unsmirched.

Alexander now appointed two officers over the Companions, Hephæstion son of Amyntor and Cleitus son of Dropides, and dividing the Companions' brigade in two parts, since he did not wish any single man, even of his friends, to command so large a body of cavalry, especially as it was the best of all his mounted force in reputation and valour, he arrived among the people called formerly Ariasprians, but later surnamed also Benefactors, because they assisted Cyrus son of Cambyses in his Scythian expedition. Alexander showed regard for this people, both for the services their forefathers had done to Cyrus, and from his own observation that they were not governed like the other tribesmen of these parts, but also claimed to practise justice, like the best of the Greeks; he therefore let them go free and gave them as much as they asked for themselves of the neighbouring country; and yet they only asked for a modest portion. There he sacrificed to Apollo; and also arrested Demetrius, one of the bodyguards, suspecting that he had a hand in Philotas' conspiracy; and in his place he appointed as bodyguard Ptolemaeus son of Lagus.

XXVII. After setting all this in order Alexander proceeded towards Bactria and against Bessus, reducing on the way the Drangians and Gadrosians, (Both lived in the south-easternmost corner of the Persian Empire, towards the Indus.) and also the Arachotians, appointing Menon satrap over them. He reached also the Indians who were nearest to the Arachotians. All these various tribes he invaded through deep snow, with lack of provisions, and with much distress of his men. But learning that the Areians had again revolted, since Satibarzanes had invaded their country with two thousand horse, whom he received from Bessus, he sent to them Artabazus the Persian and two Companions, Erigyus and Caranus; he ordered Phrataphernes also, the satrap of Parthyaëa, to help them in their attack on the Areians. A severe battle took place between the troops of Erigyus and Caranus against Satibarzanes; indeed, the Persians did not give way till Satibarzanes in single combat with Erigyus was struck in the face with a spear and killed. Then the tribesmen turned and fled headlong.

Meanwhile Alexander led his army to Mount Caucasus, (The Indian

Caucasus, or "Hindu-Koosh.") and founded there a city which he called Alexandria. There he sacrificed to the gods to whom he usually sacrificed, and then crossed Mount Caucasus, appointing as satrap of the district Proexes, a Persian, and Neiloxenes son of Satyrus, one of the Companions, overseer; and left him there with a force.

Mount Caucasus is, according to Aristobulus, as high as any in Asia; most of it is bare, at least on this side. For Caucasus is a long mountain range, so that they say that even Mount Taurus, which is the boundary of Cilicia and Pamphylia, is really a part of Mount Caucasus as well as other great mountains which have been distinguished from Mount Caucasus by various nomenclatures according to their geographical positions. In this Mount Caucasus, however, there grows nothing save terebinths and asafœtida, according to Aristobulus. But even so it was inhabited by a large number of people and many flocks and herds grazed there, since the flocks like the asafœtida, and if they are aware of it ever so far away they hurry to it and nibble off its flower, and also dig up and eat the root. For this reason in Cyrene they drive their flocks as far as possible from the places where this plant grows; some even hurdle off the place, so that the flocks even if they approach cannot get in, since the plant is very valuable to the Cyrenaeans.

But Bessus with such of the Persians about him as had joined in the arrest of Dareius, some seven thousand of the Bactrians themselves, and the Dahae who dwell on this side of the river Tanais, ravaged the country lying under Mount Caucasus, hoping by this desolation of the country lying between himself and Alexander and by want of provisions to keep Alexander from proceeding farther. But Alexander came on none the less, with difficulty indeed, through thick snow and owing to want of necessities, but still he came on. But Bessus, as soon as he was told that Alexander was now not far off, crossed the river Oxus and burned the boats on which he had crossed, but himself moved off towards Nautaka of the country of Sogiana. There went with him the troops of Spitamenes and Oxyartes, and with them the horsemen from Sogdiana, and Dahae from the Tanais. But the Bactrian cavalry when they learnt that Bessus had determined on flight went off, each party their own way to their homes.

XXVIII. Alexander now arrived at Drapsaca, and after he had rested his army led them on to Aornos and Bactra, the greatest cities of Bactria. These he took at his first attempt, and left a garrison in the citadel of Aornos, and in charge of it Archelaus son of Androcles, one of the Companions. Over the rest of the Bactrians, who readily gave in, he set as satrap Artabazus the Persian.

He then marched towards the river Oxus. The Oxus flows from Mount Caucasus and is the greatest of those Asian rivers which Alexander and his army reached, except the rivers of India; they are the greatest of all rivers. The Oxus flows, however, into the Great Sea (The Caspian.) which is in Hyrcania. When Alexander attempted to cross the river it appeared impossible to pass in any direction. For its breadth was about six stades, and its depth

disproportionately great for its breadth, with sandy bed, and a swift current, so that piles fixed into the bed were easily twisted out of their ground by the stream alone, not getting a firm hold on the sand. Apart from this there was want of timber in the district, and it was clear that there would be much delay if they went to fetch from a distance enough for the bridging of the stream. He therefore collected the hides which the troops used for tent covers and ordered them to be filled with the driest possible chaff, and then to be tied down and stitched neatly together so as to be watertight. When they were filled and stitched together they were efficient enough to take the army across in five days.

Before crossing the river Alexander selected from the Macedonians the oldest men who were no longer fit for service and the Thessalian volunteers who had remained behind and sent them on their way home. He sent also Stasanor, one of the Companions, to Areia, bidding him arrest Arsames satrap of the Areians because Arsames appeared to have ill-will towards him; and he bade Stasanor take over the satrapy of Areia in Arsames' place.

Then after crossing the river Oxus he marched rapidly to where he had learned Bessus and his force to be. Meantime there met him messengers from Spitamenes and Dataphernes telling him that they two, if quite a small force were sent them, and a man to command it, would seize Bessus and hand him over to Alexander; in fact they had Bessus already under open arrest. On hearing this, Alexander for his own part rested his army and led it on more leisurely than before. But he sent Ptolemaeus son of Lagus with three regiments of the Companions' cavalry and all the mounted javelin-men, from the infantry, the brigade of Philotas and a regiment of the bodyguard, all the Agrianes, and half the archers, bidding him lead them rapidly to Spitamenes and Dataphernes. Ptolemaeus went as he was ordered, and traversing ten days' marches within the space of four days he arrived at the camp where on the former day the Persians with Spitamenes had bivouacked.

XXIX. There Ptolemaeus learnt that Spitamenes and Dataphernes had not quite made up their mind about the surrender of Bessus. He therefore left the infantry behind, bidding them follow in ordinary marching order, and he himself rode off with the cavalry, and arrived at a village where Bessus and a few soldiers were. For Spitamenes and his men had already withdrawn thence, their conscience not permitting them to be themselves the betrayers of Bessus. But Ptolemaeus stationing the cavalry in a cordon round the village — it had some sort of wall thrown round it, and gates in the wall — made a proclamation to the Persians in the village that they would be allowed to depart unscathed if they yielded up Bessus; and they received Ptolemaeus and his troops into the village, and Ptolemaeus seized Bessus and retired. Then he sent a messenger ahead and asked Alexander in what way he should bring Bessus into his presence. Alexander bade him bring Bessus bound, naked, and wearing a wooden collar, and thus conduct him, stationing him on the right of the road by which he and his army were about to pass. And so Ptolemaeus

did.

But Alexander on seeing Bessus stopped his car and asked him why he had first seized Dareius, who had been his king, his relative, and his benefactor, then led him about in chains, and then murdered him? Bessus replied that he had done this not by any private decision of his own but in union with all the attendants of Dareius at that time, that they might themselves win safe-conduct from Alexander. But Alexander at this bade them scourge him and the herald to proclaim during the scourging these same reproaches he had directed to Bessus in his enquiry. Bessus then after this torture was sent to Bactra to be put to death. This is Ptolemaeus' account of Bessus; Aristobulus, however, affirms that it was the followers of Spitamenes and Dataphernes who led Bessus naked and bound, wearing a wooden collar, and so handed him over to Alexander.

But Alexander, when he had brought his cavalry to full strength with the horses in the vicinity, for a good many horses had fallen from exhaustion during the crossing of Mount Caucasus and on the marches both to and from the Oxus, led his troops towards Maracanda, the royal city of that part of Sogdiana. Thence he advanced to the river Tanais. The springs of the Tanais too, which Aristobulus says is called by the natives another name, the Jaxartes, rise on Mount Caucasus; and this river also flows out into the Hyrcanian Sea. (Arrian (with Strabo) is here in error.) The Tanais, of which Herodotus the historian tells us that it is the eighth of the Scythian rivers, rises and flows out of a great lake, and runs into a greater lake, called Maeotis, will be a different Tanais. Some authorities regard this Tanais as the boundary between Asia and Europe; they imagine that from this corner of the Euxine Sea upwards the Lake Maeotis and this river Tanais which runs into the lake do actually part Asia and Europe, just as the sea near Gadeira and the nomad Libyans opposite Gadeira (The Straits of Gibraltar.) parts Libya and Europe; imagining also that Libya is parted from the rest of Asia by the river Nile.

It was here that some of the Macedonians who had scattered for foraging were cut down by the natives. Those who did this deed took refuge in a very rugged and completely precipitous mountain, being in number about thirty thousand. Alexander took his lightest troops and led them to attack the fugitives. Then the Macedonians attempted several assaults upon the mountain; and at first they were driven back by the volleys from the natives, and a great many were wounded; notably Alexander himself was shot right through the leg with an arrow, and a part of the small bone of the leg was broken. But even so he captured the position, and of the tribesmen some were cut down there and then by the Macedonians, but many perished by throwing themselves down the rocks, so that from thirty thousand not more than eight thousand saved themselves.

BOOK IV

I. NOT many days after, envoys came to Alexander from the Abian Scythians, as they are called, of whom Homer spoke highly in his epic, calling them “justest of men”; they dwell in Asia, independent, chiefly through their poverty and their sense of justice. Envoys came too from the European Scythians, who are the greatest nation dwelling in Europe. With these Alexander sent some of the Companions, giving out that they were, by way of an embassy, to conclude a friendly agreement with them; but the real idea of the mission was rather to spy out the nature of the Scythians’ territory, their numbers, their customs, and the arms they use on their warlike expeditions.

He himself was minded to found a city on the Tanais, and to call it after his own name. For the site seemed to him suitable for considerable development of the city; he also thought that it would be built in an excellent position for his invasion of Scythia, should that ever take place, and for an outpost of the country against the raids of the tribesmen dwelling on the other side of the river. He felt also that such a city would become great both from the number of settlers and the splendour of its name. Meanwhile the tribesmen near the river seized the Macedonian troops who garrisoned their cities and slew them, and then began to strengthen the cities more than before, for their security. There joined with them in this revolt the mass of the people of Sogdiana, stirred up to do so by the party which had arrested Bessus, so that these drew into their revolt some of the Bactrians too; it may be that the Bactrians were terrified of Alexander, or it may be that their seducers gave as a reason for their revolt that Alexander had instructed the chief men of that country to come to a joint conference at Zariaspa the capital; and that this conference boded no good.

II. When this was reported to Alexander, he ordered the infantry, section by section, to make so many ladders as were appointed to each section; and then he advanced to the first city you meet with on leaving the camp, called Gaza; for the tribesmen were said to have taken refuge in seven cities. Then he sent Craterus to that called Cyropolis; it was the greatest of them all, and the greatest number of refugees had collected there. Craterus was ordered to encamp near the city and to dig a ditch and to build a stockade round it, then to fix together such siege engines as he required, so that the defenders of this city might have their minds fully occupied with Craterus and his troops and so be unable to help those in the other cities. When Alexander himself, meanwhile, arrived at Gaza, on his first approach he at once ordered his men to attack the wall, which was made of earth and of no great height, and to place their ladders against it on all sides; while his slingers and archers and javelin-men, at the moment of the infantry attack, showered volleys upon the first line of defence on the walls, and missiles were hurled from the catapults, so that the wall was soon cleared of defenders by the great shower of missiles,

and thus the setting up of the ladders and the ascent of the Macedonians to the wall were rapidly accomplished. They put to the sword all the men, according to Alexander's orders; they carried off the women, and children, and the general plunder. Thence Alexander led on at once to the second city, which lay next to this one; it too he captured in the same fashion and on the same day, and treated his captives likewise. He advanced then to the third city, and this he took next day at the first assault.

While he himself was thus busied with his infantry, he despatched the cavalry to the two next cities, bidding them watch the inhabitants carefully lest learning of the capture of the neighbouring cities, and also of his own impending approach, they might take to flight, and pursuit might be impracticable. It fell out just as he anticipated, and the despatch of the cavalry came none too soon. For those tribesmen who held the two yet untaken cities, seeing the smoke rising from the city next in front of them, when it was fired, and when a few who escaped its catastrophe gave first-hand information of the capture, attempted as fast as they could to escape from these cities in a mass, but ran straight into the close cordon of cavalry, and the greater number of them were cut down.

III. And thus after capturing the five cities in two days and enslaving the survivors, Alexander marched against the greatest of them, Cyropolis. This was walled with a higher wall than the rest, since Cyrus had founded it; and as the greatest number and the most stalwart of the tribesmen of the district had taken refuge in it, it was not so easy for the Macdonians to capture it straight off. However, Alexander brought up engines to the wall and proposed on this side to batter the wall, and then, as breaches occurred, to make his assaults through them. But when he personally observed that the channels of the river which, being a winter torrent only, runs through the city, were dry at the time, and did not reach up to the wall, but were low enough to permit a passage to soldiers by which to pass into the city, he took the bodyguards and the shield-carrying guards, the archers and the Agrianes, and while the tribesmen were engaged with the siege-engines and those assaulting on this side, he slipped through the channels, at first with only a few men, and penetrated into the city; then breaking open from within the gates which were on that side, he easily admitted the rest of the troops. Then the tribesmen, seeing that their city was already in the enemy's hands, none the less turned upon Alexander and his force, and they made a vigorous onslaught, and Alexander himself was struck violently with a stone upon his head and his neck; and Craterus was wounded by an arrow and many others of the officers also. Yet none the less they cleared the market-place of the tribesmen. Meanwhile those who had assaulted the wall seized it, now denuded of defenders. In the first capture of the city about eight thousand of the enemy perished; the rest — the whole number gathered together there was some fifteen thousand fighting men — took refuge in the citadel: these Alexander watched, camping about them, the space of one day; and then they, from want of water, surrendered to

Alexander.

The seventh city he took without trouble. Ptolemaeus says they surrendered; but Aristobulus, that Alexander captured this also by force, and slew all whom he found within it; but Ptolemaeus also says that he distributed the men among his army and ordered them to be bound and under guard till he should leave their country, so that none of those responsible for the revolt should be left behind.

Meanwhile an army of the Asian Scythians arrived on the banks of the river Tanais; most of these had heard that some of the natives on the far side of the river had revolted from Alexander and had the intention, should any important rising occur, to join themselves also in attacking the Macedonians. News was also brought that Spitamenes and his troops were besieging those who had been left behind in Marakanda in the citadel. On this Alexander sent against the troops of Spitamenes, Andromachus, Menedemas, and Caranus, with sixty horsemen of the Companions and eight hundred of the mercenaries under Caranus, and mercenary infantry up to fifteen hundred; and he attached to these Pharnuches the interpreter, a Lycian by race who knew well the speech of the natives of this country and in all other ways appeared skilful in dealing with them.

IV. Alexander himself now spent twenty days in building the wall of the city which he proposed to found, and arranged to settle there any of the Greek mercenaries and any of the neighbouring tribesmen who had as volunteers shared in the settlement, with some of the Macedonians too from the camp, so many as were no longer fit for active service. He then sacrificed to the usual gods and held a cavalry and athletic contest; and seeing that the Scythians did not leave the river bank but were observed shooting arrows into the river, which was not very broad here, and besides uttered rough braggart taunts to insult Alexander, to the effect that Alexander would not dare to touch the Scythians, or, if he did, would learn what was the difference between Scythians and the barbarians of Asia, being much irritated by these he was minded to cross and attack them, and began to get ready the hides for the crossing. However, when he sacrificed with a view to the crossing the sacrifice was not favourable. At this Alexander was much annoyed, but yet he restrained himself and stayed where he was. However, as the Scythians still continued, he sacrificed again with a view to crossing, and once more Aristander the prophet said that danger was signified to him. But Alexander replied that it was better to go to any extremity of danger than, after subduing almost all Asia, to be a laughing-stock to Scythians, as Dareius the father of Xerxes had been long ago. But Aristander refused to declare otherwise than the sacrifices had portended, merely because Alexander desired a different report.

So as soon as the hides had been got ready for him for the crossing, and the army in full marching order was drawn up on the river bank, and after the catapults, when the order was given, had hurled their volleys upon the

Scythians who were riding along the bank, some of them being wounded by the missiles, and one actually pierced right through his shield and corslet fell from his horse, the Scythians were amazed at the long-range discharge of the missiles and at the death of one of the best men and retreated a little from the bank. Alexander thereupon, seeing them in disorder because of the missiles, sounded his bugles and began the crossing of the river, himself leading the way; the rest of the army followed him. He disembarked first the archers and slingers, and bade them sling and shoot at the Scythians, to keep them from approaching the phalanx of the infantry as it was disembarked, before the cavalry had all crossed. When they were all in a body on the bank, he launched at the Scythians first a regiment of the mercenaries and four squadrons of spearmen. The Scythians, who were in strong force, awaited them, and then rode round the smaller party of the enemy, which kept shooting at them, while they themselves easily managed to escape by flight. Alexander then massed together his archers, the Agrianes, and the other light troops, under Balacrus, with the cavalry, and led them against the Scythians. Then, when they were quite close, he ordered three regiments of the Companions and all the mounted javelin-men to charge them; and he himself brought up the rest of the cavalry at full speed and charged with his squadrons in column. So the Scythians were no longer able to wheel round in circles as they had been doing just before; for the Greek cavalry was now pressing them at close quarters, and at the same moment the light troops, mingling with the cavalry, prevented their wheeling about to the attack with any security. In fact the flight of the Scythians was by now manifest; there fell of them about a thousand, with one of their commanders, Satraces, while about a hundred and fifty were captured. The pursuit was sharp, and was distressing because of the great heat, so that all the army was consumed by thirst, and Alexander himself as he rode on drank whatever kind of water there was in that district. The water was, however, unwholesome, and so a constant diarrhoea suddenly seized him; and for this reason the pursuit did not extend to the whole body of Scythians. Otherwise I am inclined to think that they would all have perished in their flight, had not Alexander had this seizure. He fell indeed into serious danger, and was carried back into the camp, and in this way Aristander's prophecy came true.

V. Soon afterwards envoys reached Alexander from the king of the Scythians; they had been sent to express regret for what had occurred, on the ground that it had not been any united action of the Scythian state, but only that of raiders and freebooters; the king himself, moreover, was desirous to perform what was laid upon him. Alexander gave a polite answer, since it seemed dishonourable not to continue the expedition, if he distrusted the king, and yet it was not exactly the best moment to make the expedition.

The Macedonians, meanwhile, who were being watched in the citadel at Maracanda, on an assault being made on the citadel by Spitamenes and his troops, made a sally and killed some of the enemy, while they drove off the

whole body, themselves retiring unharmed to the citadel. As soon, however, as Spitamenes heard that the force sent by Alexander to Maracanda was already drawing near, he left the siege of the citadel and himself retreated as if to the chief city of Sogdiana. (Some error, possibly. Maracanda (Samarkand) was itself the capital.) Pharnuches, however, and the officers with him, hurrying on to drive him off altogether, pursued him as he retreated towards the frontiers of Sogdiana, and unheedingly made a general attack on the nomad Scythians. On this Spitamenes, adding to his force some six hundred Scythian horse, was encouraged by this alliance of the Scythians to await the Macedonians as they came on; he drew up his men on a level space near the Scythian desert, but had no intention of merely awaiting the enemy or himself making a charge upon them, but wheeling round and round shot volleys of arrows into the infantry phalanx. Then when Pharnuches' troops charged them, they had no difficulty in riding off, their horses being swifter and at the moment fresher, while the horses of Andromachus' troops were distressed by the forced march and want of fodder, so that whether they stood their ground or withdrew, the Scythians swooped vigorously upon them. And now as a good number of men were being wounded by the arrows, and some actually falling, the officers formed their men into a square and withdrew towards the river Polytimetus, where was a wooded glen near by, so that the Scythians could no longer easily shoot at them, and they themselves could make more use of their infantry.

Caranus, however, the commander of the cavalry, without notifying Andromachus attempted to cross the river, hoping to get his cavalry into safety on this side, and the infantry followed him, not receiving any instructions to do so, but making a panic-stricken and disorderly descent into the river from the precipitous banks. The Scythians seeing this error of the Macedonians, mounted as they were, dashed from all directions into the stream. Some pressed on after those who had already crossed and were retreating, others ranging themselves athwart pulled down into the river those who were trying to cross, others again from the flanks showered arrows at them, and others pressed on such as were just entering the river. Then the Macedonians, helpless every way, took refuge in a body on a small island in the river. The Scythians flocking round them, with Spitamenes' cavalry, in a circle, shot them all down; a few they took as prisoners, but killed all these also.

VI. Aristobulus, however, states that the greater part of this force was destroyed by an ambush, the Scythians having hidden themselves in a park; then they suddenly burst forth upon the Macedonians from their concealment just at the beginning of the action, just at the moment when Pharnuches was retiring from his command in favour of the Macedonians who had been sent with him, on the ground that he was not skilled in military actions, but had been sent by Alexander rather to treat with the natives than to act as leader in battles, while they were both Macedonians and Companions of the king.

Andromachus, however, and Caranus and Menedemus did not accept, the command, partly that they might not appear to take any fresh action on their own account over and above the commands of Alexander; and partly because in the face of this danger they did not wish to take any individual share in defeat, should this happen; much less to bear the blame, as a body, of having proved bad generals. In this confusion and disorder the Scythians charged down and cut them down in large numbers, so that of cavalry not more than forty escaped, and of foot-soldiers about three hundred.

When this was reported to Alexander he was much distressed at this disaster to his men and decided to march at full speed upon Spitamenes and the tribesmen with him. Accordingly, he took half of the Companions' cavalry, the archers and the Agrianes, and, of the phalanx, the lightest-armed, and marched on Maracanda, whither he had learnt that Spitamenes had returned and was again besieging the garrison in the citadel. Alexander traversed fifteen hundred stades in three days, and on the fourth about dawn approached the city. But Spitamenes and his troops, learning that Alexander was drawing near, did not await him but left the city and fled. Alexander pursued him closely; and when he reached the place where the battle took place, he buried the soldiers as best he could and followed the fugitives right up to the desert. Thence he turned back, and ravaged the district, and slew such of the tribesmen as had taken refuge in the forts, because they too were reported to have joined in the attack on the Macedonians. He traversed the entire country which the river Polytimetus waters, but when the water of the river comes to an end, thence beyond the country is all desert: the stream, though of considerable volume of water, vanishes into the sand. Other rivers, great and perennial ones, disappear there in the same way; the Epardus, which runs through the Mardian country, the Areius, which gives its name to the country Areia, and the Etymandrus, which runs through the country of the Euergetae. All these rivers are of a size such that none is smaller than the Peneius, the river of Thessaly which runs through Tempe and discharges into the sea; the Polytimetus, however, is out of all comparison larger than the Peneius.

VII. When Alexander had completed this, he arrived at Zariaspa; and there he remained till the depth of winter should pass. Meanwhile there came to him Phrataphemes the satrap of Parthyaea and Stasanor who had been sent to Areia to arrest Arsames, bringing Arsames in chains, and Barzanes, whom Bessus had made satrap of Parthyaea; and others also of those who had revolted with Bessus. There arrived at the same time from the seacoast Epocillus and Melamnidas and Ptolemaeus the general of the Thracians; they had escorted the treasure sent with Menes and the allies down to the sea. Asander also came at this time and Nearchus, bringing a Greek mercenary force, and Bessus the satrap of Syria, and Asclepiodorus the deputy, from the sea, they also bringing an army.

Then Alexander summoned a conference of those with him and brought

out Bessus before them, and accusing Bessus of treachery towards Dareius and commanded that his nose and tips of the ears should be cut off, and that he should be carried to Ecbatana, there to be put to death in the full gathering of Medes and Persians. This over-punishing of Bessus I cannot approve; I regard as barbaric the mutilation of the extremities, and I agree that Alexander was carried away to the extent both of copying Medic and Persian splendour, and also the fashion of barbaric kings to treat their subjects as lower creatures. Nor do I at all commend his taking to Median garb instead of the Macedonian traditional dress, especially since he was a descendant of Heracles. Moreover, he did not blush to exchange the head-dress he had long worn as a conqueror for the tiara of the conquered Persians. I commend none of these things, but I hold that Alexander's own splendid achievements prove, if aught can prove, that neither vigorous bodily strength nor splendour of birth nor greater fortune in war than Alexander's own, nor if anyone might sail round Libya and Asia and subdue them both, as Alexander intended, nor if one might add Europe as a third, over and above Libya and Asia — that not one of these things is of any use to make a man's happiness, unless the man that has done, in the eyes of the world, these mighty deeds, has learnt the mastery of himself.

VIII. At this point it will not be unseasonable to relate the death of Cleitus son of Dropides and what happened to Alexander after it; even though it actually occurred later. The Macedonians kept a festival of Dionysus and Alexander sacrificed to him yearly on the festival; it is said that only on this particular occasion Alexander neglected Dionysus but sacrificed to the Dioscuri, having for some reason decided thus to sacrifice to the Dioscuri. However, the drinking was prolonged (and, in fact, Alexander had already taken to barbaric ways in drinking), and in the course of the drinking bout talk occurred about the Dioscuri, and how their fatherhood was no longer attributed to Tyndareus but referred to Zeus. Some of the company, that type of men who always have spoiled and always will continue to harm the interests of the reigning monarch, out of flattery to Alexander, gave out as their opinion that there was no comparison between Castor and Pollux and Alexander and Alexander's achievements. Others, being as they were in drink, did not even stop short of Heracles; it was only envy, they said, which stood in the way of those yet living and kept them from receiving their due honours from their contemporaries.

Cleitus, however, had clearly, for some time past, been distressed both with Alexander's change towards the more barbaric style and the expressions of his flatterers; and now under the stimulus of wine he could not permit them to offer these insults to divine beings, or, by belittling the deeds of the heroes of old, to do to Alexander this kindness that was far from kind. He felt that Alexander's achievements were not so great and wonderful as they exaggerated them to be; nay, Alexander had not achieved them by himself, but they were for the great part Macedonian achievements. When he uttered these thoughts, Alexander was deeply hurt. I do not commend Cleitus' words,

either; I rather think it enough, amid such drunkenness, for a man to keep his own views to himself, and so avoid the errors of flattery of the rest. However, when some even referred to Philip's achievements, quite unjustly suggesting that Philip had done no great or wonderful deeds, these also trying to gratify Alexander, Cleitus could no longer control himself and spoke up on behalf of Philip's achievements, making little of Alexander and his; and being now heated with wine, among other things he even became voluble in reproaches to Alexander, that after all Alexander owed his life to him, when the cavalry battle on the Granicus was fought with the Persians; and, what is more, holding out with a superb air his right hand, cried, "This very hand, Alexander, saved you then!" On this Alexander could no longer brook the drunken arrogance of Cleitus, and leapt up in anger to strike him, but was held back by his boon companions. Still Cleitus did not restrain his insults. Thereupon Alexander shouted out, calling on his bodyguard; but as no one obeyed, he cried that he had come to the same pass as Dareius, when he was led prisoner by Bessus and his confederates, and that he had nothing now left of king but the name. No longer could his friends hold him back; but he leapt up and, as some say, snatched a spear from one of the guard and therewith smote and slew Cleitus; but, according to others, a long pike from one of the guard, and with this slew him. But Aristobulus, while not telling us the origin of this drinking bout, holds that the entire fault lay in Cleitus, since he, as Alexander broke into passion and leapt up to slay him, was hurried away through the doors over the wall and ditch of the citadel, where all this happened, by Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, one of the bodyguards; and yet could not control himself, and hurried back; and arriving just as Alexander was calling out "Cleitus!" himself cried, "Behold, here is Cleitus, Alexander!" and there and then was smitten with the pike and so died.

IX. I myself strongly blame Cleitus for his insulting behaviour towards his king; Alexander I pity for this mishap, since he showed himself therein the slave of two vices, by neither of which any self-respecting man should be overcome, namely, passion and drunkenness. But for the sequel I commend Alexander, in that he immediately perceived that he had done a foul deed. 'Some say that Alexander leaned the pike against the wall, intending to fall upon it himself, as no longer worthy to live when he had slain a friend through drunkenness. But most historians do not relate this. They tell us that Alexander took to his bed and lay there lamenting, crying out the name of Cleitus and of Cleitus' sister, Lanice daughter of Dropides, who had nursed him: "What a fine gift for her nursing had he given her, now come to man's estate! she had seen her sons die fighting for him, and now with his own hand he had murdered her brother." He kept again and again calling himself the slayer of his friends, and lay three days without food or drink, and careless of all other bodily needs.

Hereupon some of the prophets kept uttering hints of wrath from Dionysus, because Alexander had neglected the sacrifice to Dionysus. With some

difficulty Alexander was brought by his friends to take food, and took some slight care of his person; then he paid the due sacrifice to Dionysus, since indeed he was not unwilling that the disaster should be referred to divine wrath rather than to his own evil nature. In this I have high commendation for Alexander, that he did not brazen out his evil act, nor degrade himself by becoming champion and advocate of his misdeed; but confessed that, being merely human, he had erred.

Some authorities say that Anaxarchus the Sophist came by summons to Alexander, and finding him lying moaning, laughed at him and said that Alexander had not learnt that the old philosophers made Justice to sit by the throne of Zeus just for this reason, that whatsoever is done by Zeus is done with Justice; even so what is done by a great King should be held just, both by the King himself and by all the world. With these words he consoled Alexander for the time; but I say that he did Alexander a wrong more grievous than the trouble which beset him; if indeed he gave this opinion as that of a philosopher, that the King need not really give all diligence to choose out and do just deeds, but that we must hold whatsoever the King does, in whatsoever way it may be done, to be just. For the tale goes that Alexander even desired people to bow to the earth before him, from the idea that Ammon was his father rather than Philip, and since he now emulated the ways of the Persians and Medes, both by the change of his garb and the altered arrangements of his general way of life. It is said that he had no lack of zealous flatterers who yielded to him in this, and not least among them Anaxarchus, one of the Sophists at his court, and Agis of Argos, an epic poet.

X. Callisthenes of Olynthus, however, a pupil of Aristotle, and with something of the boor in his character, did not approve all this, and herein I agree with Callisthenes. But I think quite out of place the remark of Callisthenes (if correctly reported), that Alexander and his achievements were all dependent on himself and his history. He himself (he said) hoped for no glory in coming to Alexander, but rather to make Alexander famous in the sight of men; and again, that Alexander's share in divinity did not depend on Olympias' fanciful story of his birth, but upon his own account of Alexander which should be given to the world in his history. Some relate too that Philotas once asked him whom he thought to be held in highest honour by the Athenians; and he replied, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, because they slew one of the two tyrants, and destroyed the tyranny. Then Philotas asked him again if a tyrannicide could find a safe refuge among any of the Greeks he wished? and Callisthenes again answered that if not elsewhere, at least if he fled to Athens such a one would be safe, since the Athenians, on behalf of the children of Heracles, had even fought against Eurysthenes, who was tyrant then over Greece.

And as to Callisthenes' opposition to Alexander in the matter of bowing to the ground before him, there is a story as follows. It had been agreed between Alexander and the Sophists and the most illustrious of the Persians and Medes

at his court that there should be mention made of this topic at a wine-party; Anaxarchus began the subject, saying that it would be far more just to reckon Alexander a god than Dionysus and Heracles, not so much because of the many great achievements of Alexander, but also because Dionysus was a Theban, and had no connection with Macedon, and Heracles an Argive, also unconnected with Macedon, save by Alexander's descent, for he was a son of Heracles; but that Macedonians were more justified in honouring their own King with divine honours. For in any case there was no doubt that when Alexander had passed away from men they would honour him as a god; how much more just, then, that they should honour him in life rather than when dead, when the honour would profit him nothing.

X. When then Anaxarchus had spoken thus, and to this purport, those who were in the plot approved his statement and indeed desired to begin the ceremony of prostration. The Macedonians, however, for the most part disagreed with these remarks, and kept silent. But Callisthenes broke in and said: "Anaxarchus, I hold Alexander unworthy of no honour fit for mankind; but, in point of fact, lines have been drawn for men between honours fit for mortals and honours fit for gods in many diverse ways, as by the building of temples and setting up of images, and since enclosures have been set apart for the gods, and since we sacrifice to them, and offer libations, and hymns are composed to gods, while eulogies are composed for men; but chiefly in this very custom of bowing down before them. Those who greet their fellow-men kiss them, but as for the gods, since they are set far above us and we may not even touch them, hence they are honoured by our bowing down before them; dances, too, are held in honour of the gods, and paeans sung before them, and this is nothing out of the way; since among the gods themselves some have these honours attached, and some those; and what is more, they are again different for the heroes, and these distinct from those paid to gods. It is not, therefore, proper to confuse all this, and to raise mortals to an extravagant grade by excesses of honour, and to reduce the gods, as far as can be done, to an unseemly humiliation, by honouring them on the same level as men. Alexander himself would not brook it for a moment, if some private person laid claim to the royal honours by right of some unconstitutional election or vote. Much more rightly then would the gods be angry with any mortals investing themselves with divine honours or permitting others so to invest them. Now Alexander both is and is thought to be above all measure the bravest of the brave, most kingly of Kings, most worthy to command of all commanders. As for you, Anaxarchus, you above all should have taken the lead in this discourse and put a stop to the opposite argument, being as you are attached to Alexander as philosopher and instructor. It was most improper that you should take the lead in this line of argument; you should rather have remembered that you are not attending nor advising some Cambyses or Xerxes, but a son of Philip, by race a descendant of Heracles and of Aeacus, whose forefathers came from Argos to Macedonia, and long held sway there,

not as tyrants but as constitutional monarchs of Macedonia. But not even to Heracles himself were divine honours paid by the Greeks while he yet lived; nay, even after his death they were not paid before an oracle was given by the god of Delphi that Heracles was to be honoured as a god. If, however, we must think in foreign fashion, since our discussion takes place in a foreign country, yet even so I beg you, Alexander, to remember Greece, for whose sake all your expedition took place, to add Asia to Greece. Moreover, consider this also, on your return to Greece will it be Greeks, the most free of all mankind, whom you will compel to bow down before you, or will you perhaps exempt the Greeks, and shackle the Macedonians with this shame? or will you draw a line thus in the matter of honours for all the world, that by Greeks and Macedonians you shall be honoured as a man, but by foreigners only in this foreign fashion? But if it is said of Cyrus son of Cambyses that Cyrus was the first of men to receive this homage of bowing to the ground, and that therefore this humiliation became traditional with Persians and Medes, yet you must remember that this very Cyrus was brought to a better mind by Scythians, a poor but free people; Dareius too by other Scythians, Xerxes by Athenians and Lacedaemonians, and Artaxerxes by Clearchus and Xenophon and their Ten Thousand, and Dareius now by Alexander, as yet unworshipped by prostrations.”

XI. This, and to this effect, spake Callisthenes; and while he irritated Alexander exceedingly, he found favour with the Macedonians, and, perceiving this, Alexander sent and bade the Macedonians to take no thought for such prostrations in future. When, however, a silence fell after these words, the senior of the Persians arose and one by one bowed low before Alexander. But Leonnatus one of the Companions, thinking that one of the Persians made his bow ungracefully, mocked the Persian's attitude, as something abject, at which Alexander was very angry, though he was reconciled with him again. A story also occurs as follows: — Alexander sent round a loving cup, a golden one, first to those with whom he had made the arrangement about the prostrations; then the first guest drinking of it rose up, prostrated him self, and received a kiss from Alexander, and so they did one by one in order. But when the turn to drink came to Callisthenes, he rose up, drank from the cup, approached, and made to kiss Alexander without having prostrated himself. Alexander at the moment was talking to Hephaestion, and therefore was not attending to see whether the ceremony of prostration was duly carried out by Callisthenes. But Demetrius son of Pythonax, one of the Companions, as Callisthenes approached to kiss Alexander, remarked that he was coming without having prostrated himself. Alexander did not permit Callisthenes therefore to kiss him; and Callisthenes remarked, “I shall go off short of a kiss.”

All this, as far as it bears on the arrogance of Alexander at the time and the rudeness of Callisthenes, I in no sort of way approve. It seems to me enough that a man as far as himself is concerned should behave in a seemly way, and

that when a man has consented to serve a King, he should exalt the King's doings in every possible way. Rightly therefore, in my judgment, was Alexander angry with Callisthenes both for his unseasonable freedom of speech and for his foolish arrogance. I gather that this is why people easily credit the detractors of Callisthenes who suggest that he had a part in the plot laid against Alexander by his squires; some even say that Callisthenes incited them to the plot. The story of the plot is as follows.

XII. Philip had long ago ordained that the sons of Macedonian notables who had reached adolescence *I* should be attached to the service of the King; and besides general attendance on his person, the duty of guarding him when asleep had been entrusted to them. Again, whenever the King rode out, they received the horses from the grooms and led them up, assisted the King to mount in Persian fashion, and were his companions in the rivalry of the chase. Among them was one Hermolaus a son of Sopolis; he was reputed to be a zealous student of philosophy and to be a follower of Callisthenes to this end. About him there is a story that once in a hunt a wild boar charged Alexander and that Hermolaus hastened to pierce the boar, which indeed fell from the stroke; but Alexander, too late for his chance, was angry with Hermolaus and in his passion ordered him to be whipped in the presence of his fellow-pages, and took his horse from him.

This Hermolaus, feeling bitterly the degradation, told Sostratus son of Amyntas his comrade and fast friend that he found life no longer worth living until he had avenged himself on Alexander for this injustice. Sostratus for his part was easily enough, by reason of his infatuation, persuaded to join in the business. Then the two won over Antipater son of Asclepiodorus, who had been satrap of Syria, Epimenes son of Arseus, Anticles son of Theocritus, and Philotas son of Carsis the Thracian. So when the turn of keeping guard by night fell to Antipater, it was resolved to assassinate Alexander by attacking him in his sleep.

It so fell out that Alexander, not from any outside suggestion, as some say, kept on drinking till daylight.

Aristobulus, however, says that a Syrian woman with a spirit of divination followed Alexander, and that she was at first a laughing-stock both to Alexander and his friends; but when everything in her divination seemed to come true, Alexander no longer made light of her, but the Syrian had access to the King day and night and often watched over him as he slept. On this occasion then when Alexander rose from his potations she met him, while under the spell of her inspiration, and begged him to return and continue drinking all night long; Alexander therefore, believing this warning to be prophetic, returned and continued, and so the plot of the squires came to nothing.

Next day, however, Epimenes son of Arseus, one of the conspirators, told Charicles son of Menander, whose favourite he was, of the plot, Charicles told Eurylochus brother of Epimenes, and Eurylochus entered Alexander's tent,

and revealed to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus the whole affair, on which Alexander caused all whose names Eurylochus had given to be arrested; and they in turn being put to the question revealed both their own plot and implicated others also.

XIII. Aristobulus indeed declares that they said that it was Callisthenes who had urged them to the plot; and Ptolemaeus agrees. But most authorities do not say so; but only that by reason of Alexander's dislike for Callisthenes and because Hermolaus was in closest contact with Callisthenes, Alexander easily believed the worst story about Callisthenes. Some also have ere now written that Hermolaus, summoned before the Macedonians, confessed that he had conspired, for no freeborn man could endure longer the arrogance of Alexander; and went over the whole story, how Philotas had been unjustly put to death, and the still more illegal execution of his father Parmenio and of the others who suffered at the same time; the murder of Cleitus at a drinking party; the wearing of Median garb, the prostration ceremonies decreed, and not yet revoked, and Alexander's drinkings and heavy slumbers; unable to bear, he asserted, all this, he had desired to free both himself and the rest of the Macedonians. Hermolaus himself and the others arrested with him, they say, were stoned to death by those present at the conference. As for Callisthenes, Aristobulus relates that he was bound with fetters and led about with the army, but at length died of sickness. But Ptolemaeus son of Lagus says that he was tortured and then put to death by hanging. Thus not even those whose narrations are entirely trustworthy and who actually accompanied Alexander at that time agree in their accounts of notorious events of which they had full knowledge. In many other points different writers told different tales about these very events; what I have written must suffice. At any rate all this which took place not long afterwards, I have related as part of the story of Cleitus, regarding it as really akin to Cleitus' story for the purpose of narration.

XIV. Now a second time envoys came to Alexander from the European Scythians, together with the envoys whom he himself had sent to Scythia. For the king of the Scythians at the time when these had been sent by Alexander had died; and his brother was now King. The purpose of the embassy was to express the readiness of the Scythians to do whatsoever Alexander commanded; and they brought gifts for Alexander from the King of Scythia such as are greatly accounted of in Scythia; and they said also that the King wished to give to Alexander his daughter to wife, to confirm his friendship and alliance with Alexander. If, however, Alexander should not care to marry the Scythian princess, yet he was desirous to give the daughters of the governors of the Scythian territory and of the chief personages in Scythia to the most trusty of Alexander's followers; he added also that he would come to visit Alexander, should he be summoned, to receive Alexander's commands in person. There came also to Alexander at the same time also Pharasmanes the King of the Chorasinians with fifteen hundred horsemen. Pharasmanes said

that he lived on the borders of the Colchians and of the Amazon women; and should Alexander desire to invade Colchis and the territory of the Amazons and subdue all the races in this direction which dwelt near the Euxine Sea, he promised to act as guide and to provide all necessities for the expeditionary force.

Alexander therefore replied courteously to the Scythian envoys, and suitably to the occasion. He had, he said, no need of an alliance by marriage with Scythia; he then thanked Pharasmanes and made friendship and alliance with him, but said that it was not just then convenient to make an expedition to Pontus. But he commended Pharasmanes to Artabazus the Persian, to whom Alexander had entrusted affairs in Bactria, and to all the other neighbouring satraps, and he dismissed him to his own home. He said that for the time being he had India in contemplation; for by subduing India he would then have all Asia; but when he was master of Asia he would return to Greece; and thence in the direction of the Hellespont and the Propontis would make an expedition into Pontus with all his forces, navy and infantry alike; Pharasmanes must therefore reserve his promises which he now made to that future time.

He himself returned now to the river Oxus, and determined to proceed to Sogdiana, since it was reported that many of the Sogdianians had taken refuge in their forts and would not obey the satrap set over them by Alexander. Now while he was encamped on the river Oxus, not far from the tent of Alexander himself a spring of water, and another of oil near it, came up from the ground. And when this marvel was related to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus of the royal bodyguard, he told Alexander; and Alexander sacrificed, on account of this portent, what the soothsayers recommended. Aristander said that the spring of oil was a sign of labours to come; but that it portended victory after the labours.

XV. So when he had passed with part of his force into Sogdiana, leaving behind Polysperchon and Attalus and Gorgias and Meleager there in Bactria, he bade them keep good watch over the country so that the tribesmen in those parts might not give trouble, and to destroy such as had already revolted; then he himself divided the force with him into five parts, and appointed Hephaestion to command one, Ptolemaeus the son of Lagus, his personal guard, another; over the third he set Perdikkas, and the fourth brigade was led by Coenus and Artabazus; and the fifth he took himself and invaded the district towards Maracanda. The others also advanced as they could, and stormed such as had taken refuge in the forts, and took over others who came and offered themselves in surrender. But when his whole force, having traversed the greater part of Sogdiana, arrived at Maracanda, he sent Hephaestion to plant settlements in the cities of Sogdiana, and Coenus and Artabazus in the direction of Scythia, since news came that Spitamenes had taken refuge there; and himself with the rest of the troops went on to such part of Sogdiana as was still held by the rebels, and subdued it without trouble.

While Alexander was busied about this, Spitamenes and some followers, fugitives from Sogdiana, had fled for refuge to the part of the Scythians called the Massagetae; there they collected six hundred horsemen of the Massagetae and arrived at one of the forts in the Bactrian region. Attacking the commandant of the garrison, who suspected no enemy action, and the garrison with him, they destroyed the soldiers and kept the commandant in custody. They themselves then, after capturing this stronghold, feeling encouraged, approached Zariaspa a few days later, and though they decided not to assault the city, they surrounded and drove off much booty.

In the city of Zariaspa were some of the Companions' cavalry, left there on account of ill-health, and with them Peithon son of Sosicles, set over the general attendance on the King, and Aristonicus the harpist. These learning of the Scythian raid, and being now recovered, and able to bear arms and mount on horseback, assembled the mercenary cavalry up to the number of eighty, who had been left behind to garrison Zariaspa, and some also of the King's squires, and made an attack on the Massagetae. At the first charge, falling on the Scythians when they suspected nothing, they robbed them of their entire plunder, and slew a good number of those who were driving it off. Then, however, when they were retiring in some disorder, with no one in command, Spitamenes and the Scythians caught them in an ambush, where they lost some of the Companions, and sixty of the mercenary cavalry. Aristonicus, too the harpist, perished there, having fought not as a harpist might, but as a good man and true. Peithon was wounded and captured by the Scythians.

XVI. When this was reported to Craterus, he hurried at all speed to the Massagetae, and when they learned that Craterus was approaching them, they fled hastily into the desert. Then Craterus pressing upon them fell in with them not far from the desert and with other Massagetaean horsemen, over a thousand in number. A severe battle took place between the Macedonians and the Scythians, and the Macedonians had the better of it. Of the Scythians a hundred and fifty horsemen perished, but the rest easily got away into the desert, since it was impracticable for the Macedonians to pursue further.

Meanwhile Alexander had permitted Artabazus the satrap of Bactria, at his request, on account of old age, to resign his satrapy; and now appointed Amyntas son of Nicolaus in his place. Coenus he left there with his own brigade and Meleager's, and up to four hundred of the Companions' cavalry, all the mounted javelin-men, and of the Bactrians and Sogdianians such as were attached to Amyntas, commanding them all to take their orders from Coenus, and to go into winter quarters there in Sogdiana, partly to keep an eye on this region and partly to try to ambush and capture Spitamenes, should he come raiding in that direction in the winter.

But Spitamenes and his troops finding every place occupied by Macedonian garrisons and no likelihood of escape anywhere for themselves, turned towards Coenus and his troops, thinking that in that direction they would make a better fight of it. Arriving at Bagae, a stronghold of Sogdiana,

lying between the land of Sogdiana and that of the Massagetaean Scythians, they easily induced up to three thousand horsemen of the Scythians to join with them in a raid on Sogdiana. Now these Scythians are in great poverty, and also, since they have no cities and no settled habitations, so that they have no fear for their homes, they are easy to persuade to take part in any war which may offer, and when Coenus and his force learned that the cavalry with Spitamenes was approaching, they with their troops went to meet them. There was a severe battle, in which the Macedonians had the upper hand, so that of the tribesmen's cavalry over eight hundred fell in the battle, but of Coenus' troops about twenty-five horsemen and twelve foot-soldiers. So the Sogdianians still left with Spitamenes and the greater number of the Bactrians deserted Spitamenes during the flight and came to Coenus and surrendered themselves to him, The Massagetaean Scythians after this disaster plundered the baggage trains of the Bactrians and Sogdianians who had fought along with them, and themselves with Spitamenes fled to the desert. When they learnt that Alexander was already on the move and marching towards the desert, they cut off Spitamenes' head and sent it to Alexander, to divert him, by this action, from themselves.

XVII. Meantime Coenus and Craterus with his men had returned to Alexander at Nautaca, and Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea, with his troops, and Stasanor satrap of Areia, after accomplishing all that Alexander had commanded them. But Alexander, resting his force at Nautaca, since winter was at its depth, despatched Phrataphernes to the Mardians and Tapurians, to bring back the satrap Autophradates, because he had often hitherto been sent for by Alexander but had not obeyed the summons. Stasanor he sent to the Drangians as satrap, to the Medes Atropates, as satrap of Media, since he had heard that Oxodates had ill-will against himself. Stamenes he sent to Babylon, since Mazaeus the governor of Babylon was reported dead. Sopolis and Epocillus and Menidas he sent to Macedonia, to bring thence to him the army due from Macedonia.

With the first appearance of spring Alexander marched forward towards the Rock of Sogdiana, to which, as he was told, a good many of the Sogdianians had fled for refuge; and the wife of Oxyartes the Bactrian and his daughters were also reported to have taken refuge in this rock, Oxyartes having secretly sent them thither as to a place too strong to be captured; for he himself also had revolted from Alexander. Once this was taken it seemed that nothing would be left any longer for those Sogdianians who wished to rebel. But when they approached the rock, Alexander found it sheer on all sides against attack, and that the tribesmen had stored there provisions for a long siege; and deep snow having fallen made the approach more difficult for the Macedonians, while it assured to the tribesmen abundant water. Yet even so Alexander decided to assault the position. For some arrogant insult of the tribesmen had stirred Alexander to angry rivalry. For when summoned to a parley, and receiving the offer that they would be allowed to go safe to their

homes if they gave up the position, they with barbaric laughter bade Alexander find winged soldiers to capture the height for him, since they cared for no other kind of men. Then Alexander proclaimed that the first to scale the height should have a first prize of twelve talents, the second, the second prize, the third, the third prize, and the last prize for the last to reach the top was three hundred darics. Eager as the Macedonians already were, this proclamation incited them even more.

XIX. So then when all those had assembled who had practised rock-climbing in their previous sieges, up to the number of three hundred, and had got ready small iron pegs, with which their tents were pegged down, in order to fix them into the snow, where it appeared frozen fast, and also if any space bare of snow showed up, and had bound these to strong linen ropes, they set out at night to the part of the rock which was most sheer, and so unguarded. These pegs they fixed, some into the ground, where it was visible, and some into the snow, where it seemed least likely to give way, and hauled themselves, one one way and one another, up the face of the cliff.

Some thirty of them perished in the ascent, and their bodies were not even found for burial, having fallen in different places into the snow. The rest, however, reached the top about dawn, and seized the summit of the crag, and waved linen flags to the Macedonian camp, as Alexander had commanded them. Then Alexander sending a herald bade him shout to the advance guard of the tribesmen, bidding them delay no further but give themselves up forthwith; for he had found sure enough the winged men and the summit of their rock was already in their hands; and with that he pointed to the soldiers on the top.

The tribesmen were astounded at this miraculous sight, and suspecting that those who held the summit were more numerous than in reality, and fully armed, surrendered; so terrified were they at the sight of those few Macedonians. Wives and children of many of them were captured there, and also among these the wife and daughters of Oxyartes. Now there was a marriageable daughter of Oxyartes called Roxane, and those who served with Alexander said that she was the loveliest woman in Asia next to Dareius' wife; Alexander when he saw her fell in love with her, but captive though she was, and deep in love as he was, he would not offer any violence to her, but deigned to marry her. This in Alexander I approve rather than blame. Yet for Dareius' wife, who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Asia, either he felt no love, or mastered himself, young though he was and in the very flush of his prosperity — a period when men act violently; but he pitied and spared her, both showing much restraint and also a proper ambition for good repute.

XVIII. There is indeed also a story that soon after the battle of Issus between Dareius and Alexander, there escaped the chamberlain who had charge of Dareius' wife and fled to Dareius. When then Dareius saw him, he first asked if his children and his wife and mother were alive. When he learnt that they were, and that they had the title of princesses, and that the court paid

to them was the same as when he was on the throne, Dareius next asked if his wife still remained true to him. Learning that she was, he enquired again whether any violence or insult had been offered to her by Alexander. The chamberlain with an oath replied, "O King, your wife is as you left her, and Alexander is the noblest and most self-controlled of men." At this, Dareius stretched his hands to the heavens and prayed thus: "O Zeus the King, to whom it has been given to order the affairs of Kings among men, do thou guard safe for me, if so it may be, the sovereignty of Persians and Medes, as thou didst give it me; but if I be no longer King of Asia, do thou give my power to none but to Alexander. So much does he care for honourable conduct even towards enemies."

Now Oxyartes when he learnt that his daughters were captives, and also that Alexander cared for his daughter Roxane, took courage and came to Alexander and was held in honour by him, as was meet, after this happy event.

XIX. After completing his work in Sogdiana, and being now in possession of the rock, Alexander advanced to the Pareitacae, since many of the tribesmen were reported to be holding a strong place in the country of the Pareitacae, another rock, called the Rock of Chorienes; and Chorienes himself and many others of the authorities of the country had taken refuge there. The height of this rock was about twenty stades, its circuit, some sixty; it was sheer on all sides, and there was only one way up to it, and this narrow and difficult, made as it was despite the nature of the ground, so that it was difficult, even if no one prevented, to ascend even in single file. A deep ravine also protects the rock all round, so that anyone desiring to bring up an army against the rock would be obliged beforehand to do much filling up of the ravine, so that he might start from level ground when bringing up his force to the assault.

Undeterred, however, Alexander took the work in hand; so confident was he that everything should be accessible to him, and that everything could be captured; and to such a height of boldness and success had he reached. Felling the pines, therefore (there were many tall pines all round about the hill), he made ladders of them, so that the army might be able to descend into the ravine, for there was no other means of descent. During the days Alexander himself superintended the operations, keeping half his army at work; during the nights his bodyguards worked in relays, Perdicas and Leonnatus and Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, with the rest of the army, divided into three sections, as Alexander had commanded, for the night work. By day-time they could not accomplish a distance of more than twenty cubits, at night rather less, even though all the army was at work; so difficult was the ground, and so hard the work there. First descending into the ravine they fixed stakes into the narrowest part of the ravine; the stakes being just as far apart from one another as was proper to give the necessary strength and to bear safely the load piled upon them. They then fixed upon the stakes hurdles of willow and

osiers in bridge fashion; then binding these closely together they heaped earth upon them, so that the approach for the troops to the rock might be on the level. (See Appendix.)

At first the tribesmen laughed at these attempts as if quite hopeless; but when at length arrows began to find the range of the rock and they proved unable from above to dislodge the Macedonians who had made screens against the missiles, so that they worked beneath them unharmed, Choriene was aghast at the achievement and sent a herald to Alexander begging him to send Oxyartes to him; and Alexander did so. And when Oxyartes came he tried to persuade Choriene to surrender himself and his stronghold to Alexander. For nothing, he said, could not be taken by force by Alexander and his army; if, however, Choriene should make terms of good faith and friendship with Alexander, he was able to commend highly the good faith and justice of the King, giving many examples, but chiefly adducing his own treatment in proof of his argument. Choriene was overborne by these arguments, and himself came to Alexander with some of his kinsfolk and friends. And when Choriene arrived Alexander replied to him courteously and gave him assurance of his friendship, retaining Choriene himself, but bidding him send some of those who came down with him to the rock, to order the stronghold to be given up. And given up it was by the refugees, so that Alexander himself actually took five hundred of the bodyguard and ascended to see the rock; and so far from showing any unkindness to Choriene, he actually entrusted the stronghold to him and made him governor of the district he had previously administered.

The army, as it happened, had suffered much in the winter, a great deal of snow having fallen during the siege; and also they were distressed by want of provisions. But Choriene said he would give two months' supplies for the army, and gave them corn and wine from the stores in the rock, and distributed dried meat among the tents. Even after all these gifts he said he had not expended a tithe of what they had prepared for the siege. Alexander therefore regarded him with the greater respect, since he had given up the stronghold not so much perforce as from good-will.

XX. After this achievement Alexander himself marched towards Bactria; but he sent Craterus, with six hundred of the Companions' cavalry and of the infantry his own brigade, that of Polysperchon and Attalus, and that of Alcetas, against Catanes and Austanes, who alone were left of those who had rebelled in the territory of the Pareitacae. There was a severe battle fought against them; but Craterus' troops won the day; Catanes perished on the field, but Austanes was captured and taken before Alexander; of the tribesmen who fought under him, up to a hundred and twenty perished, and of infantry about fifteen hundred. And when Craterus' force had accomplished this, they too marched towards Baetria, where it was that the plot of Callisthenes and the squires against Alexander took place.

From Bactria, now that spring was ending, Alexander took his force and

marched towards India, leaving Amyntas behind in Bactria and with him three thousand and five hundred cavalry and ten thousand infantry. Crossing the Caucasus, (As before, the Hindu-Koosh; also called the Parapamisus.) in ten days he arrived at the city of Alexandria, which he had founded in the district of the Parapamisadae during his first expedition into Bactria. The governor whom he had set over the city then, he now dismissed from his office, as he appeared to have proved an inefficient ruler. He then settled in Alexandria more settlers from the neighbourhood and of the troops also such as were past fighting, and ordered Nicanor, one of the Companions, to take charge of the city itself; and as satrap he appointed Turiaspes, both of the country of the Parapamisadae and of the rest as far as to the river Cophen. Then reaching Nicaea and after sacrificing to Athena he advanced towards the Cophen, sending a herald in advance to Taxiles and the Indians this side of the river Indus; bidding them meet him, each at their earliest convenience; Taxiles and the others did come to meet him, bringing such gifts as the Indians most prize, and they promised to give Alexander the elephants they had with them, five-and-twenty in number.

Here he divided his army, and sent Hephaestion and Perdiccas to the territory of Peucelaotis towards the river Indus, with the brigade of Gorgias and of Cleitus and of Meleager and half of the Companions' cavalry and all the mercenary cavalry; bidding them either to take by storm, or to receive in surrender, all towns on their march; then, when they had reached the Indus, to get everything ready for the crossing of the river. Taxiles and the other authorities were sent with them. They duly arrived at the river Indus and carried out Alexander's commands. But Astes the governor of the district Peucelaotis attempted revolt, and was himself put to death, while he involved in his fate the city also to which he had fled for refuge. For Hephaestion and his troops besieged it for thirty days and captured it. Astes himself having been put to death, Sangaeus was appointed to govern the city; he had previously escaped from Astes and had gone over to Taxiles; this guaranteed his good faith with Alexander.

XXI. But Alexander, taking the bodyguard and such of the Companions' cavalry as had not been detailed with Hephaestion and the brigades of the Companions' infantry, as it is called, with the archers, the Agrianes, and the mounted javelin-men, advanced to the district of the Aspasiens, Guraeans and Assaceniens. Marching along the river Choes by a mountainous and rough route, and crossing the river with some difficulty, he bade the infantry force to follow him at normal pace; but himself taking all the cavalry and up to eight hundred of the Macedonian foot-soldiers, whom he mounted, with their infantry shields, marched at full speed, having learnt that the tribesmen in this direction had fled for refuge to the hills of the district and to the cities which were strong for the purpose of defence. The first of these cities which lay on his route he assaulted, and without any special effort drove back the advance guards of the city, and shut them up in the city; but he himself received a

wound by an arrow through his breastplate in his shoulder. The wound, however, was not a serious one, for the breastplate prevented the dart passing through his shoulder; Ptolemaeus son of Lagus also was wounded, and Leonnatus.

On this Alexander placed his camp by the city where the wall appeared easiest to assault; and next day about dawn, there being a double wall about the city, the Macedonians easily forced their way through the first, as it had not been carefully built; but at the second wall the tribesmen made a short stand, and yet when the ladders were now put up and the advance posts were being wounded on this side and on that by the missiles, they did not stand their ground, but dashed out of the city by the gates in the direction of the hills. Of them some perished in the escape; and the Macedonians slew all they captured alive, angry that Alexander had been wounded by them; the greater number, however, escaped to the hills, which were not far from the city. Alexander, razing the city to the ground, went on to another city, Andaca. This he received in surrender, and left Craterus with the other infantry officers to destroy such other cities as should not surrender of their free-will, and to put everything in order in this district as was most expedient for the present.

XXII. Alexander himself then took the bodyguard, archers, and Agrianes, with Coenus' and Attalus' brigade, and the guards' cavalry squadron and some four regiments of the other Companions and half the mounted archers, and advanced towards the river Euaspla, where was the governor of the Aspasians; and passing through a considerable stretch of territory in two days he arrived at the city. When the tribesmen, however, learnt of Alexander's approach, they fled to the mountains. But Alexander's troops followed close on the fugitives up to the mountains, and there was a great slaughter of the tribesmen, until they managed to escape into the more difficult country.

The actual leader of the Indians of this district Ptolemaeus son of Lagus saw already close to a hill, and some of his bodyguardsmen near him, though he himself had a much inferior force with him, yet continued to pursue him on horseback; but when the hill proved difficult for his horse to ascend he left it there, handing it to one of the guards to lead; but he himself, on foot as he was, followed hard upon the Indian. He then, seeing Ptolemaeus drawing near, himself turned round to bay, and his guards with him; and the Indian with his long spear struck at close quarters through Ptolemaeus' corselet to his breast, the corslet checking the blow; but Ptolemaeus smote right through the Indian's thigh, drove him to the ground, and despoiled him. His followers, seeing their leader lying there, no longer remained, but others from the hills seeing the enemy carrying off their governor's body, were bitterly grieved, and rushing down joined in a severe battle with them near the hill. Now Alexander, with his cavalymen dismounted, was already near the hill. They coming to join the fray only with difficulty drove back the Indians to the mountains, and got possession of the body.

Crossing the mountains Alexander descended at a city called Arigaeus, and

captured it after it had been set on fire by its inhabitants, but found the inhabitants themselves had fled. Here there met him Craterus and his men with the army, after carrying through successfully all that Alexander had commanded them. This city indeed, since it seemed to lie in a convenient position, he bade Craterus to strengthen with a wall, and settle therein the neighbouring tribesmen, as many as volunteered, and any of the army who were past fighting. He himself, however, advanced to where he had learnt that the greater part of the tribesmen of this district had taken refuge; and reaching a mountain he camped there at its foot.

At this same time Ptolemaeus son of Lagus whom Alexander had sent foraging, and who had advanced further ahead, himself and a few others, to scout, reported to Alexander that he had sighted fires of the tribesmen a good deal more numerous than in Alexander's own camp; yet Alexander was incredulous about the number of the fires; but perceiving that it was a device of the tribesmen of this district, he left part of his force behind encamped, as they were, and himself taking what appeared to be a sufficient force, in view of this report, when they saw the fires from close at hand, divided his men into three parts; and he set over the first part Leonnatus, member of the bodyguard, detailing for him the brigade of Attalus and that of Balacrus; and the second portion he gave to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus; namely, a third part of the royal guards and the brigade of Philip and Philotas and two regiments of archers and the Agrianes, and half the cavalry; then he himself led the third division to where the greatest number of the tribesmen appeared to be.

XXIII. They, as soon as they saw the Macedonians approach, holding as they did the heights, confident in their numbers, and despising the Macedonians, as they appeared to be few, descended to the plain; a severe battle followed. Still Alexander had the mastery of them without much difficulty. Ptolemaeus' troops were drawn up not on the level; but since the tribesmen held a hill, Ptolemaeus throwing his lines into columns led them up to the point where the hill seemed most open to assault, not investing the hill on all sides, but leaving a space for flight, should the tribesmen elect to escape. With these there followed a severe battle, both because of the difficulty of the position and because these Indians were not of the same kind as the rest in this district, but much the most warlike of all the neighbouring tribes. Yet even these were driven down from the mountain by the Macedonians; and Leonnatus and his troops were equally successful with the third part of the army; for they too conquered those ranged against them. And Ptolemaeus says that the total of men captured was over forty thousand, and of oxen over two hundred and thirty thousand; and of these Alexander chose out the finest, because they seemed to be of unusual beauty and size, and was anxious to send them into Macedonia to work the land.

Thence he proceeded to the territory of the Assacenians; for these were reported to have prepared for battle, with two thousand horsemen, over thirty thousand infantry, and thirty elephants. Craterus then, who had finished the

walling round of the city of whose settlement he had been put in charge, took to Alexander the heavier armed troops of the army, and the siege engines, in case he had need of a siege. But Alexander himself with the Companions' cavalry and the mounted javelin-men and the brigade of Coenus and Polysperchon, the thousand Agrianes, and the archers, marched towards the Assacenians; and he went through the country of the Guraeans. And the river Guraeus, which shares its name with the country, he crossed with difficulty, both because of its depth, and because its current was rapid, and the rounded stones in the river proved very slippery to anyone stepping on them. But the tribesmen, learning that Alexander was approaching, dared not take their stand in mass for a battle, but breaking off in parties each to their city they purposed to defend and save them.

XXIV. Alexander then marched first against Massaga, the greatest of the cities in this district. When he already was approaching the walls, the tribesmen, relying on mercenary Indians brought from further India, about seven thousand men, as soon as they saw the Macedonians pitching camp, charged into them at the double. So Alexander seeing that the battle would be near the city, being anxious to draw them out further from their walls, so that if a rout took place (and he was sure it would) they should not have their city close at hand for refuge and so come off safe; as soon as he saw the tribesmen sallying out, bade the Macedonians turn right-about and withdraw towards a hill, about seven stades away from the site on which he had decided to camp. So the enemy, plucking up courage, thinking that the Macedonians had already given way, rushed upon them at full speed and in disorder. But when the arrows were just reaching his troops, then Alexander by signal turned his phalanx towards them and led it on at the double. First the mounted javelin-men, the Agrianes, and the archers dashed forward and attacked the tribesmen; but Alexander himself led on his phalanx in due order. But the Indians, upset by the unexpected attack and also the battle being now hand to hand, turned and fled back to the city. Some two hundred of them perished, but the rest were shut up inside their walls. Alexander brought up his phalanx to the wall, and thence was wounded, not seriously, by an arrow from the wall on his ankle. But next day bringing up the engines he easily destroyed a part of the wall, and as the Macedonians pressed in here at the breach of the wall, the Indians bravely resisted, so that for this day Alexander recalled his troops. But next day the Macedonian attack was more efficient; and a wooden tower was brought up against the walls, from which the archers shot volleys, while from the engines they hurled missiles, and so they much repressed the Indians; but not even so could they force their way inside the wall.

But on the third day bringing up again the phalanx and throwing a bridge from an engine to the breach of the wall, over this Alexander led on his bodyguard, who had helped him in the same way to capture Tyre. Many pressed forward in eagerness, and the bridge receiving too great a weight broke, and the Macedonians fell with it. But the tribesmen seeing the

occurrence, raising a shout, with stones from the walls, and arrows, and anything they had in hand, or anything they picked up, shot at the Macedonians; and others by the small gates, which they had in the spaces between the towers, broke forth and at close quarters struck at the Macedonians while in this confusion.

XXV. Alexander now sent Alcetas with his brigade, both to pick up the wounded and to recall to the camp any who were still engaged; and the fourth day similarly from another engine another bridge was brought up to the wall.

The Indians, as long as their chief survived, resisted stoutly; but as soon as he was hit by a missile from a catapult, and killed, they, with part of their number already fallen in the close siege, and part now wounded and unfit for service, sent to Alexander to ask for a truce. He was glad enough to be able to preserve such valiant men; and it was here that Alexander agreed with his mercenary Indians to join the rest of his army and take the field with him. They passed out with their arms, and encamped by themselves on a hill, which lay facing the Macedonian camp; and they intended, at night, to slip away and escape to their own tribes, not being desirous of taking up arms against the rest of the Indians. When this was reported to Alexander he threw his whole force during night-time round the hill, and cut down the Indians whom he had thus enclosed; their city he captured by assault, deprived as it was of its chief defenders, and took there also Assacenus' mother and daughter. In the entire siege there perished some twenty-five of Alexander's men.

Thence he sent Coenus to Bazira, considering that on learning of the capture of Massaga they would surrender. But Attalus and Alcetas and Demetrius the commander of the cavalry he sent towards another city, Ora, bidding them strengthen the city with a wall during the time of his own approach. The townsmen made, however, a sally against Alcetas' forces. But the Macedonians easily repulsed them and turned them back from the wall into the city. Coenus was not successful at Bazira, but the townspeople trusting in the strength of their site, since it was very high and fortified carefully all round, showed no signs of surrendering.

Alexander on learning this started towards Bazira; but hearing that some of the neighbouring tribesmen were preparing to slip unseen into the city of Ora, for Abisarus had sent them expressly for this, he advanced first towards Ora; and he commanded Coenus to fortify near the city of Bazira a strong position and in this to leave a sufficient garrison, so that the populace might not feel at liberty to use the neighbouring country, and then to bring the rest of the army to join him. But the tribesmen in Bazira seeing Coenus departing with the majority of the army, made light of the Macedonians, as not likely to prove worthy opponents, and sallied out from the city; and there was a severe battle. In the battle as many as five hundred of the tribesmen fell, and over seventy were taken alive; the rest were driven back into the city and were now even there closely hindered from going into the country by those who held the

stronghold facing their wall. Alexander found the siege of Ora not difficult; but at once attacking the walls he took the city at the first attempt, and captured the elephants which had been left there.

XXVI. When the inhabitants of Bazira learnt this, they lost confidence in their position, and about midnight deserted the city; and thus did all the remaining tribesmen; deserting their cities they all fled to the rock in this neighbourhood called Aornos. (On its site see Introduction.) It is an unusually large rock in this country, and the story about it is that even Heracles the son of Zeus was unable to capture it. Whether indeed Heracles, either the Theban or the Tyrian Heracles, or the Egyptian, ever reached India I cannot state confidently; I rather incline to think that he did not, but rather that whatever difficulties men meet, they exaggerate this difficulty so far as to relate a legend that Heracles himself could not have overcome them. This at any rate is my view about this rock, that Heracles has been brought in to make more of the story. In any case they give the circuit of the rock as about two hundred stades, its height, at its lowest part, at eleven stades; and there is said to be one way up only, a made way, and a rough one. On the top of the rock is plenty of pure water; it comes from a spring, and in fact even runs off the rock; there is also wood and good arable land there, enough for a thousand men to till.

As soon as Alexander heard this, he was seized with a desire to capture this mountain also, and not least by reason of the legend about Heracles. Ora and Massaga he made fortresses in the district; but the city of Bazira he enclosed with a wall. And Hephaestion and Perdicas and those with them built a wall round another city, called Orobatis, and leaving there a garrison went on towards the river Indus; and on arrival, they took such steps as Alexander had ordered for the bridging of the Indus.

Of the region this side of the river Indus Alexander appointed Nicanor as governor, one of the Companions. He himself first went towards the river Indus and took over by surrender the city of Peucelaotis, situated not far from the Indus, and set a Macedonian garrison there with Philippus commandant of the garrison; and he also took over various small towns lying on the river Indus. With him followed Cophaeus and Assagetes, the governors of the country. Then reaching the city Embolima, which lay near the rock of Aornos, he left there Craterus with part of the army; bidding him get in as much provision as possible into the city and all else necessary for a long delay, so that the Macedonians, using the city as a base, might wear out the holders of the rock with a long blockade, should it not be captured by first assault. Then he himself taking the archers and the Agrianes and Coenus' brigade and choosing out the lightest from the rest of the phalanx, but at the same time the best armed, and with two hundred of the Companions' cavalry and a hundred mounted archers, approached the rock. For this day he encamped where it seemed to him convenient; but next day he advanced a little towards the rock and camped again.

XXVII. Meanwhile some of the neighbouring tribesmen came to Alexander

surrendering themselves and promising to lead him to the part of the rock which could best be assaulted, whence he could without difficulty capture the position. With these men he sent Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, his personal guard, with the Agrianes, the rest of the light troops and chosen men of the bodyguard, ordering him as soon as he should capture the position to hold it with a strong garrison, signalling to him that it was so held. Ptolemaeus then pursued a rough and difficult track and seized the place without the tribesmen's knowledge: then he strengthened it by a stockade all round and a trench, and showed a fire-signal from the height where Alexander was sure to see it. At once Alexander saw the flare, and next day he brought up his army; but as the tribesmen offered opposition he made no advance, owing to difficulties of the ground. But as soon as the tribesmen saw that Alexander's advance was ineffective, they turned and attacked Ptolemaeus and his troops; and a severe battle took place between them and the Macedonians, the Indians eagerly seeking to pull down the stockade, but Ptolemaeus to keep his hold on the position; in the exchange of long-range volleys the tribesmen had the worst, and at nightfall withdrew.

Alexander, however, selected a deserter of the Indians, trustworthy, and (what is more) with exact knowledge of the localities, and sent him by night to Ptolemaeus with a letter, in which it was written that so soon as Alexander himself should approach the rock, Ptolemaeus was to attack the tribesmen from the height, not contenting himself with merely holding the position, so that the Indians attacked from both sides might be between two fires. Then Alexander at dawn moved from his camp and brought his army to the incline by which Ptolemaeus had secretly ascended; reckoning that if he could force his way in this direction and join Ptolemaeus' force, the action would be a simple one; as indeed it fell out. For to midday there was a severe battle between the Indians and the Macedonians, these trying to force the approach, those shooting as their enemy approached. But as the Macedonians kept constantly coming up, detachment after detachment, while the earlier ones rested from the attack, with much difficulty about dusk they mastered the ascent and joined the force of Ptolemaeus. Thence the now united forces attacked again the rock itself; but even thus the attack failed. This was the close of operations that day.

At dawn Alexander bade each soldier to cut a hundred stakes; these were all cut, (A slight change in the Greek would give the meaning "collected.") and then he raised a great mound beginning from the top of the crest on which they had encamped up to the rock; from this arrows could reach the defenders, as he calculated, and missiles hurled from the engines. All hands took part in the work and built the mound; Alexander himself stood by, watching and approving anyone who worked zealously; but punishing any laggards.

XXVIII. On the first day the army had built the mound to about a stade in length. But on the next, the slingers using their slings from the mound so far built, and the missiles flung from the engines, kept down the sallies of the

Indians upon the builders of the mound. In three days the mound had covered the whole space. But on the fourth a few Macedonians made a rush and held a small hill of the same level as the rock, and Alexander without a moment's delay extended the mound, anxious to make it continuous up to the hill which this small party was already holding.

The Indians were amazed at the incredible boldness of the Macedonians who had seized the hill, and seeing the mound already continuous began to desist from any defence, but sent an officer to ask Alexander for a truce, and said they would surrender the rock, on terms being granted them. They had formed a plan of spending the day in the delays incident to these terms and then, at night, scattering all to their own tribes. But when Alexander discovered this, he gave them plenty of time for their withdrawal and for the removing of the investing patrols. Then he himself waited till they began their withdrawal; and meantime taking his bodyguards up to seven hundred to the now deserted part of the rock, he himself was the first to mount it, and the Macedonians pulling each other up, followed. These then at a signal turned upon the retreating tribesmen, and slew many of them in their flight; some in the panic of their escape threw themselves down the cliffs and so perished. Thus Alexander now held the rock that Heracles could not take, and he sacrificed there, and then established a guard there, appointing to command the guard Sisicottus, who had some time ago deserted from Bessus and come to Bactria; then when Alexander took Bactria he served under him and proved very trustworthy.

Alexander now left the rock and invaded the district of the Assacenians. For it was reported that Assacenus' brother with the elephants and many of the neighbouring tribesmen had taken refuge in these hills. Arriving at a city Dyrta, he found none of the inhabitants there, not even in the neighbourhood of the city; but the next day he sent out Nearchus and Antiochus the commander of the guards' regiments; to Nearchus he gave the Agrianes and the light troops, and to Antiochus his own regiment and two besides. They were sent to spy out the land and to seize any of the tribesmen they might find for interrogation; especially he was anxious to find out all about the elephants.

Then he himself now went on to the river Indus, and his army was sent in advance to prepare the road, since the country here was difficult. There he seized a few tribesmen, and learnt from them that the Indians of the district had fled to Abisarus, but that he had left his elephants at pasture near the river Indus. These men he commanded to lead him the way to the elephants. Now many Indians hunt elephants, and Alexander made much of such in his following. And with them he hunted the elephants, and two of them threw themselves over cliffs in the pursuit and perished; the rest were captured, and permitted riders to mount them, and were taken into the army. And finding a wood, good for felling, near the river, Alexander had it cut down by his troops, and ships built. These sailed down the Indus to the bridge which Hephaestion and Perdicas had long since built.

APPENDIX

The Bridge or Causeway in Book IV.

ARRIAN usually follows his military authorities closely. Sometimes there is a suspicion that they (perhaps under orders, or from motives of flattery) magnified Alexander's difficulties. Sometimes we cannot but suspect that Arrian has not properly grasped his authorities, or tries to blend two different accounts. On the other hand, Sir Aurel Stein's identification of Aornos by means of Arrian's description, if correct, must incline us to take Arrian at his word elsewhere.

In the present passage, however anxious we may be to do so, there are difficulties.

There was a ravine all round the Rock of Chorienes; but there was only one way up the Rock. Alexander caused abundant trees to be felled: [here we expect to be told that, as before the Rock of Aornos (ch.s xxix-xxx), he cast the trees into the ravine, where stakes had apparently been fixed, to hem in the tree trunks as they fell, so that they formed a bridge which, being piled up constantly, became a solid causeway. Yet the stakes at Aornos are not actually stated to have been fixed, and each man cut as many as 100 stakes; possibly, therefore, the Aornos "stakes" were themselves the timber thrown in to fill the ravine. Here, however, we are actually told that] these trees were made into ladders, by which the troops could descend into the ravine. They did so descend; and fixed stakes or pegs (not the same word as in the Aornos context) into its "sharpest part these pegs or stakes were to bear loads, and so were presumably driven horizontally; on them were thrown hurdles or bundles of willow, etc., "bridge-fashion"; earth was heaped on them, and a bridge or causeway thus formed. Questions arise If the work was done from below, why the stakes or pegs? If it was done in the narrowest part of the ravine, how could so many troops (half the army at a time) be used? Why no mention of tree trunks or branches used to fill the ravine? Was the narrowest part of the ravine also its bottom? Or did it widen out below, where its stream ran? The best answer we can give to all these questions is, perhaps, that the ravine did so widen below; that the pegs or stakes were necessary because, at its narrowest point, it had actually to be bridged; that the willow-bundles were piled upon the stakes or pegs in rude cantilever fashion, till they met in the centre; and that upon this structure earth, not trees, was thrown from above by the troops (of whom only a few can have descended), and that the completed structure was thus both bridge and causeway. At Aornos Alexander not only filled the ravine, at the point of approach, but also built a mound up to a hillock of the same height as the Rock itself.

PREFACE TO VOLUME II

A KEEN critic, who pointed out several misprints in Vol. I, also took me to task for vagaries in the proper names. In these I confess to a certain licence, for which there are parallels. Sometimes "Ptolemy," sometimes "Ptolemaeus," better fits the run of the sentence, and "Ptolemaeus" is advisable where another name, such as Aristobulus, follows. In Roman Histories, despite the wise recommendations of learned societies for transliteration, "Pompey" and "Antony," undignified though they sound, are usual. In *Anabasis* VI. v. 5 I even venture "Craterus and Philip," since we have come to anglicize "Philippus" as a general rule.

In this volume I use Arabeans (*Indica*) for dwellers by the river Arabis, but keep "Agrianes" because "Agrianians" sounds ugly.

Sometimes variety is used to distinguish; it has become usual, for instance, to use Aornos of the Rock, Aornus of the Bactrian site.

A more difficult point is accentuation of rarer names, especially of Macedonian names. I print Leonnatos, as Roos did; but he repented when too late (Piget me Leonnatos... ex A retinuisse, cum Leonnatos vel... Leonnatos scribendum sit). Possibly in the *Indica*, where there is evidently some attempt at Aeolisms, we should, by *βαρντόνησις*, write Leonnatos. But -ATOS is probably wrong, and Hoffmann (Ueber die Makedonen "ihre sprache") suggests that the termination is from 'oninami', the name meaning "serviceable to the people" or something like; and, if so, the word should be oxytone.

Not many works on Arrian or Alexander have appeared since the publication of Vol. I; the translation of Ulrich Wilcken's *Alexander* and Georges Radet's *Alexandre le grand* (Paris, 1931, 448 pp.) are to be noted; those who have followed Radet's writings in Bordeaux University publications will know that the completed work is of high value. A copy of *The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition*, by C. A. Robinson, Jr of Brown University, has kindly been sent me by the author, who indeed seems to attribute the work to a desire expressed in my *Alexander the Great* (Cape). In this study of Alexander's routes and stopping-places Mr. Robinson seems to reach the striking conclusion that after the death of Callisthenes there was, for a time, either a cessation of the official Diaries or much confusion in them. In this "second period" the surviving authorities differ much in their records of Alexander's progress. Later on they appear to have been better ordered. The writer promises a larger work.

Sir Aurel Stein prints in *The Geographical Journal* for July 1932 an article on "The Site of Alexander's Passage of the Hydaspes and the Battle with Poros." He has most kindly permitted use of his articles and maps; and the larger map in this volume has been as far as possible brought into harmony with his, while that of the Upper Indus is actually his.

E. I. R.

BOOK V

I. In the country through which Alexander passed, between the rivers Cophen and Indus, was situated, they say, the city Nysa, founded by Dionysus; he founded it when he subdued the Indians, whoever this Dionysus was, and whenever or whence he marched against the Indians; for I for my part cannot gather whether the Theban Dionysus started from Thebes or from the Lydian Tmolus, and led an army against the Indians, invading all these warlike peoples, unknown to the Greeks of that time, and subduing no other part of them but the Indians; still, one must not be a precise critic of ancient legends about the divine beings. For things which — if you consider them merely from their probability — appear incredible, may, when one adds to one's story the divine element, prove by no means incredible.

When, however, Alexander approached Nysa, the people of Nysa sent out to him their chief, whose name was Acuphis, and with him thirty envoys from their most notable men, to beg Alexander to leave their city to its god. The envoys, it is said, came into Alexander's pavilion, and found him sitting all dusty still from the journey, with his ordinary armour on him, and wearing a helmet and carrying his spear; they were amazed at the sight of him, and fell to the ground, and for a long time kept silence. But when Alexander raised them up and bade them take courage, then Acuphis began and spake as follows:

“The people of Nysa, O King beg you to leave them free and independent, from reverence for Dionysus. For he, when he had subdued the nation of the Indians, and was returning towards the Greek Sea, founded, with his discharged soldiers, who were also his Bacchi, (That is, his band of revellers.) this city, to be a memorial for those to come of his journey and his victory, even as you have yourself founded Alexandria by Mount Caucasus, and another Alexandria in Egypt, and you have both founded many other cities already, and will found more in course of time, thus giving proof of more achievements than those of Dionysus. Now Dionysus called this city Nysa in honour of his nurse Nysa, and the territory he called Nysaeon; and the mountain near the city he named Merus (a thigh), since, according to the legend, he grew in the thigh of Zeus. From that time this city of Nysa in which we dwell has been free, and ourselves independent, and living as orderly citizens. And let this too be a proof that Dionysus was our founder; ivy grows nowhere else in India, but does grow with us.”

II. All this was very pleasing for Alexander to hear, and he was very ready to believe the tale about the journey of Dionysus; he was ready also to credit that Nysa was founded by Dionysus, in which case he had already reached the point which Dionysus reached, and would go even farther than Dionysus. He thought also that the Macedonians would not refuse to endure toils with him still further, in rivalry with Dionysus' achievements. Alexander therefore

granted continuance of freedom and independence to the settlers of Nysa. And when he had by inquiry ascertained their laws, and that their government was in the hands of the aristocrats, he expressed approval of this, at the same time demanding that they should send him three hundred horsemen, and also select and send a hundred of the chief men in the government (they also were three hundred in number). Acuphis was to select them, and Alexander also appointed him governor of the territory of Nysa. Then Acuphis is said to have smiled, on hearing this request; and when Alexander asked why he laughed, he replied: "How, O King, can a single city be deprived of a hundred good citizens and yet continue to be well governed? But if you care for the Nysaeans, let the three hundred horsemen be brought, and even more, if you wish; but instead of these hundred men, whom you desire me to choose out, the best we have, take twice the number of the inferior citizens, so that when you come hither again you may think the city to be in the same good order as now." With these words, which appeared wise words, he won Alexander's consent. He bade Acuphis send the horsemen to accompany him, but no longer to demand the select hundred, and not even to send any substitutes in their place. Acuphis sent, however, with him his son, and his daughter's son.

Alexander then was seized with a desire to see the place where the Nysaeans proudly displayed certain memorials of Dionysus; to go to Mount Merus with the Companions' cavalry and his own company of infantry, and behold the mountain full of ivy and laurel, with all sorts of groves; to see how shady it was, and that there were good hunting grounds in it of all sorts of game. The Macedonians were delighted to see the ivy, since they had seen none for a long time; for there is no ivy in the Indians' country, not even where they have vines; and they eagerly made wreaths of it and crowned themselves there and then, singing hymns to Dionysus and calling on the various names of the god. Then Alexander sacrificed there to Dionysus, and made good cheer with his Companions. Some have related (if anyone can believe this story) that many of the more exalted Macedonians who were with him crowned themselves with the ivy, and were, on this invocation of the god, possessed by Dionysus, raised the Dionysiac cry, and rushed hither and thither, in the Bacchic way.

III. However, these tales anyone may believe or not, taking them as he thinks fit. For I do not wholly agree with Eratosthenes the Cyrenaean, (Eratosthenes of Cyrene, died about 196 B.C. A great scholar and scientist, best known as geometer, astronomer, and geographer.) who states that what the Macedonians say of the divine influence was much exaggerated to please Alexander. He says for instance that the Macedonians caught sight of a cave among the Parapamisadae, and hearing some local legend about it, or having agreed together, spread the rumour that this was Prometheus' cave, where he had been chained, and that the eagle used to visit there, to feed on Prometheus' liver, and that Heracles, arriving at this same spot, shot the eagle and released Prometheus from his chains. So the Macedonians transferred, in

their account, Mount Caucasus from the Pontus to the eastern parts of the world and the country of the Parapamisadae, towards India, and called Mount Parapamisus Mount Caucasus, all for the glory of Alexander, suggesting that he had actually crossed Mount Caucasus. Then in India itself, when they saw cattle branded with a club, they deduced thence that Heracles had come to India. Similar stories about Dionysus' journeyings are rejected by Eratosthenes. As far as I am concerned, the stories of these things may rest open.

Alexander, arriving at the river Indus, found a bridge already made over it by Hephaestion, and many smaller boats, but also two of thirty oars. Also he found already arrived gifts from Taxiles the Indian, two hundred silver talents, and for sacrificial offerings three thousand cattle and over ten thousand sheep, with thirty elephants. There came also from Taxiles seven hundred cavalry as fighting allies, and Taxiles surrendered to him the city Taxila, the greatest city between the river Indus and the Hydaspes. There Alexander sacrificed to the gods to whom he usually offered sacrifice, and held a contest of athletics and cavalry games near the river; and the sacrifices were favourable to the crossing.

IV. That the river Indus is the greatest river of Asia and Europe except the Ganges, and this too is an Indian river; and that its springs are on this side of Mount Parapamisus or Caucasus, that it runs into the great Indian sea towards the south wind, that it has two mouths and both its outlets are marshy, like the five outlets of the Ister, and that it forms a delta also in the land of India analogous to the delta in Egypt, called Pattala in the Indian language — all this about the Indus, that namely which can least be gainsaid, permit me also to set down here. For the Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotis, and Hyphasis, all also rivers of India, are much greater than the remaining rivers of Asia; yet they are smaller, in fact much smaller, than the Indus, as the Indus itself than the Ganges. Ctesias indeed — if indeed Ctesias is of any use as a witness — says that where the Indus is narrowest, its banks are forty stades apart; but where broadest even a hundred; the greater part of its course is about half this.

This river then, the Indus, Alexander crossed at dawn with his army, so entering the land of the Indians; about whom I have not in this history given any account either of their customs, or whether their country produces any strange animals, or of the size or kinds of fishes or sea-monsters which the Indus, or Hydaspes, or Ganges, or the other Indian rivers produce, or of their ants which mine for gold, or of the griffons which keep watch, or of all the other curiosities rather invented for amusement than for accurate setting out of facts — since whatever ridiculous lies people tell about the Indians are not likely to be verified by anyone. Yet in fact Alexander and his fellow-soldiers did indeed verify the greater part of these — save a few false tales such as some even of themselves made up; and they did find out that the Indians have no gold — at least so many as Alexander visited in his campaign, and they were very numerous; and they are not at all luxurious in their way of living;

but they are tall of stature, in fact the tallest men in Asia, five cubits, most of them, or very little short of it; and they are darker-skinned than the rest of mankind, except the Aethiopians; and in warlike matters much the noblest of the inhabitants of Asia at that time. For I cannot properly compare with the Indians the ancient Persians, with whom Cyrus son of Cambyses set forth and deprived the Medes of the sovereignty of Asia, and subdued some of the remaining peoples, and received the voluntary surrender of the rest. For the Persians then were poor, and dwelt in a rough country, and their customs were approximated as near as possible to the Spartan educational system. Nor can I properly compare the wound dealt to the Persians in Scythia, so as to say whether it happened because they fell in with difficulties of the country, or by some other error of Cyrus, or whether the Persians were actually inferior in warfare to the Scythians of this region.

V. However, about India I shall write a special monograph (This is the *Indica* included in this volume.) based on all the most reliable facts from Alexander's fellow-campaigners and Nearchus, who coasted along the part of the Great Sea which lies towards India, adding besides all that Megasthenes and Eratosthenes, who are both men of repute, have written; the customs of India, any strange beasts which live there, and the voyage round it by the Outer Sea. But now let what I have written down suffice, so far as seemed necessary to the account of Alexander's achievements; namely, that Mount Taurus is the boundary of Asia, beginning from Mycale, the mountain over against the island of Samos; then cutting through between the land of Pamphylia and Lycia, thence reaches to Armenia; and from Armenia runs to Media by way of the Parthaeans and Chorasmians; and in Bactria joins Mount Parapamisus, which the Macedonians who served with Alexander called Mount Caucasus, with a view (so it is said) of glorifying Alexander, as suggesting that Alexander reached even the farther side of Mount Caucasus in his victorious career. Perhaps, however, this mountain is continuous with the other Caucasus, that is, the Scythian; just as Mount Taurus is continuous with this Caucasus. For this reason I have previously called this mountain Caucasus, and shall continue so to call it later. This Caucasus reaches to the great eastern sea, towards India. Thus all the important rivers of Asia rise from Mounts Taurus and Caucasus; and a part of them turn their streams northward, and of them some pass out into Lake Maeotis; others into the sea called the Hyrcanian, itself a gulf of the Great Sea; a part again turn southward, the Euphrates, Tigris, Indus, Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotis, and Hyphasis, and any which are between these and the Ganges and run out into the sea or are diffused over marshy ground and so disappear, as the Euphrates disappears.

VI. Anyone who surveys Asia so that it is divided by Mounts Taurus and Caucasus from west to east will find that the two greatest divisions of Asia are formed by Mount Taurus itself, the one looking towards the south and the south wind, the other to the north and the north wind. Then the southern part

of Asia may again be divided into four parts, and of these Eratosthenes and Megasthenes regard as the greatest part the region of India — Megasthenes dwelt with the satrap of Arachosia, Sibyrtius, and writes that he often visited Sandracottus, the king of the Indians; the smallest part, that bounded by the Euphrates, looks towards our inland sea. The other two parts lie between the Euphrates and the Indus, and these two put together can hardly be compared with the territory of India. India itself both east and west, right down to the south, is bounded by the Great Sea; its northern part is bounded by Mount Caucasus till its junction with Mount Taurus: then to the west, and the north-west wind, as far as the Great Sea, the Indus forms its boundary. The greater part of it is level plain, and this, as is conjectured, is alluvial, formed by the rivers. In other parts of the country also such plains as are near the sea for the most part are the result each of its neighbouring river; so too the name of the country from ancient times was attached to the rivers. Thus there is a plain of Hermus, which river rises in Asia from the mountain of Mother Dindymene and runs into the sea near the city of Smyrna in Aeolia; then there is another plain, that of Cayster, a Lydian plain and named from a Lydian river, another plain of Caicus, in Mysia, and the Carian plain of Maeander, stretching to Miletus, the Ionian city. Egypt also the historians Herodotus and Hecataeus (though possibly the work on Egypt is by another than Hecataeus) both call similarly “the gift of the river,” and Herodotus has shown by very clear proofs that this is so, owing to the coincidence of country and river sharing the same name. For that Aegyptus was the old name of the river which the Egyptians and others living outside Egypt call the Nile, Homer is ample evidence, when he says that Menelaus stationed his ships at the mouth of the river Aegyptus. Since, therefore, any one river, each in various parts of the world, and not great rivers either, can while flowing seaward build up a great stretch of land, by bringing down mud and deposits from the upper lands where are their springs, there is no reason for disbelief about the country of India either, how it comes to be for the most part plain, and has its plain formed by the alluvial deposits of the rivers: as for Hermus and Cayster and Caicus and Maeander or any other rivers of Asia which run out into this inner sea, if you put them all together, you could not, for volume of water, compare them with one of the rivers of India — to say nothing of the largest, Ganges, with which not even the volume of the Nile in Egypt nor the Ister (The Danube) which flows through Europe is worthy to be compared, nay, not even if all were put together do they equal the river Indus, which rises a great river at its very springs, and takes in fifteen tributaries, all greater than the Asian rivers, and, imposing its name as it goes, runs out to join the sea. This for the present must be all I have to say about India; the rest must be put aside for my Indian History.

VII. As for the method by which Alexander bridged the Indus, neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemaeus, the authors whom I chiefly follow, describe it; nor can I myself make a reasonable conjecture, whether the passage was

bridged by boats, as the Hellespont by Xerxes and the Bosphorus and Ister by Dareius, or whether a continuous bridge was built across the stream. I am inclined to the idea that the bridging was by boats; since the depth of the river would not admit of a bridge, nor could so extraordinary a work have been completed in so little time. Again, if the stream was bridged with boats, whether the boats were lashed together by ropes and then moored in order and so formed the bridge, as Herodotus of Halicarnassus says that the Hellespont was bridged; or in the way in which the Roman bridge is made on the Ister, and on the Celtic Rhine, and in which they bridged the Euphrates and Tigris, as often as they were obliged to do so — this too I cannot say. Yet the quickest way of bridging I know is the Roman by use of boats, and I shall here describe it, for it merits description. The boats are, at the given signal, allowed to float down-stream, yet not bows on, but as if backing. So then the stream, as is natural, carries them down, but a rowing boat holds them up till it manoeuvres them into the appointed place. Then wicker crates made pyramid-shape full of unhewn stones are let down from the bows of each ship to hold it against the stream. And when one ship is thus made fast, and then another, just at the right interval to carry the superstructure safely, it is anchored head up-stream; and on both boats timbers are accurately and smartly laid, and planks crosswise to bind them together. Then the work goes on throughout all the boats, so many as are needed for the bridging. On either side of the bridge ladders are thrown out, and made fast, so that the passage may be safer for horses and baggage animals, and also to bind the bridge together; and in quite a short time, and with much bustle, the whole work is completed; and yet there is good order in the course of the work; instructions called from ship to ship, and reproofs of shirked work, do not spoil the hearing of the orders, nor the speed of the operation.

VIII. These then are the long-established methods of the Romans; but how Alexander bridged the Indus I do not pretend to say, for even those who served under him did not tell us. Still, I am inclined to think that he approximated to this way of bridging; yet if it was by some other means, let it pass. After taking his army across, Alexander sacrificed according to custom. Then leaving the Indus he marched to Taxila, a great and prosperous city. It is indeed the largest of all which lie between the river Indus and the Hydaspes. He was received there by Taxiles, the governor of the city, and the Indians of this district, in a friendly manner; and Alexander added to them so much of the neighbouring territory as they requested. Here then joined him envoys from Abisarus, the king of the Indian hill-tribes, and the brother of Abisarus and others with him, the most notable men, others also from Doxareus the governor of the district, bringing gifts. There also, at Taxila, Alexander offered the customary sacrifices, and held an athletic and cavalry contest. He appointed Philip son of Machatas satrap of the Indians of this territory, and left behind a garrison, and any invalided soldiers he had; then he marched on towards the river Hydaspes.

For he had learnt that Porus was on the far side of the Hydaspes with all his army, determined to prevent his crossing, or at least to attack him, should he attempt it. On learning this, Alexander sent Coenus son of Polemocrates back to the river Indus, ordering him to take to pieces the boats that had been got ready at the crossing of the Indus and bring them to the Hydaspes. The boats were duly dismembered and transported; the shorter ones in two sections, but the thirty-oar ships cut into three, and the sections were brought in carts to the bank of the Hydaspes. There the flotilla was put together again, and again seen in full force, now on the Hydaspes. Then Alexander, taking the force with which he arrived at Taxila and also five thousand Indians, led by Taxiles and the governors of the district, marched to the Hydaspes.

IX. On the bank of the Hydaspes Alexander pitched his camp; and Porus was observed on the opposite bank with all his forces and with his squadron of elephants. Where Porus observed that Alexander had encamped, he guarded the crossing himself; but at the other parts of the river where a crossing was possible he posted guards, appointing commanders to each guard, and determined to keep the Macedonians from attempting to cross. Alexander observing this thought well himself to move his army about in different directions, so as to keep Porus in uncertainty. He therefore broke up his army into several detachments, and some he led hither and thither over the country, partly destroying any enemy possessions, and partly reconnoitring for good places for crossing the river; other troops he attached to different commanders, one after another, and kept sending them also in different directions. Supplies came into his camp from all directions of the country this side of the Hydaspes, so that it was evident to Porus that he had determined to keep to the bank, until the water of the river falling during the winter gave him a chance of crossing the river at various points. His boats too sailing along in this and that direction, the rafts made of skins being filled with the chaff, and the bank filled with troops, here cavalry and there infantry, gave Porus no chance of rest, nor permitted him to choose one position most suitable for guarding and concentrate upon that. Then, besides, about that time all the rivers of India were running with a big and turbulent stream, and with a swift current; for it was the season when the sun is just making its bend towards the summer turning; (An awkward way of expressing the May solstice. Some editors suspect and emend the text.) and at this season heavy rains come down into the land of India and the snows of the Caucasus, whence spring most of the rivers, are melting and greatly increase the volume of water; but in winter the rivers stop again, become smaller and clear in appearance, and fordable in places; except the Indus and Ganges, and possibly another; the Hydaspes at any rate becomes fordable.

X. For this summer season, then, Alexander openly announced that he would wait, if he were prevented from crossing at the time; but none the less he stayed there watching, if by any chance he might, without being seen, make a swift dash and effect the crossing. Where Porus himself had

encamped, on the bank of the Hydaspes, he recognized that it was impossible to cross, both owing to the number of the elephants, and because there was a great army, and well ordered, and carefully armed, ready to attack his troops as they landed. Then he thought that the horses would not be willing even to set foot on the other side, as the elephants would immediately advance to attack them, and scare them both by their appearance and their trumpeting; nay, further, they would not even stay on the rafts made of skins during the transit, but would at once jump off into the water if they caught sight of the elephants from afar, and become terrified. So he determined to make a secret crossing in this way. At night he took the greater part of his cavalry in this and that direction along the bank, and made much noise and raised the Greek war-cry, and in all other ways every sort of disturbance was made which was likely when an army was preparing to cross. Porus then kept moving parallel with the noise, bringing up his elephants, and Alexander led him on to make a habit of this counter-movement. But when this had gone on some time, and there was nothing but shouting and raising of the war-cry, Porus no longer kept moving about towards the cavalry dashes, but realizing that the alarm was false remained in camp where he was; though he had set scouts at various points of the bank. But Alexander, when he had calmed Porus' nervousness towards these nightly attempts, contrived the following device.

XI. From the bank of the Hydaspes projected a headland, where the river made a considerable bend; it was thick with every sort of tree, and opposite it was an island in the river, wooded and desolate, untrudged as it was by foot of man. Observing this island opposite the headland, both being well wooded, and suited to hide the attempt at crossing, Alexander determined to take his army over at this point. The headland and island were about a hundred and fifty stades distant from the great camp. Alexander had posted guards all along the bank, at distances from which it was possible to see one another and to hear easily from whatever point any order was passed on; and from all sides cries at night were raised, over several nights, and fires kept burning.

But when Alexander had determined to attempt the passage, preparations for crossing were made openly in the camp; and Craterus was left in charge of the camp, with his own cavalry regiment and the cavalry of the Arachotians and of the Parapamisadae; and of the Macedonian phalanx, the brigade of Alcetas and Polysperchon, and the governors of the Indians of these districts, and those with them, the five thousand Indians. Craterus was ordered not to attempt a crossing till Porus and his army had left his camp to attack Alexander's forces, or till he had learnt that Porus was in flight, and the Greeks conquerors; "but should Porus take a part of his army and lead it against me" (Alexander continued) "and another part be left behind at his camp, and any elephants, do you still stay where you are; if, however, Porus leads all his elephants against me, but some portion of the army is left behind at the camp, then do you cross with all dispatch; for it is only the elephants which are dangerous to disembarking horses; the rest of the force will not

trouble them.”

XII. Such were Craterus' orders; but between the island and the great camp, where Craterus had been left, Meleager and Attalus and Gorgias were posted with the mercenary cavalry and infantry; and they too had been ordered to make a crossing in sections, dividing the force, so soon as they should see the Indians already entangled in the battle.

Alexander himself selected the special squadron of the Companions, and the cavalry regiment of Hephaestion, and of Perdiccas and Demetrius, and the cavalry from Bactria and Sogdiana and the Scythian horsemen, with the Dahae, mounted archers, and, of the phalanx, the bodyguard, and the brigade of Cleitus and Coenus, the archers and the Agrianes; he led this force secretly, keeping some distance from the bank, so that he might not be seen marching towards the island and the rock, where he had determined to cross. And there, during the night, the rafts made of hides, which had already some time before been brought along, were filled with chaff, and were carefully sewn together; and there fell a very violent rain during the night. So Alexander's preparations and his attempt to make the crossing were all the more concealed; the thunder-claps and the rain counteracted the clatter of the arms and the commotion arising from the commands; and most of the boats, which had been broken into sections, had been transported to this place, and being put together again out of sight were hidden in the wood; the thirty-oar ships with the rest. But towards dawn the wind and the rain had quieted down, and the cavalry had embarked on the rafts, and all the infantry which the boats could take, crossed by the island; so that they might not be seen by the scouts which Porus had posted, before they had passed the island and were already near the bank.

XIII. Alexander then himself embarked on a thirty-oared boat and began the passage, and with him were Ptolemaeus and Perdiccas and Lysimachus, the officers of his bodyguard, and Seleucus, one of the Companions, who afterwards became king; and half of the bodyguard too. The rest of these were taken by other thirty-oar boats. And when the force passed the island, they were now in full sight, as they approached the bank; and the scouts, observing their oncoming, with all the speed of their horses rode off to Porus. Meanwhile Alexander disembarked first himself; and then took over those from the other thirty-oar boats; and as the cavalry kept disembarking, he marshalled them in order; for he had instructed the cavalry to disembark first; and then taking these with him he advanced in fighting array. However, without being aware, he had disembarked, from want of local knowledge, not on the solid land, but on an island; a large one, it is true; and this was chiefly why he did not discover it was an island; but yet it was parted from the other side by the river with no very great stream. At the same time the rain, which was violent, and kept on all night, had swollen the river, so that the mounted men did not find the ford, and there was some apprehension that to complete the crossing he must repeat all the former labour. But when at last the ford was found, Alexander led on, though with difficulty, across it. For the water,

at its shallowest, was over the breasts of the foot-soldiers, so deep that the horses only kept their heads above the river. But when this part also of the river was successfully passed, he led round to his right wing the picked squadron of the cavalry, selecting the best of the other cavalry regiments; the mounted archers he set in front of the whole line of cavalry; then next to the cavalry he marshalled, of the infantry, the royal guards, under Seleucus; then next to them the royal regiment; and in touch with these the rest of the foot-guards, according as each had precedence for that day; on the wings of the phalanx on either side he stationed the archers and the Agrianes and the javelin-throwers.

XIV. With his army therefore thus marshalled, Alexander ordered the infantry forces to follow at a foot pace and in marching formation; their number being nearly six thousand. Then he himself, as he seemed to be superior in the cavalry, took the cavalry only and advanced at all speed; the cavalry numbering about five thousand. He directed, however, Tauron the commander of the archers to lead them also on with the cavalry, and also at full speed. And he had determined that should Porus and his detachment attack him with their full force, either he would easily overcome them with his cavalry, by charging them, or he would fight on the defensive till his infantry should get into action. If, however, the Indians in face of the extraordinary boldness of the crossing should take to flight, he would be close up to them during the flight; and the greater the slaughter during the withdrawal the less trouble there would be for him in the future.

Aristobulus, however, says that Porus' son arrived with sixty chariots before Alexander took across from the small island (On the size of the island, see above, V. 13.) the latter part of his troops; and that he could, indeed, have prevented Alexander's crossing, since he got over with much difficulty even when no one opposed him, if only the Indians had leapt from their chariots and attacked the foremost of those coming to land. In point of fact, however, he drove past with his chariots, and thus allowed Alexander to cross without risk; and Alexander launched against this force his mounted archers, and with no great difficulty turned them to flight, many being wounded. Others say that there was actually a battle at the landing, of Porus' son and the force which came with him, against Alexander and his cavalry. For Porus' son actually did arrive (they say) with a superior force, and Alexander was wounded by him and his horse Bucephalas killed; his favourite horse, and wounded, moreover, by Porus' son. But Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, with whom I — agree, gives a different account. For he too states that Porus sent his son, but not with only sixty chariots. For it is not likely that Porus, learning from his scouts that either Alexander had himself forded the Hydaspes or a part of his army, would have sent out his own son with merely sixty chariots. If these were sent merely for reconnaissance, they were too many; they were not handy for a withdrawal; if they were sent to keep an enemy, which had not yet crossed, from doing so, and to fight with such as had crossed, they were by no means

equal to the task. He relates, on the other hand, that Porus' son had two thousand cavalry with him, when he reached the place, and a hundred and twenty chariots; but that Alexander was too quick and had by then passed even the last crossing from the island.

XV. It is Ptolemaeus also who narrates that Alexander at first sent against Porus' son and his force the mounted archers; but that he himself led on the cavalry, expecting that Porus was coming up with all his army; and that this cavalry, marshalled by him in the van, preceded the rest of the Greek troops. But on learning accurately the number of the Indians from his scouts, he fell upon them sharply with the cavalry he had with him; they gave way when they perceived Alexander himself and the serried mass of cavalry round him, attacking not on a front but squadron by squadron. Of the Indians there fell as many as four hundred horsemen, and Porus' son also fell; and the chariots, with their teams, were captured in the retreat, driving heavily and useless in the action itself because of the mud.

Porus, however, so soon as the cavalry which escaped in the flight reported to him that Alexander himself had crossed with his army in full force, and that his son had fallen in the fight, was in two minds from this additional reason, that those in the camp opposite, who had been left behind with Craterus, were now seen attempting the passage. He chose, in any case, to advance towards Alexander himself with all his force, and fight to a finish against the strongest part of the Macedonians and their King himself. Yet none the less he left behind a few of the elephants and a small force by his camp, to scare away the cavalry under Craterus from the bank. Then taking all his cavalry, about four thousand horse, and all the chariots, some three hundred, and two hundred of the elephants, and the best of the infantry, about thirty thousand, he advanced against Alexander. And reaching a place which was not muddy, but being sandy was all level and solid for charges and manœuvres of cavalry, he drew up his army in this way. First the elephants on the front, distant each from each about a hundred feet, so that they should form a line in front of the whole infantry line, and at all points terrify the cavalry of Alexander. For in any case he did not expect that any of the enemy would dare to force a way through the gaps between the elephants, certainly not on horseback, since the horses would take fright, and still less foot-soldiers, who would be kept back by the heavy armed troops advancing in line and then would be trampled down by the elephants turning upon them. Behind these elephants were stationed the foot-soldiers, not on the same front as the elephants, but holding the second line after them, so that the columns were fitted, more or less, into the intervals left by the animals. Porus had besides stationed on the wings foot-soldiers, stretching even beyond the line of elephants. Then on each flank of the infantry the cavalry was posted, and in front of the cavalry the chariots, on both sides.

XVI. This then was the disposition of Porus. But Alexander, seeing the Indians already getting into battle array, halted his cavalry from any further

advance, so as to await the infantry as they came up behind. And when the phalanx, coming on at a rapid pace, had joined the advance forces, Alexander did not at once put them in battle order and lead them forward, so as not to confront them while tired and out of breath with the enemy who were fresh, but moving his cavalry round rested his infantry till they had recovered their fighting spirit. On sighting the Indian disposition, however, he decided not to advance by the centre, where the advance line of elephants had been thrown forward, and where the phalanx, in close formation, was posted in the intervals between them, hesitating just for those very reasons which Porus had foreseen when making this disposition; but since his own superiority lay in cavalry, he took with him the majority of his cavalry and rode up to the enemy's left wing, intending to make his attack there. Coenus he sent to the right, with the regiments of Demetrius and his own; he commanded him that so soon as the Indians should perceive the solid body of cavalry and advance their cavalry to meet it, he should keep behind them. Seleucus and Antigenes and Tauron Alexander commanded to lead the infantry phalanx; but they were not to take part in the action till they observed the enemy's main body of infantry and their cavalry thrown into confusion by his own cavalry force.

By now they were within range; and Alexander launched his mounted archers — about a thousand strong — at the Indians' left wing, to throw into confusion those of the enemy who were stationed there both by the severity of the volleys of arrows and the charge of the cavalry. Then he himself with the Companions' cavalry rode rapidly against the enemy left, hastening to charge them, in their confusion, while they were still in line formation, before their cavalry could change into massed formation.

XVII. Meantime the Indians, concentrating all their cavalry from every quarter, kept riding parallel to Alexander, on the flank of their own line, to oppose his charge; and Coenus and his troops, according to orders, began to appear in their rear. Seeing this the Indians were compelled to throw their cavalry into a double formation, one division, the more numerous and strongest, facing Alexander, the other wheeled round to meet Coenus and his force. This of course at once upset both the formations and the intentions of the Indians, and Alexander, perceiving the opportunity, precisely during this about-turn of the cavalry attacked the troops on his front, so that the Indians did not even wait to receive the charge of Alexander's cavalry, but fell hurriedly back upon their elephants, as if to some friendly sheltering wall. Meanwhile the drivers of the elephants brought up their animals against Alexander's cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx for its part boldly advanced to meet the elephants, hurling javelins at their drivers, and, forming a ring round the animals, volleyed upon them from all sides. And the action was now without parallel in any previous battle; for the elephants, charging out into the line of infantry, whichever way they turned, began to devastate it, dense though the Macedonian phalanx was; and the Indian cavalry, seeing the action had settled down to an infantry battle, wheeled off again and

themselves charged the Macedonian cavalry. But when a second time Alexander's forces had the mastery over them, much superior, as they were, both in strength and experience, they fell back again on the elephants. Meanwhile all Alexander's cavalry having become concentrated into one body — not by order, but forced into this concentration in the course of the battle itself — wherever it fell upon the Indian ranks, inflicted much slaughter before it withdrew. And by this time the elephants were crowded into a narrow space, and their own side were as much damaged by them as the enemy, trodden down in their manœuvrings and their chargings. The Indian cavalry, therefore, which was cramped round the elephants in a narrow space, suffered much loss; and the most part of the drivers of the elephants had been shot down, and of the elephants, some had been wounded, and others, from weariness and loss of drivers, no longer kept apart in the mellay, but as if maddened by the disaster they kept colliding with friends and foes alike and in all sorts of ways kept pushing, trampling, and destroying. The Macedonians, however, having good room, and able to attack the animals according to their own discretion, gave way wherever they charged, but followed close as they withdrew, and kept shooting at them with javelins. The Indians, on the other hand, were retreating among the elephants and already were receiving the greater part of their damage from them. But when the elephants wearied and their charges were no longer vigorous, but, merely trumpeting, began to retreat gradually like ships backing, Alexander himself threw his cavalry in a circle around their whole division, and then gave signal for the infantry, locking shields and concentrating into the most compact mass possible, to move up in full phalanx. So it was that the Indian cavalry, save only a few, were all cut down in the action; but their infantry also was being cut down on all sides, as the Macedonians by this time were pressing hard upon them. And now, where there was a gap in Alexander's cavalry, they all turned and fled.

XVIII. At the same time Craterus and the other officers of the army who had been left behind on the bank of the Hydaspes, seeing Alexander carrying off a conspicuous victory, themselves began to cross the river; and these wrought equal slaughter in the Indian retreat, coming into the pursuit fresh, in place of Alexander's wearied troops.

Of the Indians there perished nearly twenty thousand foot, and horsemen about three thousand; all the chariots were destroyed; two sons of Porus perished, and Spitaces, the governor of the Indians of this district, with the commanders of the elephants and the chariots, and all the cavalry commanders and other commanding officers of Porus' army... and all the surviving elephants were captured. But of Alexander's army, foot-soldiers of the number of about eighty perished, out of a force which had been six thousand strong in the first attack; as for the cavalry, ten of the mounted archers, who were the first to begin the action; and of the Companions' cavalry about twenty, with two hundred of the rest of the cavalry.

Porus had acquitted himself manfully in the course of the engagement, not only as a commander-in-chief, but also as a brave soldier; but when he saw the slaughter of his cavalry, and of the elephants, some fallen on the field, and some wandering in distress, having lost their riders, and when most of his infantry had perished, he did not copy the example of the great king Darius, and set his own men an example of flight, but so long as any part of the Indian troops held their ground in the fight, so long he battled on bravely, but when wounded in the right shoulder — the only unprotected part of his body as he moved about in the battle — for his corslet guarded the rest of his body from the missiles, being unusually strong and unusually well fitted, as those who saw afterwards could observe — on receiving this wound he wheeled his elephant and retreated. Alexander having seen him play a great and gallant part in the battle desired to save him. He sent therefore to him first Taxiles the Indian; and Taxiles, riding up as near as he thought safe to the elephant on which Porus was riding, requested him to halt his animal, since further flight was unavailing, and to hear what Alexander's message was; but Porus seeing in Taxiles an old enemy turned his elephant and rode up to pierce him with a javelin; and indeed he might perchance have slain him, had not Taxiles, just in time, wheeled his horse further away from Porus. Alexander, however, did not even on this show anger against Porus, but sent others, in relays, and finally an Indian, Meroes, having learnt that this Meroes had long been a friend of Porus. But Porus, hearing Meroes' message, and being also much distressed by thirst, halted his elephant and dismounted; and after drinking, and recovering his strength, bade Meroes conduct him at once to Alexander.

XIX. Porus was then conducted to Alexander, who learning of his approach rode and met him in advance of the line with a few of the Companions; then halting his horse, he admired the great size of Porus, who was over five cubits in height, and his handsomeness, and the appearance he gave of a spirit not yet tamed, but of one brave man meeting another brave man after an honourable struggle against another king for his kingdom. Then Alexander first addressing him bade him say what he desired to be done with him. Porus is said to have replied: "Treat me, Alexander, like a king." And Alexander, pleased with the reply, answered: "It shall be as you desire, Porus, for my part; do you for your part ask what you desire." He replied that everything was contained in this one request. Alexander, then, all the more pleased with this reply, gave back to Porus his sovereignty over the Indians of his realm, and added also other besides his former territory even greater in extent; thus did he treat as a king a brave man, and from then on found him in all things faithful. This then was the issue of the battle of Alexander against Porus and the Indians on the far side of the Hydaspes; in the archonship at Athens of Hegemon and in the month Munychion.

In the plains where the battle was fought, and from which he set out to cross the Hydaspes, Alexander founded cities. The first he called Victoria, (Greek, Nicaea, now perhaps Mong.) from the victory over the Indians; the

other, Bucephala, (Now perhaps Jelalpur.) in memory of his horse Bucephalas which died there, not wounded by anyone, but from exhaustion and age. For he was about thirty years old, and was a victim to fatigue; but up to then he had shared Alexander's toils and dangers in plenty, never mounted by any but Alexander himself, since Bucephalas would brook no other rider; in stature he was tall, and in spirit courageous. His mark was an ox-head branded upon him, and hence his name Bucephalas; others, however, say that he had a white mark on his head — the rest being black — which was exactly like an ox-head. In the Uxian territory Alexander once lost him, and issued a proclamation throughout that territory that he would massacre every Uxian unless they brought him back his horse; immediately after the proclamation Bucephalas was restored to him. Such was Alexander's devotion to him, and such was the terror Alexander inspired in the natives. And now I must cease my panegyric on Bucephalas, which I make for Alexander's sake.

XX. As soon as the due tributes of respect had been paid to those who fell in the battle, Alexander sacrificed to the gods the customary thanksgivings of victory, and held a contest of athletics and cavalry games on the bank of the Hydaspes where he first crossed with his army. Craterus, with part of the forces, he left behind to build and fortify the cities he was founding here. Then he himself advanced towards the Indians who bordered on Porus' kingdom. The name of the tribe was Glauganicae, as Aristobulus says, but Ptolemy calls them Glausae; I do not trouble myself which was the exact form of the name. Alexander invaded their country, with half of the Companions' cavalry, and picked men of the infantry from each phalanx, all the mounted archers, the Agrianes, and the unmounted archers; and the tribesmen all made their surrender to him. So he captured thirty-seven cities; of these, the least populated had above five thousand inhabitants; many of them had over ten thousand. He captured also a large number of villages, not less populous than their cities. He gave the rule of this territory to Porus; Porus also he reconciled to Taxiles, and then dismissed Taxiles back to his own tribes.

Meanwhile envoys came from Abisares, offering to Alexander surrender of Abisares himself and the country over which he ruled. And yet before the battle with Porus, Abisares had the intention of ranging himself on Porus' side. But now he sent his own brother with the other envoys to Alexander, bringing treasure, and forty elephants, as a gift to Alexander. There came also to Alexander envoys from the self-governing Indians, and from a governor of certain Indians, also called Porus. Alexander on this quickly sent a message to Abisares bidding him come to him, threatening, if he should not come, that Abisares should behold him come with his army, and would have cause to rue the sight.

In the meantime Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea and Hyrcania came to Alexander, bringing the Thracians left behind with him; there came also messengers from Sisicottus satrap of the Assacenians, to say that the Assacenians had assassinated their governor and had broken away from

Alexander. Against these Alexander sent Philippus and Tyriaspes with an army to subdue the territory of the Assaceni and bring it into order.

Then he himself moved towards the river Acesines. Of this river Acesines only, among the rivers of India, Ptolemaeus son of Lagus has described the size; its stream, he says, at the point where Alexander crossed it with his army, on the boats and hides, is very swift, with great and sharp rocks; the water rushes down over these, foaming and roaring; the breadth is fifteen stades. For those who crossed on the hides, he says, the crossing was easy; but a good number of those who made the transit in the boats were lost in the stream, since several boats were dashed upon the rocks and so were wrecked. From this account one may conjecture that writers are not far from the truth who have given the size of the river Indus as forty stades in breadth at its mean width; but that where it is narrowest, and for that reason deepest, it shrinks to some fifteen stades; and that this is in many places its breadth. Further, I gather that Alexander chose the widest part of the river Acesines to cross, that he might have the current slower.

XXI. When therefore he had crossed the river, Alexander left Coenus with his brigade on the bank, bidding him supervise the crossing of the remainder of the army; for they were to convoy thither the corn from the part of India already subject to him, and all other necessaries. Porus he sent back to his own kingdom, with orders that he should select the most warlike of the Indians, and any elephants he had with him, and bring these to join him. Then Alexander purposed to pursue with the lightest of his troops the other Porus, the bad one, because he was reported to have left his own province and fled. For this Porus, as long as Alexander's relations had remained unfriendly towards the first Porus, had sent envoys to Alexander, offering surrender of himself and his province, rather from hatred of the other Porus than from any friendly feelings towards Alexander; but learning that he had been released, and was now ruler of a considerable new province, besides his own, he became alarmed, not so much about Alexander as about his namesake, and fled from his country, taking with him so many of the warlike tribesmen as he could persuade to share his flight.

In pursuit of him Alexander arrived at the river Hydraotes, another Indian river, in breadth not less than the Acesines, but inferior in swiftness of current. In all the country which he had traversed, as far as the Hydraotes, he left guards in the most convenient spots, so that the troops with Craterus and Coenus might with safety traverse the greater part of the country in their search for provision. Here he despatched Hephaestion, giving him part of the army, two phalanxes of foot-soldiers, and of cavalry, his own regiment, and that of Demetrius, and half the archers, to the province of the rebellious Porus, bidding him hand this province to the other Porus, together with any other independent Indian tribes dwelling along the banks of the Hydaspes; these too he was to take over, and give them to Porus to govern. Then he himself crossed the Hydraotes, not with the difficulties which the Acesines had

caused. Then as he continued on the farther bank of the Hydraotes most of the tribesmen came and surrendered voluntarily, some in fact who had actually come to meet him under arms. Others again he captured when attempting flight, and subdued them by force.

XXII. Meanwhile it was reported to Alexander that some of the self-governing Indians, in particular the people called Cathaeans, were getting themselves ready for battle, in case Alexander should approach their country, and were urging to the same enterprise all other self-governing tribes on their borders. Their city, it was said, was a very strong one, and there they proposed to make their stand. Its name was Sangala, (Some authorities identify Sangala with Lahore. Cathaea was, according to Strabo (xv. 1), the kingdom of Sopeithes (Book VI, c. 2, below).) and the Cathaeans themselves were considered very brave and very powerful in war; in the same mood with them were the Oxydracae, another Indian tribe, and Mallians, another; not long before, in fact, Porus and Abisares had marched against them with their force and had also stirred up many other self-governing Indian tribes against them; but they had achieved nothing commensurate with so great a host, and so had retreated.

When this was reported to Alexander he marched at full speed against the Cathaeans. In two days after leaving the river Hydraotes he came to a city named Pimprama; this tribe of Indians is called the Adraistae. They surrendered by agreement to Alexander. The next day Alexander rested his troops, and on the third marched towards Sangala, where the Cathaeans and their neighbours who had joined them were arrayed in front of the city on a hill not equally steep on all sides; round about the hill they had arranged their waggons and were camping within them; thus the waggons formed a triple line of defence.

But Alexander, perceiving the large number of the tribesmen and the nature of the place, made his counter dispositions as seemed best for the exigencies of the moment; the mounted archers without delay he despatched against them, with orders to keep riding along the front and shoot at long range, so that the Indians should not make any sally before he had marshalled his forces and that they might already be wounded even within their stronghold, before the battle began. He himself on the right wing posted the special squadron of cavalry and Cleitus' Horse, next to them, his bodyguard, and then the Agrianes; Perdicas was posted on his left with his own Horse and the brigades of the Companions' infantry. On either wing he had stationed the archers, equally divided.

Now while Alexander was thus arranging his troops there came up the infantry and cavalry of the rearguard. Of these, he divided up the cavalry and sent them off to either wing; and by means of the infantry who thus joined him he increased the solidity of his phalanx. Then himself taking the cavalry posted on the right, he led them against the waggons on the Indians' left. For the ground on this side seemed easier, and the waggons were not packed so

closely.

XXIII. Since, however, the Indians did not sally out from the line of waggons upon the cavalry as it rode up, but mounted on them instead and shot volleys of arrows from them, Alexander, recognizing that the action was not work for cavalry, leapt down from his horse and on foot led to the attack the phalanx of foot-soldiers. From the first line of waggons the Macedonians easily forced the Indians; but before the second line the Indians drew themselves up in order and with less difficulty defended themselves, since they were in denser formation in a smaller circle, and the Macedonians could not approach them, as before, through an open space, while they were removing the first row of waggons and then charging in without order through the spaces between, just as each man made his way. Yet even from this second line the Indians were forced back by the phalanx. And now they no longer attempted to make a stand at the third line of waggons, but with all speed retreated and shut themselves into the city. For this day, then, Alexander camped with his infantry round the city, so far at least as the phalanx could surround; for since the wall stretched a considerable distance he could not entirely surround it with his troops while encamped, but in the intervals, where there was a lake also, not far from the wall, he posted his cavalry surrounding the lake, as he noticed that the lake was shallow and also conjectured that the Indians, terrified from the previous defeat, would desert the city at night. It fell out exactly as he conjectured; about the second watch, sure enough, the greater part of them slipped out from the wall and fell in with the cavalry outposts; the first-comers were cut down by the cavalry; the next, perceiving that the lake was guarded all round, retired again into the city.

Alexander, however, threw a double stockade all round, where the lake did not guard the city, and posted his outposts round about the lake more carefully. Then he himself proposed to bring up engines against the wall, to batter it. But some of the inhabitants of the city deserted to him; and these told him that the Indians proposed to slip out of the city that night, by the lake, just where there was the gap in the stockade. Then he posted there Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, giving him three regiments of the bodyguards, all the Agrianes, and one brigade of archers, and pointing out the place where he most conjectured that the tribesmen would try to force their way; "so soon," he said, "as you perceive them to be trying to force a way through here, you yourself will, with your army, prevent their going farther; and will at once bid the bugler to sound an alarm; and you, officers, on this signal, will each with his appointed forces make for the disturbance wherever the bugle calls you. Nor shall I myself be a laggard in this action."

XXIV. Such were Alexander's orders; and Ptolemaeus, gathering together as many as possible of the waggons left behind in the first flight, set them crosswise, that the fugitives at night might find a good many obstacles; moreover, he ordered any part of the stockade which had been cut but not yet fixed down to be joined up at different points between the lake and the wall.

This his men completed by night. It was now about the fourth watch, and the tribesmen, as Alexander had been informed, opened the gates leading to the lake and ran towards it. Yet they did not escape the guards on this side, nor yet Ptolemaeus, who was posted in charge of them; but at once his buglers sounded the alarm, and he with his forces fully armed and in good order moved against the tribesmen. These found their way barred by the waggons, and the stockade thrown in the intervening space. And when the bugle sounded and Ptolemaeus and his troops pressed hard upon them, cutting them down as fast as they tried to slip out between the waggons, they turned and fled back to the city. Some five hundred perished in this withdrawal.

Meanwhile Porus arrived, bringing with him the rest of the elephants and some five thousand Indians, and Alexander already had his siege engines put together, and they were now being brought up to the wall. But the Macedonians, before any part of the wall was battered, began to undermine it, for it was of brick, and then setting up their ladders all round, captured the city by assault. And in the capture of the city there perished some seventeen thousand of the Indians, and over seventy thousand were captured, with three hundred waggons, and five hundred horsemen. Of Alexander's force were lost rather under a hundred in the entire siege; the wounded were out of proportion to the slain, over twelve hundred; among them several of the officers and Lysimachus the officer of the bodyguard.

Alexander, when he had buried the dead, after his custom, sent Eumenes (Eumenes of Cardia was clerk or secretary to Alexander, as he had been to Philip. Plutarch and Nepos wrote his Life. He was not popular with the Macedonian leaders, and was slain by Antigonus, after a striking career both as soldier and diplomat.) the clerk to the two cities which had rebelled at the same time as Sangala, giving him three hundred cavalry, to announce to the defenders of the cities the capture of Sangala, and to proclaim that Alexander would not treat them harshly if they stayed where they were and received Alexander in a friendly way, just as he had shown no harshness to any other of the self-governing Indians who had voluntarily surrendered. But they (for they had already heard that Alexander had captured Sangala by assault) were terrified, left their cities, and took to flight. Alexander pursued them hotly, as soon as their flight was reported to him, but most of them had got safe away, for the pursuit began after some interval had passed. Any that had been left behind through infirmity during the withdrawal were captured there and put to death by the army, up to the number of five hundred. But deciding not to pursue the fugitives further, Alexander returned to Sangala, razed the city to the ground, and gave over the territory to those Indians who had formerly been self-governing but recently had surrendered voluntarily. Porus with his force he sent back to the cities which had surrendered, to set garrisons in them; and he with his army advanced to the Hyphasis, to subdue the Indians of that district also. For he felt there could be no end of the war as long as any hostility remained.

XXV. On the other side of the Hyphasis, so it was reported to Alexander, the country was fertile, the men good labourers of the soil and valiant warriors, who managed their own affairs in an orderly manner; most of them were under aristocracies, yet these made no demands other than reasonable. These people also had a number of elephants, a good many more than the other Indians, and these were, moreover, very large and courageous. This report only stirred Alexander to a desire for still further advance; but the Macedonians' spirits were already flagging, seeing the King undertaking toils after toils and dangers after dangers; meetings took place in the camp of men who grumbled at their present fate — those of the better kind — and of others who maintained stoutly that they would follow no farther, not even though Alexander should lead them. When Alexander heard of this, before this disturbance in the troops and their despair grew worse, he summoned the brigadiers and addressed them thus:

“I observe that you, Macedonians and allied forces, are not following me into dangers any longer with your old spirit. I have summoned you together, either to persuade you and go forward, or to be persuaded by you and turn back. If indeed there is any fault to find with the labours you have hitherto endured, and with me who have led you through them, there is no object in my speaking further. If, however, by these your labours Ionia is now in our hands, the Hellespont, both Phrygias, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Phoenicia, Egypt, with the Greek part of Libya, part of Arabia, Lowland Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susia, Persia, Media, with all the nations subject to Persia and Media, and those that were not; if the regions beyond the Caspian gates, the parts beyond the Caucasus, and on the other side of the Tanais, Bactria, Hyrcania, the Hyrcanian Sea; if we have driven the Scythians into the desert; if, besides all this, the river Indus runs through territory now our own, the Hydaspes likewise, the Acesines, and the Hydraotes, why do you hesitate to add to this your Macedonian empire the tribes beyond the Hyphasis? Do you fear lest tribesmen yet remaining may withstand your approach? Why, some of them surrender readily, some run away, and are captured, some desert their country and leave it open for you, which we have handed over to our allies and those who have voluntarily come over to us.

XXVI. “I set no limit of labours to a man of spirit, save only the labours themselves, such as lead on to noble enterprises. Yet should any desire to know what will be the limit of this our actual warfare, I may tell him that there remains no great stretch of land before us up to the river Ganges and the eastern sea. This sea, I assure you, you will find that the Hyrcanian Sea joins; for the great sea of ocean circles round the entire earth. Yes, and I shall moreover make clear to Macedonians and allies alike that the Indian gulf forms but one stretch of water with the Persian gulf, and the Hyrcanian Sea with the Indian gulf. And from the Persian gulf our fleet shall sail round to Libya, (Africa is regarded as part of Asia. On these seas, and the ideas held by

early geographers, see Cary and Warmington, *Ancient Explorers*, Methuen.) right up to the Pillars of Heracles; and from the Pillars all Libya that lies within (*i e* all known Africa, lying between Gibraltar and Egypt.) is becoming ours; and all Asia likewise, and the boundaries of the empire in Asia, those boundaries which God set for the whole earth. But if you flinch now, there will be many warlike races left behind on the far side of the Hyphasis up to the Eastern Sea, and many too stretching from these to the Hyrcanian Sea towards the north wind, and not far from these, again, the Scythian tribes, so that there is reason to fear that if we turn back now, such territory as we now hold, being yet unconsolidated, may be stirred to revolt by such as we do not yet hold. Then in very truth there will be no profit from our many labours; or we shall need once more, from the very beginning, more dangers and more labours. But, do you abide constant, Macedonians and allies. It is those who endure toil and who dare dangers that achieve glorious deeds; and it is a lovely thing to live with courage, and to die, leaving behind an everlasting renown. Or do you not know that our forefather (Heracles.) would never have risen to such heights of glory by remaining in Tiryns or in Argos, nay, not even in the Peloponnese or Thebes, as to become, and to be held to be, a god, who was aforetime a man? Nay, even Dionysus, a god of higher rank than Heracles, braved labours not a few; but we have actually passed beyond Nysa, and the rock Aornos, which Heracles could not take, we have taken. Add now to the possessions you have already won what yet remains of Asia; to the many, add the few. For indeed what great or noble thing could we ourselves have achieved, had we sat still in Macedonia and thought it as enough to guard our own home without labour, merely reducing the Thracians on our borders, or Illyrians, or Triballians, or even such Greeks as might not be useful to us?

“If then while you were bearing labours and braving dangers I had led you, myself, your leader, without labours and without dangers, you would not unnaturally have become weary in your hearts; when you alone had all the labours, and were procuring the prizes thereof for others; but it is not so; our labours are shared in common; we bear an equal part in dangers; the prizes are open to all. For the land is yours; it is you who are its viceroys; the greater part of the treasure comes to you, and when we master all Asia, then — by Heaven! — I will not merely satisfy you, but will surpass the utmost hope of good things for each of you, I will send home all who desire to go home or will myself lead them back; those who stay, I shall make to be envied by those who go back.”

XXVII. To this effect, and in this manner, spoke Alexander; and for a long time there was silence; no one dared to oppose the King on the spur of the moment, nor was yet willing to agree. But in this interval Alexander often invited any to speak who wished to speak, if he really held opposite views to those he had expressed; yet even so silence reigned long, and only after some time Coenus, Polemocrates' son, plucked up his courage and spoke thus:

“Seeing that you, sir, do not yourself desire to command the Macedonians tyrannically, but expressly state that you will lead them on only by gaining their approval, and failing this you will not compel them, I shall not speak these words on behalf of us here present, who, being held in honour beyond the rest, have, most of us, already received the prizes of our labours, and in virtue of our authority, because we have power, are in all things heartily ready beyond others to forward your interests; rather I shall speak for most of the army. And even on their behalf I shall not say merely what is pleasing to them, but what I consider useful to yourself for the moment and safest for the future. In virtue of my age it is proper that I should not conceal such views as appear best, and also in virtue of my repute among my comrades, which comes from you, and of my undisputed courage in all labours and dangers hitherto. For just because very many and very great achievements have been wrought by yourself our leader, and by those who set out from home with you, just for that reason I judge it the more expedient to set some limit to these labours and these dangers. For you yourself see what a large body of Macedonians and Greeks we are who set forth with you, and how many we are who are now left; the Thessalians you sent home straight from Bactria, perceiving that they had little heart for labours; and you did well. But of the rest of the Greeks, some have been settled in the cities which you have founded; and they do not all remain there willingly; others, sharing with you labours and dangers, both they and the Macedonian forces, have lost part of their number in battle; and part have become invalided from wounds, and have been left behind, some here, some there, in Asia; but most of them have died of sickness, and of all that host only a few are left, and even they no longer with their old bodily strength, and with their spirit even more wearied. These, one and all, have longing for parents, if they yet survive, longing for wives and children, longing even for their homeland, which they may pardonably long to revisit, with the treasure received from you, returning as great men, instead of little, and rich men instead of poor. But do not be a leader of unwilling troops. You will not find them like-minded towards dangers, when in their efforts no spirit of willingness will remain; rather do you yourself, if so it seems good, return to your own home, and revisit your own mother, and ordain the affairs of the Greeks, and bring back the guerdon of these many great victories to your ancestral house, and then, if so you desire, fit out another expedition, to attack these same Indian tribes that dwell towards the east; or if you prefer, to the Euxine sea; or else to Carchedon and the parts of Libya beyond Carchedon. It is for you to take the lead in all this. There will follow you other Macedonians, other Greeks, young in place of old, fresh in place of wearied; men to whom warfare will have no terrors for the moment, for want of experience of war, and will inspire their eagerness from their hopes of the future, men who therefore will follow you with even greater heartiness, seeing those who have borne labours and dared dangers before them returned safely to their own homes; rich, who once were poor,

and famous, who once were nameless. A noble thing, O King, above all others, is the spirit of self-restraint when all goes well with us. For you indeed, as our leader, and as commander of such an army, there is no fear from any enemies; but to all men the stroke of fortune comes unlooked for, and thence unguarded."

XXVIII. At the close of Coenus' speech there was some applause among the bystanders, many even shed tears, a proof, if it were needed, of the reluctance of their feelings towards further progress, and of the joy with which they would hail a retreat. But Alexander, irritated at Coenus' freedom of language and at the want of courage of the other officers, dismissed the conference; and calling for next day the same officers once more he angrily affirmed that he himself was going on, but that he would compel no Macedonian, against his will, to go with him; for he would have, he said, others who would, of free will, follow their King. As for those who wished to return home, they might do so, and might tell abroad to their friends that they had come back, leaving their King surrounded by foes. With this he went back to his tent, and did not admit even any of the Companions during that day and till the third day after, waiting to see if the Macedonians and allies might change their minds, as often happens in a crowd of soldiers, and such change coming over them might render them more amenable. But when there continued dead silence through the camp, and it was clear that the men were annoyed at his temper, but in no mood to change their minds because of it, then, Ptolemaeus son of Lagus tells us, he none the less offered sacrifices with a view to crossing the river. But as he sacrificed, the victims proved unfavourable. Then he called together the eldest of the Companions and chiefly his particular friends, and since everything now was pointing to a withdrawal, he proclaimed openly to the army that he had decided to turn back.

XXIX. At this they all cried aloud as a mixed multitude would shout in joy, and most of them began to weep; others drew near the royal tent and invoked blessings on Alexander, since he had allowed himself to be defeated by them, and none others. Then he divided the army into twelve parts and ordered an altar to be set up for each part, in height like to the greatest towers, and in breadth greater even than towers would be, as thank-offerings to the gods who had brought him so far victorious, and as memorials of his labours. And when the altars were made ready, he sacrificed upon them, according to custom, and held a contest of athletics and cavalry exercises. All the territory as far as the Hyphasis he gave also to Porus to rule over, and then he himself began to return towards the Hydraotes. Crossing this, he came again to the Acesines, and there he found the city already built which Hephaestion had been appointed by him to fortify; into this he settled any of the neighbouring tribesmen who volunteered, and such of the mercenaries as were no longer fit for service, and himself made preparations for the voyage down to the Great Sea.

Meantime there came to him Arsaces the governor of the territory next to

Abisares, with Abisares' brother, and his other relatives, bringing gifts, such as the Indians account of chief value, and the elephants from Abisares, up to the number of thirty; for Abisares himself had been unable, through illness, to attend. There came also with these the envoys sent by Alexander to Abisares. Thus, being easily assured that the facts were as stated, he gave to Abisares the governorship of his own province, and attached Arsaces to the administration of Abisares; and having arranged for the tributes they should bring he sacrificed also at the river Acesines. Then crossing the Acesines he came to the Hydaspes, where he restored, by help of his troops, the parts of the cities of Nicaea and Bucephala which had been damaged by rains, and also put all else in order in the province,

BOOK VI

I. SINCE Alexander had all ready for him on the banks of the Hydaspes a good many thirty-oars and smaller galleys, (There are crocodiles also in the Ganges.) and several transports for horses and other vessels useful for the conveyance of an army by river, he determined to sail down the Hydaspes to the Great Sea. He had already seen crocodiles in the Indus, and in no other river except the Nile; and besides this had observed on the banks of the Acesines beans growing, of the same sort as the land of Egypt produces; and having heard that the Acesines runs into the Indus, he fancied that he had found the origin of the Nile. His idea was that the Nile rose somewhere thereabouts in India, flowed through a great expanse of desert, and there lost its name of Indus; and then, where it began to flow through civilized country, was now called Nile by the Ethiopians in those parts and the Egyptians, as Homer, in his epic, called it Egyptus after Egypt; and so finally ran out into the Inland Sea. Nay, when writing to Olympias about the country of India, Alexander among other things stated that he thought he had discovered the springs of the Nile; drawing a conclusion about matters of so much importance from very slender indications. But when he had more accurately investigated the geography of the river Indus, he learnt from the inhabitants that the Hydaspes joins its stream to the Acesines, and the Acesines to the Indus, and both there resign their names; but that the Indus then flows out into the Great Ocean, by two mouths; and that the Indus has nothing whatever to do with Egypt. On this he cancelled the part of the letter to his mother which dealt with the Nile. Then, with the idea of sailing down the rivers to the ocean, he caused the boats to be made ready for him for this purpose. The crews of his boats were made up from the Phoenicians, Cyprians, Carians and Egyptians who had accompanied the expedition.

II. At this time Coenus, one of the most trusty of the Companions of Alexander, died of illness. So far as could be done, Alexander gave him a magnificent funeral. Then, calling together the Companions and such Indian envoys as had come to visit him, he proclaimed Porus King of so much of India as he had captured up to that time, that is, of seven nations in all, and of cities in these nations more than two thousand in number. The army he then divided as follows; he embarked on the ships with him all the bodyguard, the archers, the Agrianes, and the special squadron of cavalry. Craterus led along the right bank of the Hydaspes a division of the infantry and the cavalry. Along the other bank Hephaestion advanced, leading the greatest and strongest part of the army and the elephants, of which there were now some two hundred; this force was under orders to make at full speed for the palace of Sopeithes. Philip the satrap of the country west of the Indus, towards Bactria, had orders also to wait three days and then follow with his forces. The cavalry of Nysa he sent back there. Nearchus he appointed admiral of all

the fleet, and the pilot of his own vessel was Onesicritus, who in the history he wrote of Alexander told this falsehood among others, that he was admiral, though a mere pilot. The entire number of ships, according to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, whom I chiefly follow, was eighty ships of thirty oars, and the entire number of boats with the transports, the light galleys, and any other river craft that had either been long plying on the rivers or that had been then constructed, came to nearly two thousand.

III. Then, when everything had been got ready, at dawn the army began its embarkation, and Alexander sacrificed to the gods according to his custom, and to the river Hydaspes according to the instructions of the seers. Then himself embarking he poured a libation into the river out of a golden bowl from the bows, calling upon the Acesines together with the Hydaspes, since he had learned that it is the greatest of all the tributaries of the Hydaspes, and also that the meeting of the waters was not far away; and he also called upon the Indus, into which, with the Hydaspes, the Acesines runs. And then when he had likewise poured a libation to Heracles his ancestor and to Ammon and to the other gods to whom he usually made offering, he bade the bugle sound for departure. On the sound of the bugle they started in due order. For instructions had been given as to the exact distances apart for the baggage vessels, for the horse transports, and for the warships, so that they should not, by sailing irregularly, collide one with the other. Even those which sailed most swiftly were not permitted to break ranks. It was very remarkable to hear the sound of the rowing, when so large a fleet all began rowing at one and the same moment, and the calls of the boatswains giving the beginning and the pauses of each stroke, and the noise of the rowers, when all together they fell upon the swirling water and raised their rowers' chanties; the banks too, being often higher than the ships, enclosed the sound into a narrow funnel, and making it by this compression even more resonant, reverberated it from side to side. Glens also here and there on either side of the river by their emptiness and their re-echoings all helped the swelling of the sound. The horses, too, visible in the horse-transports — and no horses had hitherto been seen on shipboard in India (for the Indians had no recollection that the expedition of Dionysus also to India was by ship) — caused the utmost astonishment to the tribesmen who beheld them; so that those who were present at the departure of the fleet followed with it a long distance, and those Indians from among those who had submitted to Alexander, to whom the clamour of the oarsmen and the beat of the oars reached, came also running down to the bank and followed singing their own wild songs. For the Indians are of all people most musical, and from the days of Dionysus down and of those who revelled with him in India are great lovers of the dance.

IV. Sailing thus, on the third day Alexander put in where orders had been given to Hephaestion and Craterus to camp at the same place but on opposite banks. There he stayed two days, and when Philippus joined him with the rest of the army, he sent him to the river Acesines with such troops as he had

brought, bidding him march along the bank of the Acesines. The troops with Craterus and Hephaestion also he sent on again, giving them instructions as to their route. But he himself sailed on down the river Hydaspes, which never had a less breadth, during the descent, than twenty stades. Then putting in, wherever it was convenient, to the banks, he received in voluntary submission many of the Indians who lived near the Hydaspes; some, who had resisted, he had already subdued. But he sailed at full speed towards the district of the Mallians and the Oxydracae, learning that they were the most numerous and the most warlike of the Indians in these parts, and also because it was reported to him that they had removed their wives and children to the strongest of their cities, and were themselves determined to do battle with him; and for this reason he urged on his voyage with the greater speed, so that he might come upon them not ready for war, but still short of their preparations and in a state of confusion. And so he started again thence, and on the fifth day came to the meeting of the Hydaspes and the Acesines. Where these rivers meet, from the two streams one very narrow stream results; its current is very rapid because of this narrowing, and from the swirling of the stream there are formed dreadful whirlpools; the water boils and dashes noisily, so that from far off one can hear the tumult of the waves. All this had been told to Alexander beforehand by the inhabitants, and by him to his army; but yet when the army approached the meeting waters the noise of the rapids was so loud that the sailors stopped their rowing, not by order, but because the boatswains were struck dumb with amazement, and the sailors themselves were out of their wits from the tumult.

V. When, however, they drew near the meeting of the waters, then the steersmen bade them row as strenuously as possible and drive their vessels through the narrows, so that the ships might not be caught in the whirlpools and be capsized by them, but rather that they should by their rowing overcome the turmoil of the water. The rounder types of boats, which were twisted about by the stream, suffered nothing serious in this disturbance, except that they caused much anxiety to the crews; they kept a straight course, being in fact held to their direction by the current itself. The long ships, however, did not come off so scathless in the turmoil; they did not ride so easily over the roaring waters; and those that had two tiers of oars hardly kept their lower tier clear of the stream. Moreover, their oars, when the boats were brought broadside on in the swirling waters, were broken — of such, at any rate, as were actually caught by the rapids and did not contrive to skim swiftly over them, so that many ships were in distress, and two collided with one another, and were themselves wrecked and many from their crews lost. When, however, the river broadened out, at last the stream no longer ran so roughly; and the eddies did not twist the ships about with so much violence. Alexander then bringing his army to land on the right bank — where there was shelter from the current and a landing place for the ships, and where a headland ran out into the river conveniently for the gathering in of the wrecked ships, and

any of the crew still left alive on them — contrived to save these, and repaired the damaged ships; after this he bade Nearchus sail down till he reached the boundaries of the Mallian people; he himself made a hasty raid through the country of the tribesmen who had not submitted to him, and so prevented them from bringing help to the Mallians. On this he again joined the flotilla.

Here Hephaestion and Craterus and Philip with their troops joined him again. Alexander then took the elephants, and Polysperchon's brigade, and the mounted archers, and Philip with his force, across the river Hydaspes, and ordered Craterus to take command of them; Nearchus he sent with the fleet, ordering him to be three days in advance of the army in the descent of the river. The remaining forces he divided into three parts; Hephaestion he ordered to go on five days in advance, so that if any who had escaped from his own force were advancing rapidly into the country farther on, they should fall in with Hephaestion's troops and be captured; but Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, to whom he handed over a part of the army, he bade follow him at the interval of three days, so that any who turned back again, fleeing from himself, might likewise fall in with Ptolemaeus and his troops. And as soon as they should arrive at the junction of the Acesines and Hydraotes, there he bade those who went in advance to wait till he himself should arrive and till the forces of Craterus and Ptolemaeus should join up with him.

VI. Then he himself took with him the bodyguards, the archers, the Agrianes, and Peitho's brigade of the so-called Infantry Companions, with all the mounted archers, and half the Companions' cavalry; and led them through a waterless country towards the Mallians, an Indian tribe, part of the self-governing Indians. On the first day he camped by a small pond, about a hundred stades from the river Acesines; and when he had dined, and had rested his army a short time, he passed the word along that every vessel anyone had was to be filled with water. Then marching about four hundred stades, during the remainder of that day and through the night, at daybreak he arrived at a city into which many of the Mallians had fled for refuge; but they, never dreaming that Alexander would march against them through this waterless region, were for the most part outside the city and unarmed; Alexander clearly had marched by this route, simply because it was especially difficult for him to march by it, and for that very reason none of his enemies could believe it possible that he would come that way. So then falling upon them all unexpecting he slew the greater part of them, who did not even resist, being as they were unarmed. The rest had fled into the city; and Alexander stationed, therefore, his cavalry round in a cordon; using the cavalry thus instead of a fence, since his infantry force had not yet come up with him. But as soon as ever the infantry did come up, he sent Perdikkas with his own cavalry regiment and that of Cleitus, with the Agrianes, against another city of the Mallians, whither many of the Indians of this district had fled for refuge, bidding him watch those in the city, but not to begin action till he himself should arrive; so as to prevent any fugitives from this city telling the other

tribesmen that Alexander was already well on the way. Then he himself attacked the city wall; but the tribesmen deserted the wall, having no hope of defending it further; a good many of them perished in the assault, others were no longer fit for service from wounds; and taking refuge in the citadel, for some time they continued to defend themselves from this, which was a commanding position, and, besides, difficult to assault. But as the Macedonians pressed on stoutly from all sides, and as Alexander himself was here, there and everywhere in the action, the citadel was taken by assault, and all who had taken refuge there were put to the sword, to the number of about two thousand.

Perdiccas meanwhile arrived at the city to which he had been sent, and found it desolate; but learning that the inhabitants had not long fled, he rode at full speed in the track of the fugitives; and the light-armed infantry followed with the best speed they could on foot. He caught up with and massacred so many of the fugitives as had not managed to escape into the marshes.

VII. Alexander, after seeing that his troops had dined and rested, began his advance again about the first watch. He marched a considerable distance during the night and at daybreak arrived at the river Hydraotes. There he learned that most of the Mallians had already crossed; he fell in with others who were actually crossing, and slew many of them during the crossing. He crossed himself, there and then, with them by the same crossing, and still pursuing pressed hard upon those who had got away ahead of him. Many of these too he slew; some he captured alive; but the greater number got safe away to a strong fortified position. But Alexander, as soon as his infantry came up with him, sent against these Peitho with his own brigade and two regiments of cavalry. They attacked, and on the first assault captured the stronghold, and enslaved all those who had taken refuge there, except such as had fallen in the assault. Then Peitho and his detachment, having finished all this, returned back again to the camp.

But Alexander himself was now advancing to a city of the Brachmans, learning that some of the Mallians had taken refuge there. And when he arrived there, he led up to the wall his phalanx in close formation on all sides. The inhabitants, seeing their walls undermined, and being dislodged by the missiles, deserted their walls, as the others had, and taking refuge in the citadel defended themselves there. A few Macedonians, however, broke in with them, whereupon they, turning to bay and forming a solid mass, drove out some of the attackers, and slew some twenty-five of them while they attempted to withdraw. Meanwhile Alexander ordered ladders on all sides to be placed against the citadel, and the wall to be undermined. And when a tower, being undermined, fell, and part of the wall between the towers being breached made the citadel easier of assault on that side, Alexander first mounted the wall and all could see him holding it. Observing him, the rest of the Macedonians, feeling ashamed, mounted, one here, and one there. And by this time the citadel was in their hands, and of the Indians some set fire to

their houses, and being captured in them, were put to death, but most of them perished fighting. Up to five thousand in all fell, but owing to their brave defence only a few were captured alive.

VIII. Alexander remained there one day and rested his army, and on the next day began his advance against the remaining Mallians. He found the cities deserted, but learned that the inhabitants had fled into the desert. There again he rested his army one day, and for the next day sent Peitho and Demetrius the cavalry commander back to the river, with the troops they had been in command of, giving them besides these such companies of foot-soldiers as were enough for their enterprise. Alexander commanded them to go along the river bank, and if they should come across any of those who had fled for refuge to the woods, of which there was abundance along the river bank, to put them to death, except such as voluntarily surrendered. Peitho's and Demetrius' troops did, in fact, find large numbers in the woods, and put them to death.

Alexander himself, however, marched against the greatest city of the Mallians, whither it was reported to him many had fled out of the other cities. But even this city the Indians deserted when they learnt of Alexander's approach; and crossing the Hydraotes they stood their ground, drawn up in order, on the banks, since these were of a good height, with the idea of preventing Alexander from crossing. As soon as he heard that, he took all the cavalry which he had with him and marched towards the Hydraotes, where it was reported that the Mallians were marshalled; the infantry was ordered to follow. And when he reached the river and saw the enemy in battle order on the far side, without any hesitation he plunged from the road into the ford with the cavalry only. The enemy, seeing Alexander already in midstream, retired from the bank rapidly, but in good order, Alexander following on with only his cavalry. But when the Indians saw he had cavalry only, they turned about and made a vigorous resistance, in number about fifty thousand. Alexander, seeing their infantry formation solid, and with his own infantry not yet on the field, kept circling round and making charges, but without coming to close quarters with the Indians. By this time the Agrianes and other companies of the light troops had joined him; these were picked troops which he had in his own force; and also the archers. Not far off the main body of the infantry was visible. The Indians, then, with all these terrors converging upon them, turned, and now in full flight, made for a fortified city near by. Alexander, however, following close upon them slew large numbers, and when the fugitives had been received into the city, he first, marching on, threw his cavalry in a circle round the city, and when his infantry came up, for this day he encamped all round the wall, since he had not much daylight left for the attack, and his army, the infantry from their long march, the cavalry from their close pursuit, and all especially from the crossing of the river, were much distressed.

IX. The next day Alexander divided his army, and taking the command of one part himself, began his attack on the wall. The other part he handed over

to Perdiccas. Meanwhile the Indians did not await the attack of the Macedonians, but deserted the walls of the city, and themselves fled together to the citadel. Alexander, however, and his troops tore down a small gate and penetrated into the city far in advance of the rest. But those under Perdiccas' command fell behind, having difficulty in getting over the wall; and most of them carried no ladders, since they thought the city had actually been captured, when they saw the walls bereft of their defenders. When, however, it was obvious that the citadel was in the enemy's hands, and in front of it were seen many defenders drawn up to fight from thence, some at once began undermining the wall, others set ladders wherever opportunity offered and tried to force a way into the citadel. But Alexander, thinking that the Macedonians who were bringing the ladders were malingering, seized a ladder from one of those who bore them, and himself set it up against the wall, and gathering himself well under his shield mounted up; and next Peucestas, carrying the sacred shield, which Alexander had taken from the temple of Athena of Ilium and always kept by him, and which was carried before him in battle; and then Leonnatus, the officer of the bodyguard, climbed up; and by another ladder Abreas, one of the Distinguished Service Order. (Literally, one on double pay (for services on the field).) By this time the King was by the battlement of the wall, and leaning his shield against it pushed some of the Indians within the wall, others there and then he slew with his sword, and so stripped that part of wall bare of defenders; but the bodyguards, becoming nervous for their King, hurriedly making their way up the same ladder broke it, so that those already mounting fell down, and prevented the rest from ascending.

But Alexander, standing as he was upon the wall, was shot at all round from the neighbouring towers; for none of the Indians dared to approach him; and also from those in the city, these indeed being within short range, for at this point there was a mound near the wall. Alexander was indeed most conspicuous, both by the splendour of his arms and by his miraculous courage; and he felt that by remaining where he was he would run a very great risk and yet do no achievement worthy of note; but that if he leapt down within the wall he might perhaps by this very action frighten the Indians, while if he must be endangered, he might die not ignobly, after doing great deeds, worthy for those that came after to hear of. With this thought he leapt down from the wall and into the citadel. There taking firm stand by the wall, he smote with his sword and slew some who came to grips with him, and even the Indians' commander-in-chief, who came very boldly to attack him; another as he approached he checked by hurling a stone, and another in the same way; but anyone who came within striking distance he smote again with his sword. The Indians were no longer ready to approach him; but keeping at a distance showered missiles upon him from all sides, whatever anyone had in his hand, or could lay his hands upon.

VIII. Meanwhile Peucestas and Abreas, of the Distinguished Service Order,

and Leonnatus with them, the only men who had managed to get on to the wall before the ladders broke, leapt down also and fought to defend their King. Abreas indeed fell there, shot with an arrow in the face; and Alexander himself also was struck, right through the corslet into his breast over the lung, so that, according to Ptolemy, breath together with blood shot forth from the wound. Yet Alexander, as long as the blood was still warm, kept defending himself; but when a good deal of blood came forth, in a thick stream, as would be with the breath, he was overcome by dizziness and faintness, and fell there where he stood bending over his shield. Peucestas stood astride of him as he lay there, and holding up before him the sacred shield from Ilium, and Leonnatus on the other side, they two received the showers of missiles while Alexander from loss of blood was near to fainting. For the conduct of the Macedonian assault had come to a deadlock at this point, since those who saw Alexander exposed to missiles on the wall and then leaping inside into the citadel, these, both through ardour and fear lest their King should come to harm by this thoughtless daring, broke down the ladders, and contrived various expedients for scaling the wall, in this difficulty; some hammered pegs into the wall, which was of clay, and clinging to these managed with difficulty to clamber up; others too mounted on their comrades' shoulders. The first to ascend threw himself down from the wall into the city, where they saw the King lying; and all lamented, and raised their battle-cry. And already a severe battle was raging about the fallen King, now one, now another of the Macedonians holding his shield over him, but in the meantime some of the troops had severed the bar with which the gate between the towers was barred, and so passed in in small detachments; others then put their shoulders to a gap broken in the door and pushed it towards the space within the wall, and so opened up the citadel on this side.

IX. And now some began to slaughter the Indians, and they slew them all, leaving neither child nor woman; while others carried off the King, who was in very evil plight, on the shield, no longer thinking that he could live. Some authorities recorded that Critodemus, a physician of Cos, by birth of the family of Asclepius, drew out the arrow from the wound, cutting the part which it had struck; others that Perdiccas of the bodyguard, no surgeon being at hand in this emergency, cut the wound with his sword, at Alexander's express command, and so drew out the arrow. In the withdrawal there was a great rush of blood, so that Alexander fainted again, and the haemorrhage was thus checked by his fainting. A great many other stories have been written by the historians about this disaster, and legend has handed them on as the first falsifiers told them, and still keeps them alive to this day; and will indeed never cease handing on these falsehoods to others in turn, unless it be checked by this my history.

To begin with, tradition is unanimous that this disaster happened to Alexander among the Oxydracae; whereas it took place among the Mallians, an independent Indian tribe; the city was a Mallian city, and they were

Mallians who wounded Alexander; they had indeed determined to join the Oxydracae and so fight together, but Alexander reached them too quickly, marching through the desert, before any help had time to reach them from the Oxydracae, or they give any help to the Oxydracae. In the same way, universal tradition has it that the last battle with Dareius, that in which Dareius fled and continued his flight until he was captured by Bessus and his followers, and perished, while Alexander was pressing hard upon him, took place at Arbela; and the battle before this at Issus, and the first, the cavalry battle, at Granicus. Actually, a cavalry battle took place at Granicus, and the second battle against Dareius at Issus; but most historians state that Arbela was six hundred stades away from the place where Dareius and Alexander fought their last battle; those who make the distance least, put it at five hundred stades. But Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus state that the battle took place at Gaugamela by the river Bumodus. Gaugamela, moreover, was not a city but a large village; it was not an important place, and the name has rather an awkward sound; and thus, as I opine, Arbela, being a city, carried off the glory of this great battle. If, however, we must hold that this engagement took place at Arbela when it was actually at such a distance from Arbela, we may as well hold that the naval battle at Salamis took place at the isthmus of Corinth, and the battle of Artemisium in Euboea at Aegina or Sunium.

Then again, as to those who protected Alexander with their shields in his grave danger, all agree that one was Peucestas, but they do not agree about Leonnatus nor yet about Abreas, the winner of the Distinguished Service Order. Then some say that Alexander was struck on the helmet with a club, and became dizzy, and so fell; and then, rising up again, was struck with a shot in the breast, right through his breastplate; but Ptolemaeus son of Lagus states that there was only this one wound, that in the breast. (This passage is given as Ptolemaeus, *Fragm.* 20, in Dübner's edition. Curtius blames Clitarchus and Timagenes for relating that Ptolemaeus was present.) But I reckon the greatest error of those who wrote histories of Alexander to be this; Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, according to some authorities, mounted up with Alexander up the ladder, together with Peucestas, and held his shield over him as he lay there, and for this Ptolemaeus was always called in addition the Saviour; whereas Ptolemaeus himself has recorded that he was not so much as present in this action; but in fact was at the head of his own force and was fighting other battles and against other tribesmen. This much I must be permitted to have said, by way of digression, so that those who come afterwards may give some pains to the narrative of such great deeds and disasters.

X. While Alexander was resting here and getting treatment for his wound, the first report reached the camp whence he had set out against the Mallians that he had died from the wound. And first there was a lamentation from all the army as one told the report to another; then, while ceasing their lamentation, they were disheartened and despairing as to the future leader of

the host (for both in Alexander's opinion and in the Macedonians' many seemed to be equal in reputation), and despairing too how they might get back safe to their own homes, with all these warlike nations closing them round in a circle, some of whom had not yet surrendered, and these seemed likely to fight stoutly for their freedom; and others were certain to revolt, if the dread of Alexander was removed from them. Then they believed that they were, at the time, in the midst of impassable rivers; and everything seemed to them helpless and hopeless if they had lost Alexander. Yet when news came that Alexander was alive, they hardly believed it; and they could not believe that he could yet survive. But when a letter came from him that he would shortly come to the camp, even then most of them could not believe this for excess of fear; but they thought that it was made up by his bodyguards and officers.

XI. Alexander, learning of this state of things, to prevent any disturbance in the army, was carried, so soon as ever he was able, to the bank of the river Hydraotes; and then sailing down-stream, for the camp was at the junction of the Hydraotes and the Acesines, where Hephaestion was in command of the army and where Nearchus had his fleet, as soon as the boat with the King on board began to draw near to the camp, he ordered the awning to be taken off the stern, so that everyone might see him. But the troops even now disbelieved, saying to themselves that Alexander's dead body was being brought down, till at length, when the ship had put in at the bank, Alexander held up his hand towards the multitude; and they shouted aloud, some holding up their hands to heaven, and others towards Alexander himself; and many involuntary tears were shed in the unexpectedness of their joy. Some of the bodyguard brought a litter for him, as he was being carried out of the ship; but he bade his horse be brought alongside. And when he mounted the horse, and all saw him, the whole army clapped their hands again and again; and the banks and the glens near the banks re-echoed the sound. Then when Alexander drew near his pavilion he dismounted from his horse, so that the army beheld him walking. Then they all ran towards him from this side and that, some touching his hands, some his knees, some his garment; others just looked on him from near at hand, and with a blessing upon him went his way; some cast wreaths upon him, some such flowers as the country of India bare at that time.

Nearchus tells us that he was angry with those of his friends who rebuked him for running so great a risk in advance of the army; this, they said, was a soldier's part, not a commander's. My own idea is that Alexander was angry with these reproaches because he knew that they were true and that he had laid himself open to this rebuke. And yet from his enthusiasm in battle, and his passion for glory, he, just as others are overcome by some pleasure, was not strong enough to keep out of dangers. Nearchus goes on to say that an oldish man, a Boeotian — he does not give his name — perceiving that Alexander was angry with his friends' reproaches and showed his indignation in his features, came up to him and in his Boeotian dialect said: "Alexander,

noble deeds are men's work"; and added an iambic verse of which the general tenour was "Suffering is the meed of him that doth great deed." (From Aeschylus; Fragment 282 (Dindorf).) The speaker won Alexander's immediate approval and thenceforward his closer friendship.

XII. At this time came envoys from the rest of the Mallians, offering surrender of the tribe; and from the Oxydracae the governors of the cities and the district governors in person and others of their chief personages, up to the number of a hundred and fifty, as plenipotentiaries to discuss terms, bringing the most precious Indian gifts, and they also offering surrender of their tribe. They urged that their error was pardonable, in that they had not sent envoys earlier; they above all others were desirous to have freedom and to be self-governing; that freedom indeed they had preserved intact from the days when Dionysus came into India up to Alexander; but if it so pleased Alexander, since report had it that Alexander too was descended from gods, they would accept any governor whom Alexander should appoint and would pay such tribute as might seem good to Alexander; and they would give hostages so many as Alexander should require. Alexander demanded a thousand of the chief men of the tribe, whom he should, if he desired, keep as hostages; or if otherwise, should have them serving with his army, till he should finish his wars against the rest of the Indians. They duly sent the thousand men, choosing out the most important and greatest of their tribe, and also, unasked, five hundred chariots, and the drivers of the chariots. And Alexander appointed Philip as satrap over them and the surviving Mallians; he then returned to them the hostages, but retained the chariots.

When he had put all this in order, and as soon as a large number of additional boats had been constructed during the period of his convalescence from the wound, he embarked on the ships seventeen hundred cavalry of the Companions, and of the lightarmed troops the same number as before, and up to ten thousand infantry, and sailed a short way down the Hydraotes; but where the Hydraotes joined the Acesines, since there the name Acesines takes precedence over Hydraotes, he sailed down the Acesines, till he came to the meeting of the Acesines and Indus. For these four great rivers, all navigable, pour their waters into the Indus, not each with its original name, but the Hydaspes runs into the Acesines, and pouring in its whole stream accepts the name Acesines; then again the Acesines meets the Hydraotes, and taking in this tributary remains the Acesines; then next the Acesines takes in the Hyphasis and still in its own name runs into the Indus, but once having done so is merged into the Indus, and thence the Indus, before it splits into its delta, must be, I think, some hundred stades broad, and perhaps more, where it becomes more lake than river.

XIII. There at the junction of the Acesines and Indus Alexander remained till Perdiccas joined him with his army, after subduing on his march the independent tribe of Abastanes. At this time also there joined Alexander further thirty-oared ships and other transport vessels, which had been built for

him among the Xathrians, who had surrendered to him, being another independent Indian tribe. Envoys came too from the Ossadians, who also are an independent tribe of Indians; they offered the submission of the Ossadians; Alexander then fixed as the boundaries of Philip's satrapy the junction of the Acesines and Indus, and left with him all the Thracians, and from the ordinary brigades such troops as seemed enough to garrison the country. He bade him also found there a city, (One of the many Alexandrias. Some think it is the modern Mittun.) just at the meeting of the two rivers, having entertained a hope that such a city would become great and famous in the world; he also ordered dockyards to be built. And about this time Oxyartes the Bactrian, father of Roxane, Alexander's wife, came to visit Alexander; and Alexander gave him in addition the satrapy over the Parapamisadae, removing Tiryaspes the former satrap, since this Tiryaspes was reported to him to be conducting his office in a disorderly manner.

Then Alexander caused Craterus and the greater part of the army and the elephants to be ferried across to the left bank of the river Indus; since the journey along the river-bank seemed easier on that side to heavy troops, and also since the tribes on the river-bank were not everywhere friendly. Then he himself sailed down towards the royal city of Sogdia. There he built and fortified a new city, and made new dockyards, and had his damaged boats refitted. As satrap of the country from the meeting of the Indus and the Acesines up to the sea, with all the coast-line of the country of India, he appointed Oxyartes with Peitho.

Craterus then he sent back again with his army (through the territory of the Arachotians and Drangians) while he himself sailed down-stream towards the kingdom of Musicanus, which was reported to be the richest of all India, since Musicanus had not yet presented himself to surrender himself and his country, nor had sent envoys to establish friendly relations; nor indeed had sent anything at all, as one naturally would to a great King, nor had made any request from Alexander. The voyage down the river proved so swift that he arrived at the borders of Musicanus' realm before Musicanus became aware that Alexander had started in his direction. Amazed then by this swiftness of movement, Musicanus at once went to meet Alexander, bringing gifts such as are accounted most valuable among the Indians, and leading thither all his elephants; moreover, submitting himself and his people and acknowledging his error, which was the most potent method with Alexander of obtaining what anyone might desire. And, sure enough, Musicanus received pardon from Alexander; and Alexander much admired his country and his capital, and permitted Musicanus to remain sovereign over it. Craterus was ordered to fortify the citadel in this city; and it was so fortified while Alexander was still there, and a garrison was placed there, since the position seemed to Alexander very convenient for keeping a hold over the tribes over which he was keeping watch in the neighbourhood.

XIV. From there Alexander, taking with him the archers and the Agrianes

and the cavalry which was sailing with him, made an expedition to the governor of this district, who was named Oxycanus; since he had neither come himself nor had envoys come from him, to surrender himself and his district. Two of the largest cities in Oxycanus' province he took easily by assault, and in the second of these Oxycanus himself was captured. All the plunder Alexander handed over to the army, but the elephants he took away himself. Other cities in the same district surrendered on Alexander's approach, no one resisting, so completely had the spirit of all the Indians been broken by Alexander and Alexander's good fortune.

Next Alexander advanced against Sambus, who had been appointed by himself satrap of the Indian hillmen; he was reported to have made good his escape on learning that Alexander had forgiven Musicanus and allowed him to continue ruler of his province; for Sambus and Musicanus were at enmity. But when Alexander was now approaching the city which was the capital of Sambus' territory, its name being Sindimana, the gates were opened to him at his coming and the relatives of Sambus counted out his treasure and went to meet Alexander, bringing with them all the elephants; they represented that Sambus' flight had not been due to any ill-will towards Alexander, but he had been frightened at his clemency towards Musicanus. At this same time Alexander captured another city which had rebelled, and he put to death those of the Brachmans, the learned pundits of India, who had been responsible for the revolt. The wisdom of these men, such as it is, I shall discuss in my Indian History.

XV. In the midst of all this the revolt of Musicanus was announced. Against him Alexander sent Peitho son of Agenor the satrap with a sufficient force. He himself advanced against the cities subject to Musicanus, and of some he sold the inhabitants into slavery, razing the cities to the ground, in others he established garrisons and fortified citadels. Then when he had completed this he returned to his camp and fleet. Hither too Musicanus, now a captive, was brought by Peitho; and Alexander bade them hang him in his own land, together with such of the Brachmans who had been the instigators of Musicanus' revolt. There arrived here also the governor of the territory of Pattala, the territory which I stated to be the delta made by the river Indus, greater than the Egyptian delta; he offered in surrender all his territory and committed himself and all that he had to Alexander. Alexander sent him back again to his own realm, bidding him make all ready for the reception of the army; then he despatched Craterus with the brigade of Attalus and those of Meleager and Antigenes, some of the archers, and so many of the Companions and the other Macedonians as he was already sending back to Macedonia as being past service, to go by the road through the Arachotians and Zarangians to Carmania; he also gave Craterus the elephants to take with him. Over the rest of the army Hephæstion was placed in command — except such part of it as was sailing with Alexander himself to the sea; but Peitho, with the mounted javelin-men and the Agrianes, he transported to the other

side of the Indus, not that by which Hephaestion was to take his army; he gave orders to Peitho to settle such cities as were already fortified, and deal with any attempted rebellion among the Indians in these parts, and finally meet him at Pattala.

Now when Alexander had been already three days on the voyage, he received news that the chief of Pattala had taken with him the greater number of the tribesmen and had absconded, leaving his country desolate, and on this Alexander sailed down with even greater speed than before. On his arrival at Pattala, he found both city and territory empty, both of inhabitants and of labourers. He therefore despatched the lightest of his troops in pursuit of the fugitives, and when some of these had been captured, sent them away to the others, bidding them to come back without fear; for their city was theirs to dwell in as before, and their country was theirs to till. And the greater part of them did come back.

XVI. Alexander then bade Hephaestion to fortify the citadel in Pattala, and sent out others to the desert parts of the surrounding country to dig wells and to make the country inhabitable. Some of the neighbouring tribesmen, however, set upon this party; some indeed they destroyed, by the suddenness of their attack, but they lost also many of their own number, and fled away into the desert, so that those who had been sent to complete the work did so, another force having joined them, which Alexander, on hearing of the attack of the natives, had sent to help with the work.

At Pattala the stream of the Indus parts into two large rivers, both of these retaining the name "Indus" till they reach the sea. Here Alexander began to build a harbour and dockyards, and when these works had got well advanced, he proposed to sail down to the outlet of the right-hand stream where it joined the sea. He sent therefore Leonnatus, giving him a thousand of the cavalry and about eight thousand of the heavy and light armed troops, to the island of Pattala, to march alongside the fleet. Then Alexander himself, taking the swiftest sailers of his fleet and the ships of one and a half banks of oars, all the thirty-oar ships, and some of the fast galleys, sailed down the right-hand river. But as he had no pilot, since all the Indians of these parts had fled, there were grave difficulties in the descent, and on the day after the fleet weighed, there came a great storm, and the wind blowing contrary to the current made troughs in the stream and battered the flotilla; most of the ships were damaged, and some even of the thirty-oar ships were complete wrecks. They ran them to shore, however, before they were completely shattered. Other ships therefore were built. Then he sent off the lightest of his auxiliary troops to the country on the farther bank to capture some of the Indians, and they for the rest of the way piloted the passage. Then when they came to the broadening of the river, so that it extends at its broadest to two hundred stades, the wind was blowing violently from the ocean and the oars could hardly be lifted in the waves, and they ran for shelter, therefore, into a side channel, to which Alexander's pilots steered them.

XVII. There they anchored, and there followed the usual feature of the ocean, the receding tide; as a result their ships were left high and dry. This Alexander's troops had not before known of, and it caused them no small amazement; but it caused even more when the time passed by and the tide came up again and the ships floated. Such of the ships as the tide found comfortably settled on the mud floated off unharmed, and sailed once more without sustaining damage; but those that were caught on a drier bottom, and not remaining on an even keel, as the onrushing tide came in all together, either collided one with another, or were dashed upon the ground and shattered. These Alexander repaired as best he could, and then despatched in two of his pinnaces down-stream some of his men to explore the island by which the natives affirmed he must anchor on his voyage down to meet the sea. This island they called Cilluta. The scouts reported that there was good anchorage by the island, and that it was large, with fresh water, so the rest of his fleet put in at the island; but Alexander himself with the best sailers from among his ships went to the far side of the island, to get a view of the outlet of the river into the sea, and see if it offered a safe passage out. So advancing about two hundred stades from the island they sighted a second island, right out in the sea. On this they returned to the river island, and anchoring at a headland upon this island Alexander sacrificed to those gods to which, he used to say, Ammon had ordered him to sacrifice. Then the next day he sailed down to the island in the sea; he put in there, and sacrificed there other sacrifices to other gods and with different ceremonial; these sacrifices also, he said, he offered in accordance with the oracle given from Ammon. Then passing the mouths of the river Indus he set sail to the high seas, to see, as he himself said, if any country stood out, near by, in the ocean; but in my own judgment chiefly that he might have voyaged in the Great Ocean beyond India. Then he sacrificed bulls to Poseidon, and cast them into the sea, and poured, after the sacrifice, a libation; casting also into the sea the cup, a gold one, and golden bowls, as thank-offerings, praying also that Poseidon would safely convey his naval force, which he purposed to despatch under Nearchus towards the Persian Gulf and the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris.

XVIII. After this he returned to Pattala, and found the citadel already fortified and Peitho duly arrived with his army, having successfully accomplished his whole mission. Hephaestion was now ordered to get ready everything necessary for the fortifying of the harbour and for the building of the dockyards; for Alexander purposed to leave behind there a fleet of several ships at the city of Pattala, where the river Indus divided.

Then Alexander sailed down to the ocean again by the other mouth of the Indus, to learn by which branch the outlet of the Indus to the ocean was safer; these mouths of the river Indus are eighteen hundred stades apart from one another. And in the descent of the river he arrived at a great lake not far from the river outlet; this the river as it spreads — and possibly also from the other neighbouring streams which run into it — enlarges so that it most resembles a

gulf of the sea; in fact ocean fishes were already to be seen in it, bigger than those in our own sea. Anchoring, therefore, at a point in the lake where the pilots advised him, he left behind the greater part of his troops there with Leonnatus, and all the light galleys. Then he himself, with the ships of thirty oars, and those with one and a half banks of oarsmen, passed beyond the outlet of the Indus, and proceeding by this passage also reached the sea; discovering that the passage by this branch of the Indus was an easier one. He then anchored by the shore, and taking with him some of the cavalry went three days' march along the coast, observing the nature of the country for the coasting voyage, and ordering wells to be dug, so that as they sailed along they might be able to get water. Then he himself returned to his ships and sailed back to Pattala; and sent part of his army along the foreshore to carry on this same work, bidding them also return to Pattala. Then once more he sailed down to the lake, and built another harbour and other dockyards; and leaving there a garrison, collected four months' supplies for his army and made all other necessary preparations for the voyage.

XXI. The season, however, was not suitable for sailing; for the trade winds (The south-west monsoon.) were blowing continuously, which in that season blow not, as with us, from the north, but from the ocean and from the south. But from the beginning of winter, right from the setting of the Pleiads to the winter solstice, it was reported that the ocean here was fit for navigation; for then, as would be when the land is drenched with heavy rains, there are light land breezes, convenient for the coasting voyage whether by oars or sails.

Nearchus, then, the admiral of the fleet, awaited the season for the voyage. But Alexander leaving Pattala advanced with his entire force as far as the river Arabius; and thence, taking with him half the bodyguards and the archers and the brigades of the Companions, as they were called, the special squadron of the Companions' cavalry, and a squadron from each cavalry regiment, together with all the mounted archers, turned towards the ocean, keeping it on his left, in order to dig wells, so that there might be plenty of water for the army which was sailing along the coast, and also with the intention of making a surprise attack on the Oreitans, the Indian tribe in these parts, who had long been independent, since they had failed to make any friendly overtures to Alexander and his troops. Hephaestion was in command of such part of the army as Alexander had left behind. The Arabitae, however, also an independent tribe of the Indians who dwell about the river Arabius, did not appear to Alexander worth attacking, and yet they did not choose to surrender, when they learned that Alexander was approaching, but fled into the desert. Alexander, however, crossed the river Arabius, a narrow river with a small stream, traversed a considerable part of the desert by night, and at dawn was close to the inhabited region. Here he ordered his infantry to follow in marching order, but the cavalry he took with him and divided into squadrons, that they might cover the greatest extent of country, and thus invaded the territory of the Oreitans. Such of them as offered resistance were

cut down by the cavalry, and many were captured alive. For the time being, then, Alexander encamped by a small stream; but on being joined by Hephaestion and his troops, he advanced further. Then arriving at a village which was the largest village of the Oreitans, called Rambacia, he was impressed with the position, and felt that a city founded there would become great and prosperous. He left behind Hephaestion, therefore, to attend to this.

XIX. Then Alexander, taking with him again half the bodyguards and the Agrianes, the special squadron of the cavalry, and the mounted archers, advanced towards the borders of the Gadrosians and the Oreitans, where it was reported that the approach was by a defile, and that the Gadrosians and Oreitans had joined together and were encamped at the mouth of the defile to check Alexander's approach. They were, in fact, arrayed there; but when news was brought that he was nearing them, the greater part of them fled from the defile, deserting their post; but the chiefs of the Oreitans came to Alexander surrendering themselves and their nation. These he commanded to call together the bulk of the Oreitans and send them home, with the assurance that they would suffer no harm; as satrap over them he appointed Apollophanes. Together with him he left behind Leonnatus, the officer of the bodyguard, in the country of the Orians, with all the Agrianes, some of the archers and of the cavalry, and a considerable body besides of Greek mercenary infantry and cavalry; Leonnatus was to await the fleet, until it made its voyage past this district, to build the city, and to put everything in good order in the country of the Oreitans, so that they might more diligently obey their satrap. Then he himself with the larger part of his army, for Hephaestion had arrived, with the party which had been left behind, proceeded towards the Gadrosians, through country which for the most part was desert.

In this desert Aristobulus says that many myrrh trees grow, a good deal taller than the ordinary myrrh. The Phoenicians who followed the army as traders collected the gum of the myrrh, for it was abundant, coming from such large trunks and never having been gathered before, and loaded up their pack-mules with it. This desert also has a root of spikenard, plentiful and fragrant; this too the Phoenicians gathered; a good deal of it also was trodden underfoot by the army, and from such as was trodden there a delightful fragrance was wafted for some distance over the country, so abundant was it. There are also other trees in the desert, one with a leaf like laurel, and this grows in places which are washed by the sea; the trees are left high and dry by the receding tide, but when the tide returns, they appear growing in the sea; of some, which grow in hollow places, the roots are always washed by the sea, where the water does not recede, and yet the tree is not spoiled by the sea water. The trees here are sometimes even thirty cubits high, and at that season they were in flower, the flower being very like a white violet, but of a very much sweeter perfume. There is also a thistle on a long stalk growing out of the soil, and the spike on this stalk is so strong that once and again when they were riding past it caught the rider's clothes, and pulled him from his horse rather

than come away from its stalk. They say that the hares as they run through get their fur caught in the thistles, and so in fact are captured, just as birds with bird-lime or fishes with hooks; but it was fairly easy to cut through with an axe; and the stalk of this thistle when cut gives out considerable juice more abundant and sharper to taste than that of figs in spring.

XX. From there Alexander went on through the country of the Gadrosians by a route both difficult and lacking in supplies; in especial, the army often found no water; but they were obliged to traverse a considerable part of the country by night, and at a greater distance from the sea; Alexander himself desiring to work along the sea-coast to see such harbours as there were and to get ready what conveniences were possible for the navy, either by digging wells, clearing open spaces, or preparing anchorages. But the Gadrosian country was entirely desert along the coast-line, so he sent Thoas son of Mandrodorus to the sea with a few cavalry, to see if there was any anchorage possible in this direction, or water near the sea, or any other necessary. And he returned and reported that he had found some fishermen on the beach in stifling cabins, made out of shells fixed together, and for a roofing the backbones of fishes; but that these fishermen used little fresh water, and this they dug from the gravel, and even that was not always fresh.

But when Alexander arrived at a certain place in Gadrosia where provisions were more plentiful, he distributed what he obtained among the baggage trains; and this he sealed with his own seal, and bade them convey it to the sea. But while he was going towards the halting-place from which the sea was nearest, the troops, making light of this seal — even the guards themselves — used these provisions and gave shares also to those most beset by hunger. So far were they overcome by their distress that they thought right to consider their obvious and immediate ruin before the yet uncertain and distant danger from their King. Indeed, Alexander, on learning of the grave necessity, pardoned the offenders. Then he by overrunning the district got together what provisions he could for the army which was sailing with the fleet, and sent Cretheus of Callatis to convoy it. The inhabitants also were commanded to bring down provisions from the upper districts, grinding as much corn as they could, with dates from the palm trees, and sheep for the army to purchase, and he sent Telephus also, one of the Companions, to another place with a small supply of ground corn.

XXI. Then Alexander advanced towards the Gadrosian capital; the district is called Pura; and he arrived there from the district of the Orians in a total of sixty days. Most of the histories of Alexander affirm that not even all the trials that his army endured in Asia were worthy to be compared with the miseries they suffered here. It was not because Alexander had no knowledge of the difficulty of the route that he went that way (it is Nearchus alone who says so); but rather that he had heard that no one yet had successfully come through this way with an army, except that Semiramis had fled this way from India. The natives had a tradition that even she only escaped with twenty of

her whole force; Cyrus son of Cambyzes had got through with only seven survivors. For Cyrus did come into these parts intending to invade the country of India; but before he could do so he lost the greater part of his army by the barrenness and difficulty of this route. The relation of these stories to Alexander inspired him with emulation towards Cyrus and Semiramis. It was, then, on this account, and also that the fleet, being close by, might provide him with all necessaries, that, according to Nearchus, he chose this route. At any rate, the heat of the sun beating down and the want of water destroyed a great part of the army, and especially of course the baggage animals; for they, from the depth of the sand and its heat, for it was burning, and the most part too from thirst, perished; for they even came across high hills of deep sand, not beaten down, but letting them sink in as if into liquid mud or into untrodden snow as they stepped upon it. Besides this, in ascents, or when descending, the horses and mules were particularly distressed by the unevenness and insecurity of the surface. Then the lengths of the marches very seriously oppressed the army; for want of water, which occurred at irregular intervals, drove them to make their marches as necessity dictated. Then whenever at night they covered the distance which had to be traversed, and at dawn came upon water, they were not so very much distressed; but if the day went on, by reason of the journey's length, and they were left still marching, then indeed they were in a sorry plight from the double sufferings of heat and thirst.

XXII. Of the transport animals there was then great loss, even caused deliberately by the army; for whenever their provisions began to fail them, they clubbed together and gradually killed off most of their horses and mules and ate their flesh, giving out that they had perished from thirst or had collapsed from fatigue; and there was no one to prove the actual fact, both because of their distress and because they were all involved in the same crime. Alexander himself, however, was not unaware of these happenings; but he saw that the remedy for their present distress lay rather in his pretended ignorance than in any connivance of what went on. Nor was it easy to bring along those of the troops who were sick, nor those who were left lying in the way from fatigue, both from want of the transport animals and because the men themselves kept destroying the waggons, which it was impossible to drag along owing to the depth of the sand, and also because in the earlier marches they had been compelled for this reason not to go by the shortest routes but by those that were easiest for the teams. And so some were left behind on the routes sick, and others from weariness or sunstroke, or no longer able to hold out against the thirst; there was no one to help them forward, and no one to stay behind and take care of them; for the march was hurried and in the general eagerness the troubles of individuals were necessarily neglected: and those who were borne down by sleep on the marches, since they made most of their stages by night, when they woke up again, if they had strength to do so, followed in the track of the army, and so a few, out of many, were saved; but

most of them fell into the sand, like men who perished in the sea.

The army received also a further disaster, which perhaps more than anything else distressed both the troops, and their horses and transport animals. During the trade winds there is heavy rain over the land of the Gadrosians, as also over India, not so much over the Gadrosian plains as over the hills, whither the clouds are borne by the wind and are poured out in rain, not rising above the crests of the hills. Now the army bivouacked near a small stream, in fact for the sake of the water, and about the second watch of the night the stream which flowed here became swollen with rains, the rains themselves having fallen out of sight of the army, and came down with so great a spate of water that it drowned most of the women and children from among those which followed the army, swept away all the royal pavilion and its contents, and so many of the transport animals as had survived; and indeed the troops themselves were only saved with great difficulty, with their weapons only, and not even all of these. Then again most of those even who drank, whenever they met with abundant water after much drought and thirst, perished by reason of their intemperate drinking; and for this reason Alexander did not, as a rule, have his encampment actually on the banks of the watercourses, but about twenty stades away, so that they should not, by a general rush at the stream, perish, themselves and their beasts, and at the same time the greediest of them, stepping into the springs or streams, spoil the water for the rest of the host.

XXIII. At this point I have not thought well to leave unrecorded the noblest achievement of Alexander, whether it took place in this country, or among the Parapamisadae at an earlier date, as others have narrated. The army was marching through sand and while the heat was already burning, since they were obliged to reach water at the end of the march; and this was some distance ahead. Alexander himself was much distressed by thirst, and with much difficulty, but still as best he could, led the way on foot; so that the rest of the troops should (as usually happens in such a case) bear their toils more easily, when all are sharing the distress alike. Meanwhile some of the light-armed troops had turned aside from the rest of the line to look for water, and had found some, just a little water collected in a shallow river-bed, a poor and wretched water-hole; they gathered up this water with difficulty and hurried to Alexander as if they were bringing him some great boon; but when they drew near, they brought the water, which they had poured into a helmet, to the King. He received it, and thanked those who had brought it; and taking it poured it out in the sight of all the troops; and at this action the whole army was so much heartened that you would have said that each and every man had drunk that water which Alexander thus poured out. This deed of Alexander's above all I commend most warmly as a proof both of his endurance and his excellence as a general.

There was also a further incident which happened to the army in this district. The guides of the route finally said that they could not remember the

way, but that its marks of direction had been obliterated by the violence of the wind; and, of course, in the sand which was everywhere and all alike, heaped up on all sides, there was nothing by which one could guess the road; not even the ordinary trees growing along it, nor any solid hillock emerging from it; nor had the guides accustomed themselves to make their marches by the stars at night nor by the sun during the day, as the Phoenician sailors have become accustomed to steer their way by the Little Bear and the rest of mankind by the Great Bear. So Alexander, understanding that they ought to lead the army inclining to the left, took a few horsemen with him and rode on ahead; and when their horses began to weary beneath the heat, he left behind most of them, and he with no more than five rode off and found the sea; then, digging in the gravel on the shore, he found fresh and pure water, and so the whole army came thither; and for seven days they marched along the sea-coast, getting water from the shore, and thence, for the guides now began to recognize the road, he led his army into the interior.

XXIV. Arriving at length at the Gadosian capital, Alexander rested his army there. Apollophanes he removed from his satrapy, finding that he had neglected all his orders; and he appointed Thoas to be satrap in his stead; but as he died of sickness, Sibyrtius received the office; he had been recently appointed by Alexander satrap of Carmania; but now he was given the charge of both the Arachotians and the Gadosians, and Tlepolemus son of Pythophanes took over Carmania. Alexander had already begun his march towards Carmania, when it was reported to him that Philip the satrap of the Indians had been treacherously killed as the result of a plot against him by the mercenaries; but that the Macedonian bodyguards of Philip had put to death the assassins, some in the act, and some they captured afterwards. On learning this he despatched letters to India to Eudamus and Taxiles bidding them take charge of the district formerly under Philip, until he should send a satrap to govern it.

When Alexander had reached Carmania, Craterus arrived, bringing with him the rest of the army and the elephants and Ordanes who had revolted and began to rebel, but whom he had captured. There also Stasanor satrap of Areia and the satrap of the Zarangians came, and with them Pharismanes the son of Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea and Hyrcania. There arrived also the satraps who had been left behind with Parmenio in charge of the forces in Media, Cleander and Sitalces and Heracon, they also bringing the greater part of these forces. Both the natives and the forces themselves brought many charges against Cleander and Sitalces and their followers of having plundered temples, removed ancient tombs, and done other overbearing and scandalous injustices to the inhabitants. On receiving this report, Alexander put these two to death, to put fear into any other satraps or governors who were left, that if they committed the like crimes they too should suffer the like fate. And this above everything else kept in order the tribes which Alexander had subdued or which had surrendered to him, being as they were so many in number, and

so far separated one from another — namely, that Alexander permitted no subjects under his sway to be wronged by their rulers. Heracon indeed was for the time acquitted of the charge; but soon after the charge was brought home to him by some of the people of Susa of having sacked the temple of Susa; and he also was punished. The companions of Stasanor and Phrataphernes brought to Alexander a large number of transport animals and a good many camels, having guessed, so soon as they learned that he was going towards Gadosia, that his army would suffer those very disasters which it did suffer. Their coming, too, was indeed timely, as was that of the camels and other animals; for Alexander distributed them all to the officers, one by one, to the others by squadrons and centuries, and also by files, according to the total number of camels and transport animals which he received.

XXV. Some writers have recounted a story, which I do not myself credit, that Alexander bound together two war-chariots, and reclining at ease with his Companions, and soothed by the sounds of the flute, thus drove through Carmania; his army following behind, garlanded and sporting; that provisions, and everything else that could make for luxury, had been brought together along their path by the Carmanians; and that all this had been conceived by Alexander in mimicry of the bacchic revelry of Dionysus, since there was a story about Dionysus, too, that after subduing India he traversed in this guise the greater part of Asia, Dionysus himself being surnamed “Triumph,” and his warlike processions after his victories called, for the like reason, “triumphs.” All this neither Ptolemaeus son of Lagus nor Aristobulus son of Aristobulus have recorded; nor any other author whom one might regard as reliable in narrating tales like these. As for me, it has sufficed to write them down here, but merely as legends. This, however, I do record, following Aristobulus, that Alexander in Carmania sacrificed thank-offerings for his conquest of India, and on behalf of his army, for its safe transit through the Gadrosian desert; and that he instituted athletic games and artistic contests; also that he enrolled Peucestas among his bodyguards, having already decided to make him satrap of Persia, but anxious that even before he received this satrapy he should not be without this mark of honour and confidence after his heroic deed among the Mallians; moreover, that up to this time he had seven officers of the bodyguards, Leonnatus son of Anteus, Hephæstion son of Amyntor, Lysimachus son of Agathocles, Aristonous son of Pisæus, all these of Pella; then, besides, Perdiccas son of Orontes, from Orestis, Ptolemaeus son of Lagus and Peitho son of Crateas, from Eordaea, and now an eighth was added to their number, Peucestas, who protected Alexander by his shield.

Meanwhile Nearchus, having completed his voyage round the country of the Orians and the Gadrosians and the Ichthyophagi, put in to the inhabited part of the Carmanian seashore; and thence sailing again with only a few of his men reported to Alexander the result of his voyage through the outer ocean. Alexander sent him back again, to continue his voyage to the district of Susia and the mouths of the river Tigris. The story, however, of his voyage

from the river Indus to the Persian Sea and the mouth of the Tigris, I shall recount separately, using Nearchus himself as my authority, so that this may also be a History of Alexander in Greek. This, then, shall be perhaps for some future date, when inclination and circumstances put me in the way of it.

Alexander now despatched Hephaestion with the greatest part of the army and the baggage train, and with the elephants also, along the sea-coast from Carmania, bidding him lead his force to Persia, because, his expedition taking place in winter, the seaward parts of Persia were sunny and well supplied with all necessities.

XXVI. Then Alexander himself, with the lightest of the infantry and the cavalry Companions and with part of the archers, advanced by the road leading to the Pasargadae, in Persia; Stasanor he despatched to his own country. And when he was on the Persian borders, he did not find Phrasaortes satrap any longer, for he had died of sickness while Alexander was in India, but Orxines had charge of Persia, not by appointment of Alexander, but because he felt that he was the right person, in the absence of any other governor, to keep Persia in order for Alexander. To the district of the Pasargadae came also Atropates the satrap of Media, with Baryaxes a Mede as prisoner, since he had worn his cap in the upright fashion and given himself out to be King of Persians and Medes; together with him were his associates in his revolution and rebellion. All these Alexander ordered to be put to death.

Alexander, however, was most distressed by the crime committed against the tomb of Cyrus and Cambyeses, since (as Aristobulus relates) he found the tomb of Cyrus broken into and rifled. The tomb of this Cyrus was in the territory of the Pasargadae, in the royal park; round it had been planted a grove of all sorts of trees; the grove was irrigated, and deep grass had grown in the meadow; the tomb itself was built, at the base, with stones cut square and raised into rectangular form. Above, there was a chamber with a stone roof and with a door leading into it so narrow that with difficulty, and after great trouble, one man, and he a small one, could enter. And in the chamber was placed a golden sarcophagus, in which Cyrus' body had been buried; a divan stood by the sarcophagus, and this divan had feet of wrought gold; its coverlet was of Babylonian carpets, and for an undercovering, purple rugs. Upon it was placed a tunic and vests also of Babylonian workmanship. Then there were, besides, Median trousers; and robes dyed blue lay there, as he (Aristobulus.) says; and furthermore some of purple, some of this colour, some of that; necklaces also and scimitars and earrings of stones set in gold; and a table stood there also. It was on the midst of the divan that the sarcophagus, containing Cyrus' body, was placed. Within the enclosure, and lying on the approach to the tomb itself, was a small building put up for the Magians, who were guardians of Cyrus' tomb, from as long ago as Cambyeses, son of Cyrus, receiving this guardianship from father to son. To them was given from the King a sheep a day, an allowance of meal and wine, and a horse each month, to sacrifice to Cyrus. There was an inscription on the tomb

in Persian letters; it ran thus, in Persian: "Mortal! I am Cyrus son of Cambyzes, who founded the Persian empire, and was Lord of Asia. Grudge me not, then, my monument."

But Alexander, who was anxious, so soon as he should conquer Persia, to visit Cyrus' tomb, finds everything else removed except the sarcophagus and the divan. The robbers had even violated the body of Cyrus, for they had removed the top of the sarcophagus and had thrown out the body; the sarcophagus itself they had tried to render portable, so that they might bear it away, chipping some parts away, and breaking other parts off. Not succeeding in this attempt, however, they left the sarcophagus as it was and went off. And Aristobulus says that he received orders from Alexander to put the tomb in good order again, to deposit such parts of the body as were left in the sarcophagus again, and place its lid upon it; where it was damaged, to repair it; to spread the divan with ribands, and to restore, just like the originals, all else that had been placed there, by way of ornament, piece by piece; to obliterate the door both by walling it up in stone and partly by covering it with clay; and then to set on the clay the royal seal. Alexander then seized the Magians who were the guardians of the tomb and tortured them that they might reveal the perpetrators; but they even under torture accused neither themselves nor anyone else, nor showed in any way that they were privy to the deed; and so Alexander let them go.

XXVII. Thence Alexander advanced to the Persian palace to which he himself had formerly set fire; this act when I related, I could not approve; nor did Alexander, when he returned thither, approve it. Furthermore, many accusations were brought by the Persians against Orxines, who took command of Persia when Phrasaortes died. Orxines was convicted of having rifled temples and royal tombs, and also of having put to death many Persians without cause. Certain persons then under Alexander's orders hanged him. As satrap of the Persians he appointed Peucestas the bodyguard, regarding him as especially loyal to him, and chiefly on account of his heroism among the Mallians, where he risked his life and helped to save Alexander, and moreover, by reason of his Oriental way of life he was not unsuited to the Persians. And of this he gave proof, as soon as he was appointed satrap of Persia, by adopting, alone of the Macedonians, the Median dress and learning the Persian language, and in all other » respects assimilating himself to the Persian ways. For all this Alexander commended him, and the Persians were gratified that he preferred their ways to those of his own country.

BOOK VII

I. ON reaching the Pasargadae and Persepolis Alexander was seized with a desire to sail down by the Euphrates and Tigris into the Persian Sea; and to see the outlets of these rivers into the sea, as he had seen the outlet of the Indus, and the ocean near it. Some historians have recorded that Alexander intended to sail round Arabia, the greater part of it, and Aethiopia and Libya and the Nomads who are beyond Mount Atlas, right up to Gadeira in our sea; then if he had subdued Libya and Carthage, he would in just right be called King of all Asia; for, of course, the Persian and Median Kings had not held sway over even a fraction of Asia, and so had no right to call themselves Great Kings. Thence some authorities say he proposed to sail into the Euxine Sea to Scythia and Lake Maeotis; others, that he intended to make for Sicily and the Iapygian promontory; for he was already rather distressed that the Roman name was growing very widely extended.

As for what was in Alexander's mind, I for my part have no means of conjecturing with any accuracy, nor do I care to guess; this, however, I think I can for my own part asseverate, that Alexander had no small or mean conceptions, nor would ever have remained contented with any of his possessions so far, not even if he had added Europe to Asia, and the Britannic islands to Europe; but would always have searched far beyond for something unknown, being always the rival, if of no other, yet of himself. In this connection I applaud the Indian wise men, some of whom, the story goes, were found by Alexander in the open air in a meadow, where they used to have their disputations, and who, when they saw Alexander and his army, did nothing further than beat with their feet the ground on which they stood. Then when Alexander enquired by interpreters what this action of theirs meant, they replied: "O King Alexander, each man possesses just so much of the earth as this on which we stand; and you being a man like other men, save that you are full of activity and relentless, are roaming over all this earth far from your home, troubling yourself, and troubling others. But not so long hence you will die, and will possess just so much of the earth as suffices for your burial."

II. On that occasion Alexander applauded their remarks and the speakers, but he always acted diametrically opposite to that which he then applauded. For example, he is said to have expressed surprise at Diogenes of Sinope, when he found Diogenes once on the Isthmus lying in the sun; he and his bodyguard and his infantry Companions halted, and he asked if Diogenes had need of anything. But he merely answered that he needed nothing else, but bade him and his followers stand out of his sunlight. So it was evident that Alexander was not incapable of higher thought, but he was, in fact, grievously under the sway of ambition. For once when he came to Taxila and saw those of the Indian wise men who go naked, he desired very much that one of these men should join him, since he so much admired their endurance. On this the

oldest among these wise men, whose pupils the others were, called Dandamis, said that he would not join Alexander, and would not permit any of his school to do so. For he is said to have replied that he was just as much a son of Zeus himself as Alexander was, and that he had no need of anything from Alexander, since he was contented with what he had; he perceived, moreover, that those who were wandering about with Alexander over all those countries and seas were none the better for it, and that there was no end to their many wanderings. He did not then desire anything that Alexander could give him, nor did he fear being kept out of anything of which Alexander might be possessed. While he lived, the land of India was all he needed, giving to him its fruits in their season; and when he died, he would merely be released from an uncomfortable companion, his body. Alexander then hearing this reply had no mind to compel him, realizing that the man was indeed free. But a certain Calanus — so Megasthenes writes — one of the wise men of these parts, was persuaded to join Alexander; a man whom the wise men themselves regarded as most uncontrolled in his desires, reproaching Calanus because he deserted the happiness which they had, while he served a master other than God.

III. All this I have narrated because it was impossible to write a history of Alexander without mention of Calanus; for he grew enfeebled in body in Persia, though he had never been ill before; and yet he would not submit to the ordinary treatment of an invalid, but said to Alexander that he was glad to make an end as he was, before he should experience any suffering which would force him to adopt a different treatment than that to which he had been used. Alexander, however, argued with him at some length; but perceiving that Calanus would not give in, but would choose some other way of death, if one should not yield to him on this point, ordered, as Calanus desired, that a pyre should be built for him, and that Ptolemaeus son of Lagus the officer of the bodyguard should be in charge of this. Some authorities relate that he had a great procession formed, horses and men, of whom some were in full armour, and others carried all sorts of incense for the pyre; others again say that they carried gold and silver cups and royal raiment. For Calanus himself a horse was made ready, since he could not walk, by reason of his illness; and yet he could not so much as mount the horse, but was borne upon a litter, lying down, crowned with garlands in the Indian fashion and singing songs in the Indian tongue. The Indians say that these songs were hymns to some gods, and their praises. The horse, on which he was to have mounted, was a royal horse, belonging to the Nysaeans, and before Calanus mounted the pyre it was given as a gift to Lysimachus, one of those who had been his pupils in philosophy; and of the cups and coverlets which Alexander had ordered to be heaped upon the pyre, he gave some to one, and some to another, off his followers. Thus, then, he mounted the pyre and lay down with solemnity, in the sight of all the host. As for Alexander, he felt this spectacle to be unseemly, with one for whom he had an affection; as for the rest, they felt nothing but astonishment to see that Calanus flinched not one whit in the

flames. And when the pyre was lit by those detailed to do so, the trumpets (says Nearchus) sounded, as Alexander had ordered, and the whole army raised the cry which they raise when entering battle, and the elephants trumpeted their shrill war-cry, in honour of Calanus. Many writers have told this story, and others like it, of Calanus the Indian, not altogether valueless to mankind, at least for anyone who cares to realize how stalwart and unflinching is human resolution to carry out that which it desires.

IV. At this time Alexander despatched Atropates to his satrapy, after he had himself proceeded to Susa. There he arrested Abulites and his son Oxathres, since he had abused his office as governor of the Susians, and put them to death. For there had been many irregularities on the part of those rulers of countries which Alexander had captured in war; whether towards temples, tombs, or the subjects themselves, since the King had been a long time on his Indian expedition, and there seemed little likelihood of his returning safe from so many tribes and so many fighting elephants, doomed to perish beyond the Indus, Hydaspes, Acesines, and Hyphasis. The disasters too which he suffered in Gadosia all the more encouraged the satraps on this side to scout any idea of his return. Not but what Alexander himself is said to have grown at this time more ready to listen to any accusations, as if they were wholly reliable, and to punish severely those who were convicted of slight errors, because he felt they might, in the same frame of mind, commit heavier crimes.

Then he held also weddings at Susa, both his own and for his Companions; he married Dareius' eldest daughter Barsine, (Otherwise Stateira. This may be an error of Arrian's.) and, as Aristobulus says, another wife besides, the youngest daughter of Ochus, Parysatis. He had already taken to wife Roxane, the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian. To Hephaestion he gave Drypetis, also a daughter of Dareius, sister to his own wife, for he desired that Hephaestion's children should be his own nephews and nieces; to Craterus, Amastrine daughter of Oxyartes, Dareius' brother; to Perdiccas a daughter of Atropates, the satrap of Media; to Ptolemaeus the officer of the bodyguard and Eumenes the royal secretary, the daughters of Artabazus, Artacama to Ptolemaeus, Artonis to Eumenes; to Nearchus the daughter of Barsine (Alexander's earlier wife, mother of Heracles. (W. W. Tarn, xli, pt i, disputes this.)) and Mentor; to Seleucus the daughter of Spitamenes the Bactrian, and similarly to the other Companions the noblest daughters of Persians and Medes, to the number of eighty. These weddings were solemnized in the Persian fashion; chairs were placed for the bridegrooms in order; then after the health-drinkings the brides came in, and each sat down by the side of her bridegroom; they took them by the hand and kissed them, the King setting the example; for all the weddings took place together. In this, if ever, Alexander was thought to have shown a spirit of condescension and comradeship. Then the bridegrooms having received their brides led them back to their homes, and to all Alexander gave dowries. Any other Macedonians who had married Asian women Alexander ordered to be struck off the army list, and they proved to be more than ten

thousand, and to all Alexander gave wedding gifts.

V. This seemed a convenient moment to clear up all debts of the army, and Alexander ordered a list to be made of all debts, with a promise of settlement. At first only a few entered their names on the list, being nervous lest Alexander had merely tried an experiment to see who had not lived on their pay and who had been living extravagantly; but when Alexander learnt that most of the soldiers were not sending in their names, but concealing their bonds, he reproved the suspicions of the troops; the King, he said, must always speak truth to his subjects, and the subjects must never suppose that their King speaks anything but truth. So he had banking tables set up in the camp, with money thereon, and told the accountants charged with the distribution to cancel the debts to all who produced any bond, without so much as registering the names. So they came to believe that Alexander spoke truth, and they were more gratified by the concealment of their names than by the cancellation of the debts. This gift of his to the army is said to have amounted to twenty thousand talents.

He gave also various other gifts, according to the repute in which anyone was held, or to valour shown conspicuously in dangers. He also decorated with golden crowns those distinguished for bravery — Peucestas, first, who saved his life; then Leonnatus, who did likewise, and also for his risks run in India and his victory among the Orians, and because he faced, with the forces remaining to him, the rebel Oreitans and their neighbours, and beat them in the battle; and also for all his other dispositions which he had satisfactorily made among the Orians. Then, besides, he decorated Nearchus for his coasting voyage from India by way of the ocean; for Nearchus also had now arrived at Susa; and next, Onesicritus, the helmsman of the royal ship; also Hephaestion and the rest of the bodyguards.

VI. Then there came to him also the governors of the new cities which he had founded, and of the provinces he had captured besides, bringing about thirty thousand youths, all of the same age, whom Alexander called his "Successors," all dressed in Macedonian dress and trained to warlike exercises on the Macedonian system. Their arrival is said to have annoyed the Macedonians, as if Alexander was contriving every means of dispensing with Macedonians in future; in fact they had long been pained to see Alexander wearing the Median robes, and his Persian marriage ceremonies had not given satisfaction to most of them; indeed, not even to some of the bridegrooms, though they had been highly honoured by their being thus raised to a level with the King. Then they were indignant that Peucestas the satrap of Persia was aping Persian ways both in dress and speech, and more, that Alexander seemed to like his Oriental habits; then again, Bactrian, Sogdian, and Arachotian cavalry, and Zarangians, Areians, Parthyaecans, and of the Persians those called the Evacae, were brigaded with the Companions' Cavalry, that is, those who seemed conspicuous for handsomeness or some other excellence. Then, too, apart from these, a fifth cavalry regiment was added, not entirely

Oriental, but the whole cavalry force being increased, some of the Orientals were specially picked for it; into the special squadron were enrolled Cophen the son of Artabazus (Brother, therefore, of Barsine, widow of Memnon.) and Hydarnes and Artiboles sons of Mazaeus, Sisines and Phradasmenes, sons of Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea and Hyrcania, and Histanes son of Oxyartes and brother of Roxane, Alexander's wife. Autobares also, and his brother Mithrobaeus; and as commander over all these was appointed Hystaspes the Bactrian, and they were given Macedonian spears instead of the Oriental javelins. All this caused indignation to the Macedonians, as giving an idea that Alexander's heart was growing entirely Orientalized, and that he paid little consideration to Macedonian customs and Macedonians themselves.

VI. Alexander now gave orders to Hephaestion to take the greater portion of the infantry force to the Persian Sea. Then, his fleet having put in to Susian territory, he himself embarked with his bodyguards and the special squadron of cavalry, and also taking on board a few of the Companions' cavalry, he sailed down the river Eulaeus to the sea. And being now not far from the estuary he left there most of his ships, and those which were in a bad way; and himself with the faster sailers coasted by sea from the river Eulaeus towards the mouths of the Tigris; and the rest of his flotilla, sailing up the Eulaeus as far as the canal cut between the Tigris and Eulaeus, in this way sailed into the Tigris.

Now, of these two rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, which are the boundaries of so much of Syria as lies between them — and hence the name Mesopotamia is given to it by the inhabitants — the Tigris, which runs through much lower ground, receives many canals from the Euphrates, and also takes in many tributaries besides, and being much increased in volume thereby runs into the Persian ocean, a large river, and not to be forded at any point up to its mouth, since no portion of it whatever is spent upon the land. For here the country is all higher than the river, and the Tigris therefore loses none of its stream to any other river, by means of canals, but rather receives them into itself; and hence it does not permit irrigation of its country from its own waters. The Euphrates, however, runs on a higher valley-bed, its stream runs flush with its land, all along its course, and many canals have been cut from it, some always running — and from these those who live on either side get their water — others, however, they make only as need dictates, whenever the ground grows thirsty, to irrigate the land; for the greater part of this territory receives no rain; and thus the Euphrates finishes with a diminished stream, and that too spread over marshy land.

Alexander now sailed round by sea the distance of the shore of the Persian gulf between the Eulaeus and the Tigris, and then sailed up the Tigris to the camp where Hephaestion had encamped with all his force. Thence again he sailed to Opis, a city built on the Tigris. During this voyage upstream he removed the weirs in the river and made the stream level throughout; these weirs had been made by the Persians to prevent anyone sailing up to their

country overmastering it by a naval force. All this had been contrived by the Persians, inexpert as they were in maritime matters; and so these weirs, built up at frequent intervals, made the voyage up the Tigris very difficult. Alexander, however, said that contrivances of this kind belonged to those who had no military supremacy; he therefore regarded these safeguards as of no value to himself, and indeed proved them not worth mention by destroying with ease these labours of the Persians.

VII. On reaching Opis, Alexander summoned his Macedonians and announced that those who from old age or from mutilations were unfit for service he there discharged from the army; and he sent them to their own homes. He promised to give them on departure enough to make them objects of greater envy to those at home, and also stir up the rest of the Macedonians to a zeal for sharing his own dangers and toils. Alexander for his part said this, no doubt, to flatter the Macedonians; they, however, feeling that Alexander rather despised them, by this time, and regarded them as altogether useless for warfare, quite naturally, for their part, were annoyed at his remarks, having been annoyed during this whole campaign with a great deal else, since he caused them indignation frequently by his Persian dress which seemed to point the same way, and the Macedonian equipment of the Oriental "Successors," and the importation of cavalry of foreign tribes into the ranks of the Companions. They did not, then, restrain themselves and keep silence, but called upon him to release them all from the army, and bade him carry on war with the help of his sire (by which title they hinted slightly at Ammon). When, then, Alexander heard this — for he had grown worse-tempered at that time, and Oriental subservience had rendered him less disposed than before to the Macedonians — he leapt down from the platform with the officers that were about him, and bade them arrest the foremost of those who had disturbed the multitude, himself with his finger pointing out to the guards whom they were to arrest; they were in number thirteen. These he ordered to be marched off to die; but as the others, amazed, remained in dead silence, he remounted the platform and spoke thus.

VIII. "I now propose to speak, Macedonians, not with a view to checking your homeward impulse; so far as I am concerned, you may go where you will; but that you may know, if you do so go away, how you have behaved to us, and how we have behaved to you. First then I shall begin my speech with my father Philip, as is right and proper. For Philip found you vagabonds and helpless, most of you clothed with sheepskins, pasturing a few sheep on the mountain sides, and fighting for these, with ill success, against Illyrians and Triballians, and the Thracians on your borders; Philip gave you cloaks to wear, in place of sheepskins, brought you down from the hills to the plains, made you doughty opponents of your neighbouring enemies, so that you trusted now not so much to the natural strength of your villages as to your own courage. Nay, he made you dwellers of cities, and civilized you with good laws and customs. Then of those very tribes to whom you submitted,

and by whom you and your goods were harried, he made you masters, no longer slaves and subjects; and he added most of Thrace to Macedonia, and seizing the most convenient coast towns, opened up commerce to your country, and enabled you to work your mines in peace. Then he made you overlords of the Thracians, before whom you had long died of terror, and humbling the Phocians, made the highroad into Greece broad and easy for you, whereas it had been narrow and difficult. Athens and Thebes, always watching their chance to destroy Macedon, he so completely humbled — ourselves by this time sharing these his labours — that instead of our paying tribute to Athens and obeying Thebes, they had to win from us in turn their right to exist. Then he passed into the Peloponnese, and put all in due order there; and now being declared overlord of all the rest of Greece for the expedition against Persia, he won this new prestige not so much for himself as for all Macedonia.

“All these noble deeds of my father towards you are great indeed, if looked at by themselves, and yet small, if compared with ours. I inherited from my father a few gold and silver cups, and not so much as sixty talents in his treasure; and of debts owed by Philip as much as five hundred talents, and yet having myself borrowed over and above these another eight hundred, I set forth from that country which hardly maintained you in comfort and at once opened to you the strait of the Hellespont, though the Persians were then masters of the sea; then, crushing with my cavalry Dareius’ satraps, I added to your empire all Ionia, all Aeolia, Upper and Lower Phrygia, and Lydia; Miletus I took by siege; all else I took by surrender and gave to you to reap the fruits thereof. All good things from Egypt and Cyrene, which I took without striking a blow, come to you; the Syrian Valley and Palestine and Mesopotamia are your own possessions; Babylon is yours, Bactria, and Susa; the wealth of Lydia, the treasures of Persia, the good things of India, the outer ocean, all are yours; you are satraps, you guards, you captains. So what is left for myself from all these toils save the purple and this diadem? I have taken nothing to myself, nor can anyone show treasures of mine, save these possessions of yours, or what is being safeguarded for you. For there is nothing as concerns myself for which I should reserve them, since I eat the same food that you eat, and have such sleep as you have — and yet I hardly think that I do eat the same food as some of you, who live delicately; I know, moreover, that I wake before you, that you may sleep quietly in your beds.

IX. “Yet you may feel that while you were enduring the toils and distresses, I have acquired all this without toil and without distress. But who of you is conscious of having endured more toil for me than I for him? Or see here, let any who carries wounds strip himself and show them; I too will show mine. For I have no part of my body, in front at least, that is left without scars; there is no weapon, used at close quarters, or hurled from afar, of which I do not carry the mark. Nay, I have been wounded by the sword, hand to hand; I have been shot with arrows, I have been struck from a catapult, smitten many a

time with stones and clubs, for you, for your glory, for your wealth; I lead you conquerors through every land, every sea, every river, mountain, plain. I married as you married; the children of many of you will be blood-relations of my children. Moreover, if any had debts, I, being no busybody to enquire how they were made, when you were winning so much pay, and acquiring so much plunder, whenever there was plunder after a siege — I have cancelled them all. And further, golden coronals are reminders to the most part of you, both of your bravery and of my high regard — reminders that will never perish. Whosoever has died, his death has been glorious; and splendid has been his burial. To most of them there stand at home brazen statues; their parents are held in esteem, and have been freed from all services and taxes. For while I have led you, not one of you has fallen in flight.

“And now I had in mind to send away those of you who are no longer equal to campaigning, to be the envy of all at home; but since you all wish to go home, depart, all of you; and when you reach home, tell them there that this your King, Alexander, victor over Persians, Medes, Bactrians, Sacaeans, conqueror of Uxians, Arachotians, Drangae, master of Parthyaea, Chorasmia, Hyrcania to the Caspian Sea; who crossed the Caucasus beyond the Caspian gates, who crossed the rivers Oxus and Tanais, yes, and the Indus too, that none but Dionysus had crossed, the Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotes; and who would further have crossed the Hyphasis, had not you shrunk back; who broke into the Indian Ocean by both mouths of the Indus; who traversed the Gadosian desert — where none other had passed with an armed force; who in the line of march captured Carmania and the country of the Oreitans; whom, when his fleet had sailed from India to the Persian Sea, you led back again to Susa — tell them, I say, that you deserted him, that you took yourselves off, leaving him to the care of the wild tribes you had conquered. This, when you declare it, will be, no doubt, glorious among men, and pious in the sight of heaven. Begone!”

X. When Alexander had finished, he leapt down swiftly from his platform and passed into the palace, and paid no attention to his bodily needs, nor was seen by any of the Companions; and, indeed, not even on the day following. But on the third day he summoned within the picked men among the Persians, and divided among them the command of the different brigades; and permitted only those who were now his relatives to give him the customary kiss. The Macedonians, however, were at the time much moved on hearing his speech; and remained in silence there, around the platform; yet no one followed the King when he departed save his personal Companions and the bodyguards; but the mass neither while remaining there had anything to do or say, nor were willing to depart. But when they heard about the Persians and the Medes, and the handing of commands to the Persians, and the Oriental force being drafted into the various ranks, and a Persian squadron called by a Macedonian name, and of Persian “infantry Companions,” and others too, and a Persian company of “silver-shields,” and “cavalry of the Companions,” and

a new royal squadron even of this, they could no longer contain, but running all together to the palace they threw their arms before the doors as signs of supplication to the King; they themselves standing shouting before the doors begging to be let in. The instigators of the late disturbance, and those who began the cry, they said they would give up; in fact they would depart from the doors neither day nor night unless Alexander would have some pity on them.

When this was reported to Alexander, he at once came out; and seeing them so humble, and hearing most of the number crying and lamenting, he also shed tears. Then he came forward as if to speak, and they continued beseeching. And one of them, a notable officer of the Companions' cavalry both by age and rank, called Callines, said thus: "This, O King, is what grieves the Macedonians, that you have made Persians your kinsmen and Persians are called 'Alexander's kinsmen,' and they are permitted to kiss you; but no Macedonian has tasted this privilege." On this Alexander broke in: "But all of you I regard as my kinsmen, and so from henceforth I call you." When thus he had spoken, Callines approached and kissed him, and any other who desired to kiss him. And thus they took up their arms again and returned shouting and singing their victory song to the camp. But Alexander in gratitude for this sacrificed to the gods to whom he was wont to sacrifice, and gave a general feast, sitting himself there, and all the Macedonians sitting round him; and then next to them Persians, and next any of the other tribes who had precedence in reputation or any other quality, and he himself and his comrades drank from the same bowl and poured the same libations, while the Greek seers and the Magians began the ceremony. And Alexander prayed for all sorts of blessings, and especially for harmony and fellowship in the empire between Macedonians and Persians. They say that those who shared the feast were nine thousand, and that they all poured the same libation and thereat sang the one song of victory.

XI. Then at their own wish such of the Macedonians as were unfit for service from old age or any accident departed from him; they numbered about ten thousand. To these Alexander gave the pay due not only for their expired time but also for the time spent in reaching home. Above the pay he gave also a gratuity to each of a talent. Then if there were children of Asian wives he bade them leave these behind, and not make trouble in Macedonia between foreigners and children of foreign wives and the children and mothers they had left behind them; he promised to care for them that they might be trained up in Macedonian ways, being especially disciplined in military training; then, when they were grown to manhood, he would take them back himself to Macedonia and hand them over to their fathers. All this he promised as they went away, rather vague and uncertain as it was; but as the most solid proof of his good-will and affection towards them he thought good to add this, that he sent with them as guardian and guide of their journey Craterus, his most loyal follower, whom he loved as dearly as his own life. So then having bidden

them all farewell, with tears in his eyes, and they with tears in theirs, he dismissed them. But he bade Craterus conduct them, and when he had brought them safe home, to take charge of Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly, and the freedom of Greece. Then he ordered Antipater to bring drafts of Macedonians of full age to replace those that were being sent home. He despatched also Polysperchon with Craterus, who was the officer next in seniority to Craterus, so that in case of harm coming to Craterus on the way, since he sent him as an invalid, the travellers should not lack a leader.

But some dim rumour of this kind was going about among those who publish abroad the affairs of kings, all the more eagerly the more they are kept secret, and also wrest aside reliable statements to the worse interpretation, where mere probability and their own malice lead them, rather than to the truth; namely, that Alexander already coming under the spell of his mother's calumnies, which she heaped upon Antipater, was anxious to remove Antipater from Macedonia. But I suggest that this recall of Antipater was not meant to disgrace him, but that no mutual unpleasantness might arise out of their disagreement, which perhaps Alexander himself could not heal. Since they never ceased writing letters to Alexander; Antipater about the headstrong nature of Olympias, and her sharp temper, and her interfering ways, very unfitting to the mother of Alexander, so that a chance remark of Alexander's was bandied about, in reference to the news of his mother's doings, that his mother was exacting a heavy price from him for her ten months' housing of him; while Olympias accused Antipater of being arrogant from his position and the respect to which it entitled him, and of forgetting him who had placed him there, but rather expecting to assume every kind of precedence among the other Macedonians and Greeks. And this aspect evidently gathered strength with Alexander, that is, whatever tended to Antipater's discredit, as being more dreaded to royalty. And yet no open deed or word was recorded of Alexander which might have led one to conclude that Antipater was not as high as ever in his regard.

XII. Hephaestion, they say, influenced by these sayings became reconciled to Eumenes; Eumenes being willing, but himself not. It is on this journey that Alexander is said to have seen the plain in which the royal mares were pastured; the plain itself was called the Plain of Nysa and the horses were called Nysaeans, as Herodotus tells us; and there were originally upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand mares, but Alexander found then not above fifty thousand; for most of them had been driven off by robbers.

There they say that Atropates the satrap of Media handed over to him a hundred women, saying that they were of the Amazons; they were equipped like cavalry troopers, except that they carried axes instead of spears, and small targets instead of shields. Some say that they had the right breast smaller, and that this was uncovered in battle. Alexander sent them away from the army, lest they should meet any roughness from the Macedonians or foreign troops; but he bade them announce to their queen that he was coming to see her in

hope of offspring. This, however, neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemaeus nor any other reliable author on such matters has recorded. I do not myself think that the race of Amazons survived so long; indeed, before Alexander's time Xenophon made no reference to them, though he referred to Phasians and Colchians and other foreign races which the Greeks met either when starting from Trebizond or before they reached Trebizond, where they certainly would have met Amazons if there had still been any. And yet I do not think it credible that this race of women, so often mentioned by good authorities, never existed at all; since Heracles is reputed to have been sent to them, and to have brought back to Greece the girdle of Hippolyte their queen; it is said also that the Athenians with Theseus first defeated in battle and repelled these women when invading Europe; and Cimon painted the battle of the Athenians and Amazons just as he did the battle of the Greeks and Persians. Then Herodotus has often mentioned these women, and all the Athenians who pronounce eulogies on those who fell in war, and made especial mention of the Athenian action against the Amazons. And if Atropates showed to Alexander any feminine cavalry, I think they were some other foreign women taught to ride whom he exhibited got up in the traditional Amazon fashion.

XIII. At Ecbatana Alexander offered a sacrifice, as he usually did after some successful event, and held also an athletic and literary contest and held drinking bouts with the Companions. During this time Hephaestion fell ill, and his illness had now run seven days; and they say that the race-course was filled with people; for there were athletic sports that day for boys; but when Alexander heard that Hephaestion was seriously ill, he left the course and hurried to him, but found him no longer living.

At this point historians have given varied accounts of Alexander's grief. That his mourning was great, all have related; as to his actions, historians differ, according to the good-will or the ill-will felt towards Hephaestion or indeed towards Alexander himself. Of these, those who have recounted scandals appear to me partly to have thought that all redounds to Alexander's credit that he did or said in his excess of grief for one who was of all men most dear to him; or else, that all was to his discredit, as not really fitting either for any king or for Alexander himself. Some say that for the greater part of that day he lay upon his friend's body and wept and would not be parted, till he was forced away by his Companions; others, that all the day and all the night he lay on the body; others again that he hanged Glaucias the doctor, and that for a dose wrongly administered; others again, because Glaucias had seen Hephaestion drinking most immoderately and had not stopped him; but that Alexander shaved his hair in regard for the dead man, and the rest, I regard as not unlikely, and done in emulation of Achilles, with whom he had a rivalry from boyhood. Some add also that Alexander himself for a time drove the car in which the body was borne, and this statement I regard as quite incredible; yet others tell us that he bade the temple of Asclepius at Ecbatana be razed to the ground — a barbaric order, and not in Alexander's way at all; but rather

suitable to Xerxes' insolence towards things divine and harmonizing with those fetters which they say Xerxes let down into the Hellespont, with the notion of punishing the Hellespont. But this also I think has been recorded not wholly outside the bounds of likelihood, that when Alexander was going to Babylon there met him in the way several envoys from Greece, and that among these were several Epidaurian envoys; these received from Alexander what they sued for, and Alexander gave them a statue to take back to Asclepius, with the words: "Yet Asclepius has not been kind to me, for he did not save for me the comrade whom I valued more than my life." Then most authorities have recorded that he ordered sacrifice always to be offered to Hephaestion as a hero; others add that he sent to Ammon to enquire of the god if he permitted sacrifice to be made to Hephaestion as a god; but he refused.

The following, however, harmonizes in all accounts, that for three days after Hephaestion's death Alexander neither tasted food nor took any care of his health, but lay either moaning or in a sorrowful silence; and that he ordered a pyre to be made ready for him in Babylon at a cost of ten thousand talents; some say even more; and that he commanded mourning to be made over all the East; and that many of Alexander's Companions in respect for him dedicated themselves and their arms to the departed Hephaestion; and that Eumenes was the first to initiate this idea, of whom a little above (In the lost part of Chapter XII.) we said he had quarrelled with Hephaestion; and that he did this so that Alexander might not think him pleased at Hephaestion's death. At any rate Alexander never appointed anyone in place of Hephaestion as general of the Companions' cavalry, so that the name Hephaestion might never perish from his brigade; but it was still called Hephaestion's brigade, and the image went before it which had been modelled on Hephaestion. Then Alexander proposed an athletic and literary contest with a great number of competitors, and far more splendid than any before in regard to the money lavished upon it; for he provided three thousand competitors in all; and these not long afterwards competed at Alexander's own funeral.

XIV. Now the mourning had gone on some time, and Alexander was already recovering from it, and the Companions were able to assist him more. He now, therefore, made an expedition to the Cossaeans, a warlike race bordering on the Uxians. These Cossaeans are mountaineers, and dwell in village strongholds; and whenever a force drew near their mountain fastnesses, they would move off in mass or as convenient to each section, and so slip away; causing those who tried to attack them by force to be at fault. Then when the enemy was gone they turned again to their brigandage and found in it their livelihood. Alexander, however, drove out their tribe, even though he made his raid on them by winter. But winter and rough places never hindered him, nor yet Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, who led a portion of the army against them. In fact Alexander found nothing impossible of the warlike enterprises he undertook.

But as he was returning to Babylon embassies from the Libyans met him,

congratulating him and offering him a crown on his becoming King of Asia; from Italy also Bruttians and Lucanians and Tyrrhenians sent envoys for a like purpose. It is said that the Carchedonians also sent envoys, and that others came from Ethiopia and the European Scyths; Celts also and Iberians, to ask for friendly terms; then indeed for the first time did Greeks and Macedonians become acquainted with their names and appearances. Some, they say, even appealed to Alexander to arbitrate in their differences with each other; and then especially both in his own estimation and in that of his followers Alexander appeared to be lord of all the earth and sea. Aristus indeed and Asclepiades from among the historians of Alexander assert that even Romans sent envoys; and that Alexander when he met their envoys prognosticated something of their future power when he noticed their orderliness and diligence and freedom, and when he also had learnt something of their constitution. This I have recorded neither as true nor as untrue; except that no Roman ever made mention of this embassy sent to Alexander, nor even the historians of Alexander whom I most follow, Ptolemaeus son of Lagus and Aristobulus; nor was it suitable for the Roman republic, which was then entirely free, to send to a foreign king, especially so far from their own home, when no scare compelled them, nor with any expectation of help, and being as they were a people particularly given to dislike of kings and of the very name of kings.

XV. After this Alexander sent Heracleides the son of Argaeus to Hyrcania with shipwrights, bidding him cut wood from the Hyrcanian forests and build warships, some decked, some open, in the Greek fashion. For he had conceived a desire to explore this Caspian Sea (also called Hyrcanian) as well, to see with what other sea it unites; whether with the Euxine Sea, or whether on the east side, towards India, the great sea circling round pours into the Hyrcanian Gulf, just as he discovered the Persian Sea, called by some the Red Sea, to be only a gulf of the ocean. For no one had yet discovered the springs of the Caspian Sea, though many tribes dwell round it and navigable rivers flow into it; from Bactria, for instance, the river Oxus, the greatest of the Asian rivers, save the Indian, finds its way into this sea; and also the Jaxartes flowing through Scythia. Then the usual account is that the Araxes flowing from Armenia runs into this sea. These are the greatest; but a good many others pouring into these themselves pass into this sea; some known by Alexander's expedition into those parts, and others on the far side of the gulf, as would be, and among the Nomad Scythians, a part entirely unknown.

Crossing the Tigris with his army, Alexander marched towards Babylon, and there met him Chaldaean seers, who drew him aside from the Companions and begged him to stop the advance towards Babylon; for, they said, they had an oracle from their god Belus that his approach to Babylon at that time would mean disaster. He, however, answered them with a verse of Euripides the dramatist — it runs thus:

“Prophets, who prophesy the best, are best.”

“But, O King,” said the Chaldaeans, “look not towards the west, nor lead your army westward, but rather wheel your force and lead it eastward.” But this, by reason of the difficulty of the road, he could not do; but fate led him the way on which he was doomed to die. And possibly it was better for him to die in the height of his fame and of the general regard of mankind before any ordinary disaster befell him; it was for a reason like this probably that Solon advised Croesus to regard the end of a long life, and not declare any man happy before that. For the death of Hephæstion had proved no small disaster to Alexander himself, which Alexander himself I believe would have preferred to anticipate rather than to experience it during his lifetime; just as I think Achilles would have preferred to die before Patroclus rather than to have been the avenger of his death.

XVI. Some suspicion was entertained by Alexander towards these Chaldaeans that it was not so much in the way of prophecy as for their private advantage that the prevention of his advance to Babylon at that time would tend, for the temple of Belus was in the midst of the city of Babylon, in size immense, and made of baked brick with bitumen for mortar. This temple, like the other shrines of Babylon, Xerxes razed to the ground, when he returned back from Greece; but Alexander was minded to build it up again, some say on the original foundations, and that for this reason he bade the Babylonians remove the heaps of earth; others say that he wished to build it larger than the old one. But since after his departure those charged with the work had taken it up languidly, he proposed to complete the work with all his force. The god Bel had much glebe consecrated by the Assyrian kings, and much treasure too. From this the temple was originally repaired, and the sacrifices offered to the god. But at that time the Chaldaeans enjoyed the revenues of the god, there being no cause for expenditure of the surplus income. For all these reasons Alexander suspected that they did not desire him to enter Babylon, lest if the temple was completed in a short time they might lose the enjoyment of these moneys. Yet Aristobulus states that Alexander was quite ready to yield to them so far as to withdraw from entering the city, and that he camped the first day on the river Euphrates, but the next day marched along the river, keeping it on his right, anxious to pass by that part of the city which had a western aspect, so as to turn thence and march eastward; but he could not advance this way with his force because of the difficulty of the ground, since if he entered from the west, and at this point turned eastward, the ground was all marshy and full of pools. And thus he disobeyed the god partly of intention, and partly without.

XVII. Moreover, Aristobulus records a story as follows. Apollodorus of Amphipolis, one of Alexander’s Companions, commander of the force which Alexander left behind with Mazæus the satrap of Babylon, meeting Alexander on his return from India, and perceiving that he was punishing severely the satraps appointed over different provinces, wrote to Peithagoras his brother, one of those seers who prophesy from the flesh of victims, to

prophesy also concerning his own welfare. Peithagoras then wrote in answer to him asking who it was that he chiefly feared, that he wanted the help of prophecy; and he replied that it was the King himself and Hephaestion. Peithagoras then sacrificed first in the matter of Hephaestion; and as the lobe could not be seen on the liver of the victim, he reported this, and sealing his letter sent it to Apollodorus from Babylon to Ecbatana, assuring him that he had nothing to fear from Hephaestion, for in a short time he would be removed from his path. This letter Aristobulus says that Apollodorus received on the day before Hephaestion died. Then Peithagoras sacrificed again in the matter of Alexander, and for Alexander also the liver of the victim showed no lobe. Peithagoras then sent a similar letter to Apollodorus about Alexander also. Then Apollodorus did not keep his counsel, but told Alexander the news he had received, with the idea of showing a kindness to the King, by advising him to beware lest any danger should at this time come upon him. He states further that Alexander thanked Apollodorus and, when he reached Babylon, asked Peithagoras what particular warning caused him to write thus to his brother. He replied that he found the liver of the victim without a lobe. Then when Alexander enquired what this sign portended, Peithagoras replied: "Something very serious." However, Alexander was far from being incensed against Peithagoras, but rather had a higher opinion of him for speaking the truth outright. This Aristobulus says he learned at first hand from Peithagoras; and adds that Peithagoras prophesied later in the matter of Perdiccas and Antigonus; the same portent appeared for both, and Perdiccas, having taken the field against Ptolemaeus, perished, and Antigonus in the battle against Seleucus and Lysimachus, which took place at Ipsus. And besides this, a story on these lines has been recorded of Calanus, the Indian wise man, that when he was going to the funeral pyre, to his death, he greeted all the Companions, but refused to approach Alexander to wish him farewell, but said that he would meet him at Babylon, and greet him there. This story was ignored at the time; but later, when Alexander died at Babylon, it came to the recollection of the hearers that he had, in reality, some divine inspiration about Alexander.

XVIII. Then when Alexander had entered Babylon embassies came to meet him from the Greeks; but history does not record for what purposes each embassy came. I am inclined to think that most of them were to offer him wreaths and to congratulate him on all his victories, and especially those in India; and also to express their joy that he came back safe from India. These he received graciously, and is stated to have dismissed them after showing his regard for them in the customary way. But such statues or other works of art or any other votive offering which Xerxes removed from Greece to Babylon or to the Pasargadae or to Susa or anywhere else in Asia, these he gave to the embassies to take back; and thus it is said that the bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were taken back to Athens, as also the seated figure of Celcaean Artemis.

Aristobulus says that Alexander found in Babylon the flotilla also; part had

sailed up the Euphrates from the Persian Sea, that part which was with Nearchus; but the rest had been brought up from Phoenicia, two Phoenician quinqueremes, three quadriremes, and twelve triremes; and upwards of thirty thirty-oared galleys. These had been bisected and carried across from Phoenicia to the Euphrates, to the city of Thapsacus; and there they were put together again and sailed down to Babylon. Aristobulus also says that another detachment was being built for him, by cutting down the cypresses in Babylonia; for this is the only tree which grows freely in the Assyrian country, which is bare of everything else necessary for shipbuilding. As crews for the ships and for the other naval services there came a number of purple-shell divers and other persons whose business lies in the sea, from Phoenicia and the rest of the coast. It is also said that Alexander dug a harbour at Babylon, large enough to be a roadstead for a thousand ships of war, and dockyards on the harbour. Miccalus of Clazomenae was despatched to Phoenicia and Syria with five hundred talents, to induce by pay, or to purchase, men accustomed to seafaring. For Alexander had an idea of colonizing the coast along the Persian Gulf, and the islands that he near: for he thought that it would be just as prosperous a country as Phoenicia. His naval preparations were chiefly directed at the greater part of the Arabs, on the ground that they alone of the tribes on this side had sent no envoys, nor had done anything complimentary, or by way of honouring Alexander. The actual fact, in my estimation, is that Alexander was always insatiate in winning possessions.

XIX. There is a story current that Alexander heard that the tribes of Arabs revered only two gods, Uranus and Dionysus; Uranus because they behold him and he contains within him all the stars and especially the sun, from which the greatest and most obvious benefit, in all directions, comes to mankind; Dionysus, in view of his journey to India. Alexander therefore thought himself worthy to be regarded as a third god by the Arabs, since he had achieved even more famous deeds than Dionysus, at any rate if he should conquer Arabia and permit them, as he had the Indians, to be governed according to their own customs. Then the prosperity of the country incited him, since he heard that in their oases cassia grew, and from the trees came myrrh and frankincense; and from the bushes, cinnamon was cut; and that from their meadows spikenard grew self-sown. Then there was also the size of their territory, since the sea-coast of Arabia was reported to him to be not much less than that of India, and that there were several islands adjacent, and harbours all over the coast, enough to give anchorage for his fleet, and to permit cities to be built on them, and those cities likely to be rich.

He was also informed of two islands in the sea near the mouth of the Euphrates. The first was not far from its outlet, being about a hundred and twenty stades from the shore, and from the river mouth; this one is smaller, and covered all over with thick wood; there was in it also a shrine of Artemis, and the dwellers about the shrine themselves performed the daily services; it pastured wild goats and chamois, and these were reserved as sacred to

Artemis, and no one was allowed to hunt them save any who desired to sacrifice to the goddess: on this excuse only might anyone hunt, and for this purpose hunting was not forbidden. This island, according to Aristobulus, Alexander commanded to be called Icarus, after the island Icarus in the Aegean Sea, upon which Icarus, son of Daedalus, according to the legend, fell when the wax, with which his wings had been fastened, melted, because he did not, according to his father's behest, fly low near the ground, but from his own folly flew high and so allowed the sun to melt and loose the wax; and so he left his name to both island and sea, the one being called Icarus, the other, Icarian. The other island was reported to be distant from the mouth of the Euphrates about a day and night's sail for a ship running before the wind; it was called Tylus; and it was large, and neither rough nor wooded for the most part; but the sort which bore garden fruits and all things in due season.

All this was told to Alexander, partly by Archias, who was sent with a thirty-oared ship to reconnoitre the coastal voyage towards Arabia and arrived at the island Tylus, (In Strabo (xvi. 3) it is called Tyrus, now Bahrein.) but did not venture further; but Androstheneas was despatched with another thirty-oar, and sailed round part of the Arabian peninsula; but farthest of all those who were sent out, Hieron of Soli the steersman advanced, who also received a thirty-oar from Alexander. For his sailing orders were to coast round the whole Arabian peninsula, till he reached the Arabian Gulf on the Egyptian side, near Heroöpolis; yet he did not dare to advance further, though he had sailed round the greater part of Arabia; but he turned about, and reported to Alexander the size of the peninsula as vast, and not far short of that of India; and that a projection ran far into the ocean. And this Nearchus' crews, when sailing from India, sighted, before they altered course for the Persian Gulf, stretching out not far away; and indeed were on the point of putting in there; that at least was the advice of Onesicritus the helmsman. But Nearchus states that he forbade this, since he had completed his voyage round the Persian Gulf and had to report to Alexander on the purposes for which he had been despatched. For he had not been sent to navigate the Ocean, but to reconnoitre the coast lying on the Ocean, and the inhabitants of the coast, and its anchorages, and its water supplies, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and what part of the coast was good for growing produce, and what part was bad; and that this was the reason that Alexander's army came through safely, for they would never have come through safe by sailing among the desert parts of Arabia. This too is the reason given for Hiero's return.

XX. Meanwhile, as the triremes were being built, and the harbour at Babylon being dug, Alexander sailed from Babylon down the Euphrates towards the river known as Pallacopas. This is eight hundred stades away from Babylon, and this Pallacopas is a canal from the Euphrates, not a river which rises from its own springs. For the Euphrates river flows from the Armenian hills, and in the winter season runs within its banks, its volume of water not being very great; but when spring begins, and especially during the

summer solstice, it grows considerable and overflows its banks on to the Assyrian land. For it is then that the snows on the Armenian mountains melt and increase its volume considerably, and since the stream is high and swollen, it overflows into the surrounding country, unless it were diverted along the Pallacopas and so turned on to the marshes and the lakes, which begin with this canal and continue up to the territory nearest to Arabia, and thence running mostly over marshland finally pour out into the sea by many obscure mouths. Then when the snow has melted about the setting of the Pleiads the Euphrates runs with diminished stream, and yet all the same lets its overflow run by means of the Pallacopas into the lakes. If, however, the bed of the Pallacopas was not in turn blocked, so that the stream headed off by the banks remains in its bed, it would have drained off the Euphrates into it, and then the Assyrian plain would never be watered from it. But the outlets of the Euphrates into the Pallacopas were blocked by the satrap of Babylon, with considerable labour, even though they can easily be opened, since the earth about there is muddy and the most part of it is soft clay such as lets through the river water and makes it none too easy to turn the river back. Yet even so for three months over ten thousand Assyrians were engaged on this task.

When this was reported to Alexander it incited him to try to assist the land of Assyria. So then at the point where the stream of Euphrates was turned into the Pallacopas, he determined to close the outlet securely; but when he had gone about thirty stades he found the earth appearing rather stony; suggesting that if it were quarried, and then united with the old canal along the Pallacopas, it would not permit the water to pass through because of the solidity of the soil, and yet its shutting off could easily be done at the right season. For these reasons he sailed to the Pallacopas and down, by it, to the lakes in the direction of Arabia. There he saw a good site and built a city there and fortified it, and settled there some of the Greek mercenaries, any who volunteered, and any who through age or wounds were unfit for service.

XXI. Then Alexander, as if he had proved false the Chaldaean soothsayers, since he had suffered nothing harmful in Babylon, as they had prophesied, but had marched out of Babylon again before anything had happened, sailed up the marsh lands boldly, with Babylon on his left hand; but here some of his flotilla lost its way in the narrows for want of a pilot, until Alexander himself sent them a pilot and brought them back into the stream. A tale is told as follows. Most of the tombs of the kings of Assyria are built in the lakes and in the marsh lands. And as Alexander was sailing along the marshes, for he — as is said — was steering the trireme, a strong breeze struck his sun-hat and the ribbon attached to it, and the hat being heavy fell into the stream, but the ribbon was carried off by the breeze and caught on a reed; the reed being one of them which grew near a tomb of the ancient kings. This itself seemed a presage of his destiny; one of the sailors, however, swam off to fetch the ribbon, and removing it from the reed could not carry it in his hands, since it would have become wet as he swam; but he bound it round his head and so

brought it across. Most of the historians say that Alexander gave him a reward of a talent for his smartness, but bade them behead him, since the prophets so bade him not to leave alive that head which had worn the royal ribbon. Aristobulus, however, states that he received the talent, but was flogged for fastening the ribbon about his head. Aristobulus also says that it was one of the Phoenician sailors who brought back to Alexander his ribbon; some say it was Seleucus: and that this portended the death of Alexander and his great empire for Seleucus. For at any rate Seleucus was the greatest king of those who succeeded Alexander, and of the most royal mind, and ruled over the greatest extent of territory, next to Alexander; all this I regard as irrefragable.

XXII. Alexander then returned to Babylon and found Peucestas with an army of twenty thousand Persians arrived from Persia; he had brought also a number of Cossaeans and Tapurians, because it was reported that these tribes were most warlike of the tribes bordering on Persia. There joined him also Philoxenus with an army from Caria and Menander from Lydia bringing others, and Menides with the forces of cavalry which had been serving under him. Embassies also in the meantime came from Greece, and their envoys, themselves crowned, came forward and crowned Alexander with golden crowns, as if they had come on a sacred embassy to honour some god. And yet he was not far from his end.

Then he commended the Persians for their enthusiasm, in that they had in all things obeyed Peucestas, and Peucestas himself too for his orderly government of them; and he enrolled them into the Macedonian brigades; so that a Macedonian corporal of ten led each section of ten, and besides him a Macedonian on double pay and a "ten-stater" man, called so from the pay, which is less than the men on double pay, but more than the rank and file not belonging to the Distinguished Service Order. Then besides these were twelve Persians and last of the section a Macedonian, he also a "ten-stater" man. In the section, therefore, there were four Macedonians, three of these on extra pay, and the corporal in charge of the section, and twelve Persians; the Macedonians wearing their native equipment, and the Persians either archers or with javelins on leather thongs.

Meanwhile Alexander exercised the fleet constantly, and there were many rivalries between the triremes and such quadriremes as were on the river; and there were races between oarsmen and between helmsmen, and crowns for the victors.

There came also from Ammon the special envoys whom Alexander had sent to enquire how he ought to honour Hephaestion; they reported that Ammon said that it was lawful to sacrifice to him as to a hero. Alexander was pleased with this oracle, and from henceforward honoured Hephaestion as a hero. To Cleomenes, an evil man who had done many grievous wrongs in Egypt, he sent a letter; and with this letter, in regard to the affection shown for Hephaestion even in death and the recollection of him, I do not find any fault; but I do, for many other reasons. For the letter bade him build a hero's shrine

for Hephaestion in Alexandria of Egypt, both in the city itself and in the island Pharos, where is the lantern tower in the island; the shrine was to be in size exceedingly large, and remarkable for its costliness; and that he was to take care that the island be called by the name of Hephaestion, and the name "Hephaestion" was to be inscribed on all tokens which merchants exchanged one with another. This I cannot blame; except that Alexander showed great enthusiasm in no great matter. But I do blame this; the letter ran: "If I find these temples set in good order in Egypt, and these shrines of Hephaestion, whatever wrong you have hitherto done, I pardon it; and for the future, however great wrong you may do, you shall receive no harm at my hands." This command of a great king to a man who was set to rule a great country and a large population, and an evil man, too, I am very far from approving.

XXIII. But Alexander's own end was drawing near. Aristobulus says that something else threw a shadow before of the events to come. He was distributing the army which came with Peucestas from Persia and from the ocean with Philoxenus and Menander, into the Macedonian ranks; and feeling thirsty he went away from the tribunal, leaving the royal throne untenanted. On either side of the throne were couches with silver feet, on which the Companions in attendance on him used to sit. Some quite obscure person — some say a prisoner, but under open arrest — saw the throne vacant and the couches, and the chamberlains standing round about the throne — for the Companions had retired when the King did — passed through the rank of chamberlains, ascended and sat upon the throne. They did not indeed — owing to some Persian custom — drag him off the throne, but rending their garments began to beat themselves on their breasts and faces as if some terrible disaster had happened. When Alexander learnt this, he ordered the man who had sat on the throne to be tortured, desiring to know if perchance he had done this by some set arrangement, of the nature of some plot. He would only say that the idea had come to him to do so; and for this the seers all the more prophesied that what had happened meant some great harm.

Not many days afterwards, Alexander had offered to the customary gods sacrifices in thanks for good fortune, as well as some in consequence of the seers' advice, and was feasting with his friends and drinking late into the night. It is said that he also gave victims to sacrifice to the army, and wine, by their sections and centuries. Some have recorded that he desired to leave the carouse and retire to his bedroom; but that Medius, one of his most trusted Companions at that time, met him and asked him to come and take wine with himself; for it would be a merry party.

XXIV. And indeed the royal diaries have it this way, that he drank and made merry with Medius; and then having arisen and bathed, went to sleep, and afterwards dined with Medius, and again drank till late in the night; and then breaking off from the carouse bathed; and after bathing ate a little and slept just where he was, the fever being already upon him. However, he was carried forth on a litter each day to his religious duties and sacrificed after his usual

custom; after performing these sacrifices he lay down in the men's apartments till dark. Meanwhile he instructed the officers as to the march and the voyage, the one to prepare to march three days later, and the others, who would sail with him, to sail on the fourth day from then. And thence he was carried on his mattress to the river, and embarking on a boat sailed across the river to the garden, and there again bathed and rested. Next day again he bathed and offered the usual sacrifices; then entering his room lay down, talking to Medius; and bade his officers meet him next morning early. Then he dined lightly; and being carried again to his room remained in high fever the whole night; next day he bathed, and after bathing, sacrificed. Then he explained to Nearchus and the other officers all about the voyage, and how it was to be conducted, three days thence. Next day he bathed again, and sacrificed the appointed sacrifices, and after sacrificing continued in constant fever. Yet even so he summoned the officers and bade them see that all was ready for the voyage; he bathed in the evening, and after bathing was now very ill. But next day he was carried again to the house near the bathing place, and sacrificed the appointed sacrifices, and ill though he was, yet summoned the chief of his officers and again instructed them about the voyage. Next day he just contrived to be carried out to the sacrifices, and offered them, and yet still continued instructing his officers about the voyage. Next day also, being now quite ill, he yet offered the usual sacrifices. He ordered, however, the generals to wait in the court, and the commanders of thousands and half thousands to wait before the doors, and now being altogether ill he was carried from the garden to the palace. When the officers came in he knew them, but no longer spoke, but remained speechless. All the night he was in high fever, and all day, and the next night and day also.

XXV. All this is written in the royal diaries; and then that his soldiers longed to see him, some, that they might see him still alive, and others since it was announced that he was already dead, but they suspected that his death was being concealed by the bodyguards — at least so I think; and many from grief and longing for their King pressed in to see Alexander. They say that he was already speechless as the army filed past; yet he greeted one and all, raising his head, though with difficulty, and signing to them with his eyes. And the royal diaries say that in the temple of Serapis an all-night vigil was kept by Peithon, Attalus, Demophon and Peucestas, with Cleomenes, Menidas, and Seleucus, enquiring of the god whether it would be better for Alexander to be brought into the temple of the god and after prayer to be healed by the god; but that an oracle was given from the god that he should not be brought into the temple, but that it would be better for him if he abode where he was. This the Companions announced; and Alexander shortly afterwards breathed his last; this, after all, being the "better" thing. Beyond this neither Ptolemaeus nor Aristobulus have recorded. Some, however, recorded that his Companions asked him to whom he left his kingdom; and he replied, "to the best"; others relate that he added to this, that he saw that there

would be a great funeral contest on his death.

XXVI. I am aware, of course, that there have been many other details recorded of Alexander's death; for instance, that Antipater sent him a drug, and that he died of this drug; and that Aristotle made up this drug for Antipater, already fearing Alexander on account of Callisthenes' death; and that Casander, Antipater's son, brought it. Others have even said that it was conveyed in a mule's hoof, and that Iollas, Casander's younger brother, gave it to Alexander; for that Iollas was the royal cupbearer, and had some grievance against Alexander not long before his death; others again that Medius had some hand in the business, from an infatuation for Iollas; for it was Medius who suggested to Alexander the drinking-bout; and that Alexander had a sharp feeling of pain after quaffing the cup; and on feeling this he retired from the carouse. One writer has not even shrunk from the statement that Alexander, perceiving that he could not survive, went to throw himself into the Euphrates, so that he might disappear from the world and leave behind the tradition more credible to posterity that his birth was of the gods and that to the gods he passed; but Roxane his wife saw that he was going out, and when she prevented him he cried aloud that she then grudged him everlasting fame as having been truly born a god. This must suffice of stories; rather that I may show that I know of them than because they are narratives worthy of belief.

XXVII. Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, in the archonship at Athens of Hegesias. He lived thirty-two years and eight months, as Aristobulus says; he reigned twelve years and the aforesaid eight months. In body he was very handsome, a great lover of hardships; of much shrewdness, most courageous, most zealous for honour and danger, and most careful of religion; most temperate in bodily pleasure, but as for pleasures of the mind, insatiable of glory alone; most brilliant to seize on the right course of action, even where all was obscure; and where all was clear, most happy in his conjectures of likelihood; most masterly in marshalling an army arming and equipping it; and in uplifting his soldiers' spirits and filling them with good hopes, and brushing away anything fearful in dangers by his own want of fear — in all this most noble. And all that had to be done in uncertainty he did with the utmost daring; he was most skilled in swift anticipation and gripping of his enemy before anyone had time to fear the event; he was most reliable in keeping promises or agreement; most guarded in not being trapped by the fraudulent; very sparing of money for his own pleasure, but most generous in benefits of others.

XXVIII. If, however, Alexander committed any error through haste or in anger, or if he went some distance in the direction of Eastern arrogance, this I do not regard as important; if readers will consider in a spirit of charity Alexander's youth, his unbroken success, and those courtiers who associate with kings to flatter but not to improve them, and who always will so associate with kings to their harm. But I do know that to Alexander alone of

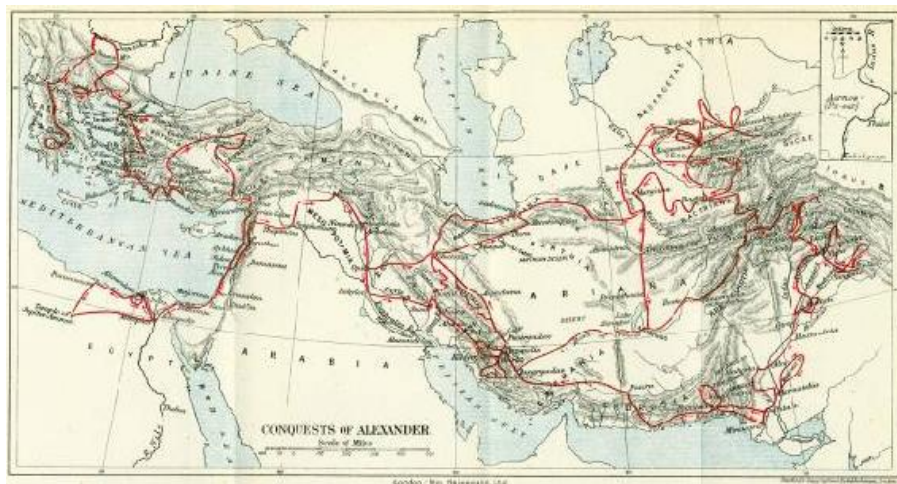
the kings of old did repentance for his faults come, by reason of his noble nature; while most people, if they have admitted any error, by defending their misdeed, as if it were a good deed, think that they will conceal their error; and this is a great mistake. For I at least feel that the only cure for sin is a confession of sin and evidence of repentance, since the offended party will not feel the offences so grievous if the offender agrees that he did not well; and for the man himself this good hope is left behind for the future, that he will not so offend again if he appear grieved at the errors of the past. But that he referred his birth to a god, even this I do not altogether think to be a grave fault, unless perhaps it was a mere device to impress his subjects, and to appear more dignified. In point of fact I hold him no less famous a king than Minos, Aeacus, or Radamanthus; they traced their origin back to Zeus, and yet this was not associated by men of old with any arrogance; nor yet Theseus' descent from Poseidon, nor Ion's from Apollo. Moreover, I feel that the adoption of Persian equipage was a device, both towards the Persians, so that their King might not appear wholly removed from them, and towards the Macedonians, to mark some reversion from Macedonian abruptness and arrogance; for the same reason, I suspect, he drafted into their ranks the Persian troops who carried the "golden apples," and the Persian nobles into their cavalry squadrons. And his carousings, as Aristobulus says, were prolonged not for the wine, for Alexander was no winebibber, but from a spirit of comradeship.

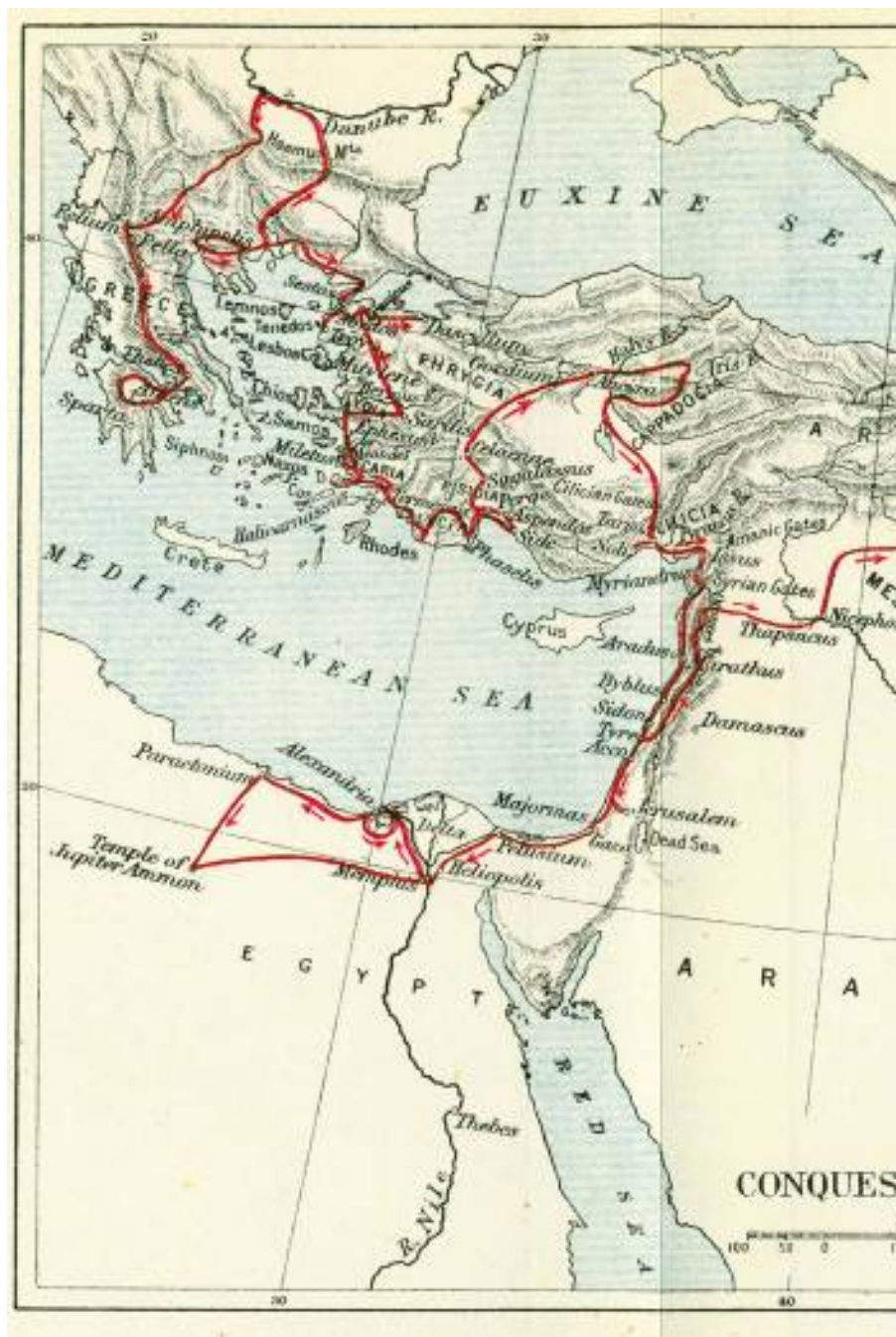
XXIX. Whosoever speaks evil of Alexander, let him speak such evil, not merely by producing what deserves evil-speaking, but gathering all that Alexander did into a single whole; let such a one consider first himself, his own personality, his own fortunes, and then on the other hand Alexander, what he became, and the height of human prosperity which he reached, having made himself king, beyond all contradiction, of both continents, and having spread his fame over the widest possible span; let such a one, I say, consider of whom he speaks evil; himself being more puny, and busied about puny things, and not even bringing these to success. For I myself believe that there was at that time no race of mankind, no city, no single individual, whither the name of Alexander had not reached. And so not even I can suppose that a man quite beyond all other men was born without some divine influence. Moreover, oracles are said to have prophesied Alexander's death, and visions coming to different persons, and dreams, dreamed by different persons; there was also the general regard of mankind leading to this same conclusion, and the memory of one more than human; and even now there are other oracles, after this great gap of time, which have been delivered to the Macedonian race, and all tending to the highest estimation of him. True it is that I myself have quarrelled with certain acts in my history of Alexander's deeds, but I am bold to admire Alexander himself; and those acts I blamed, both for the sake of my veracity, and also for the general benefit of mankind; and that is why I myself too took up this history, not without the help of God.

[END OF THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.]

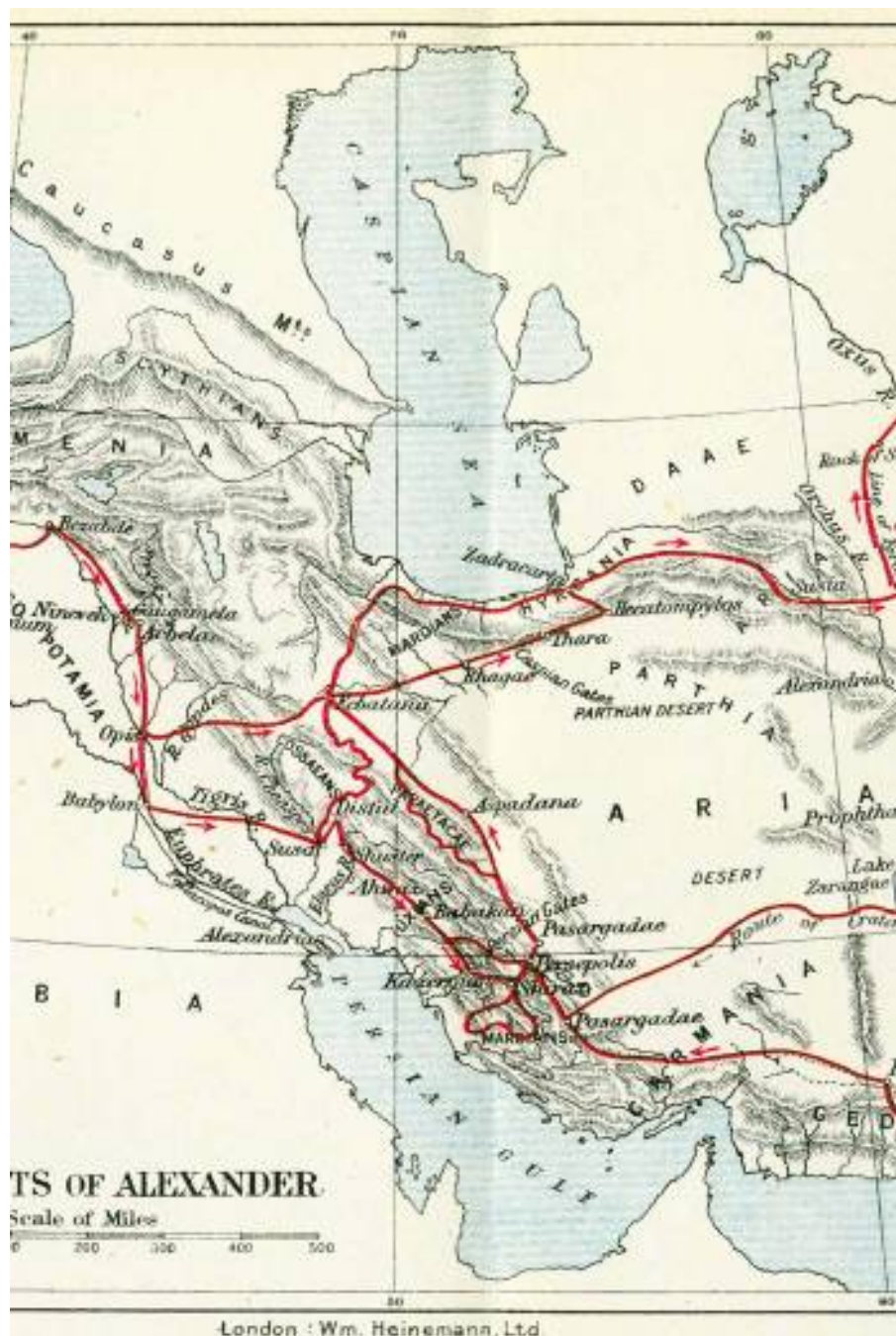
MAPS

MAP 1.

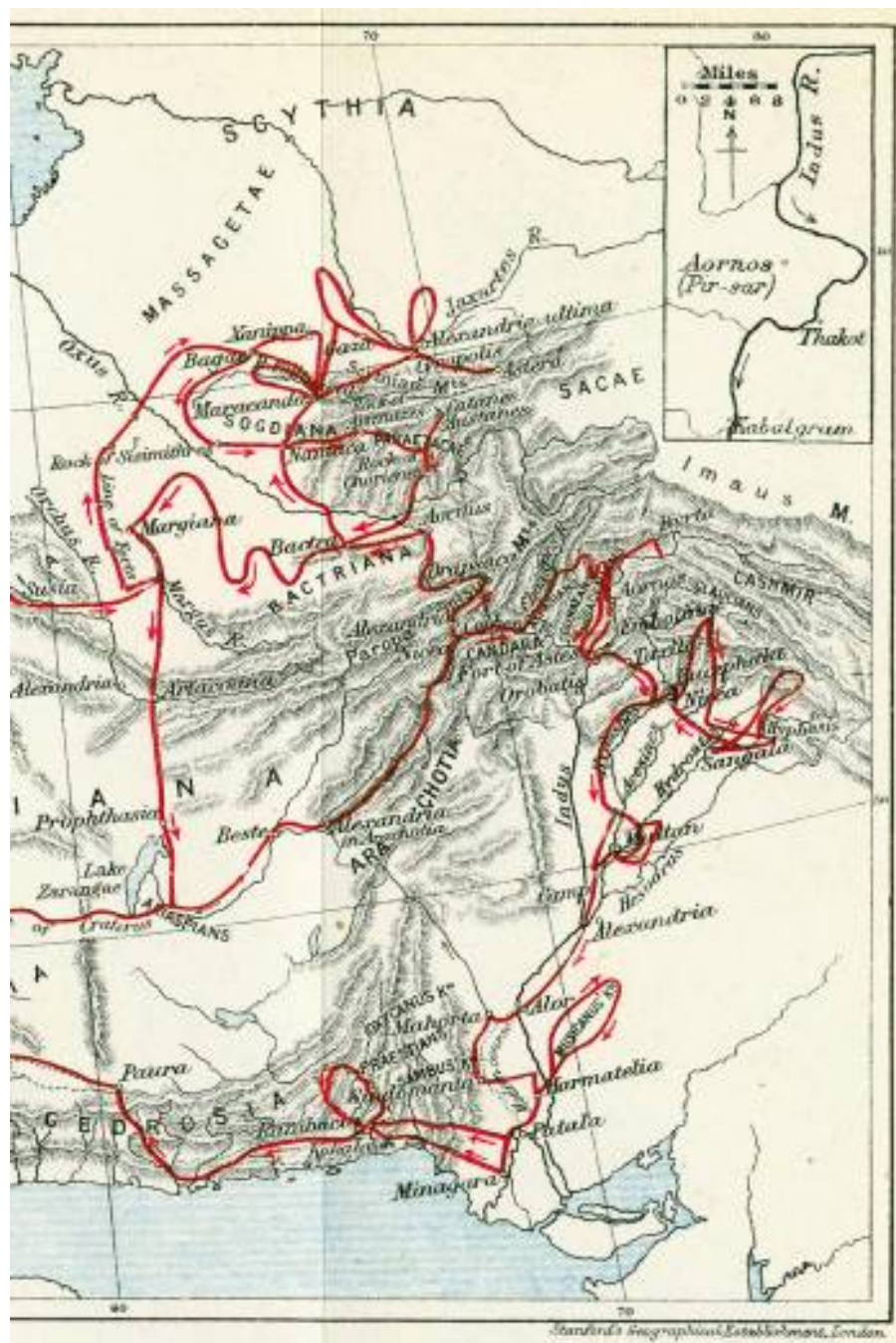




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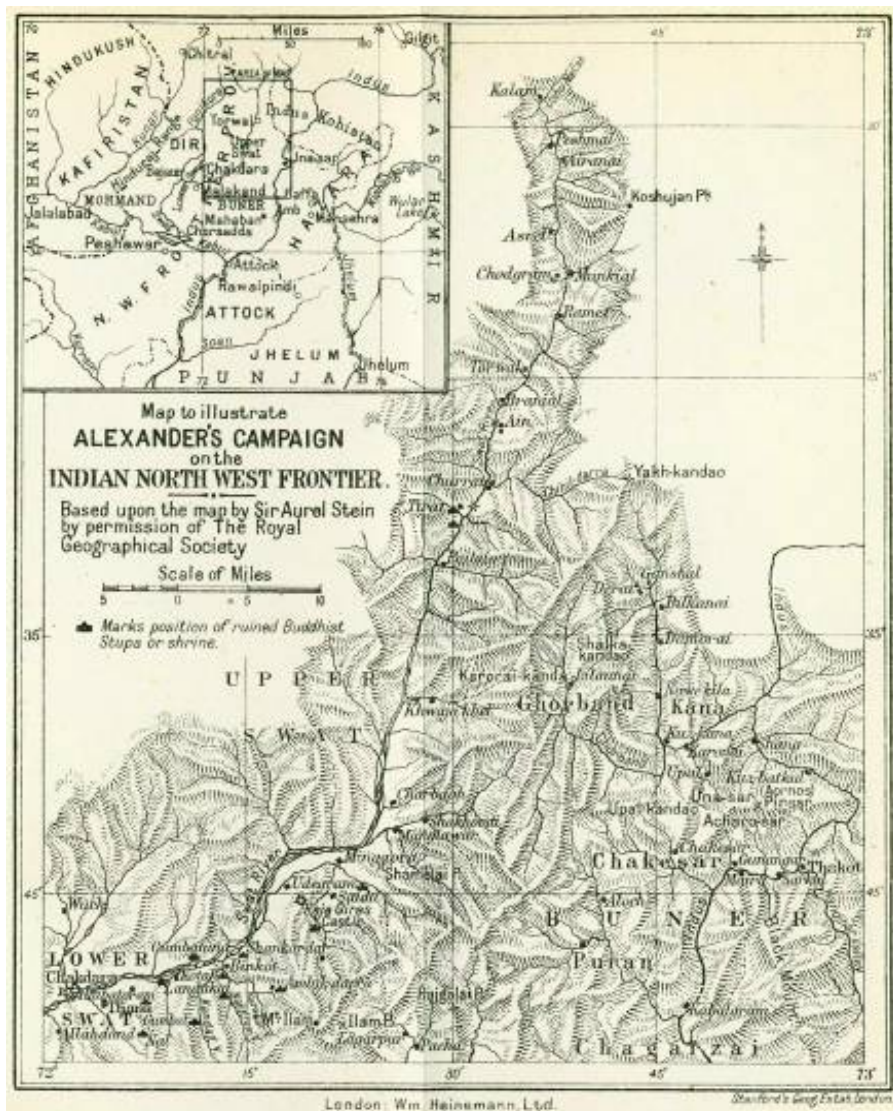


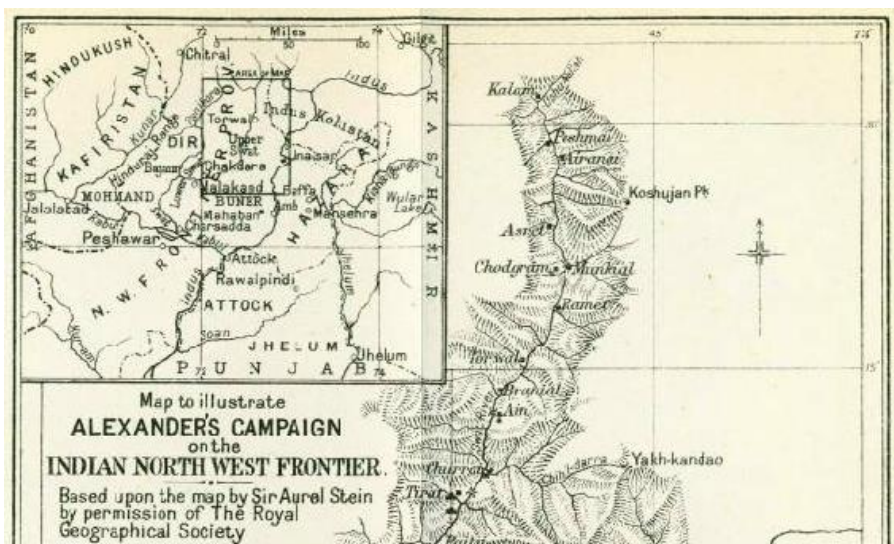
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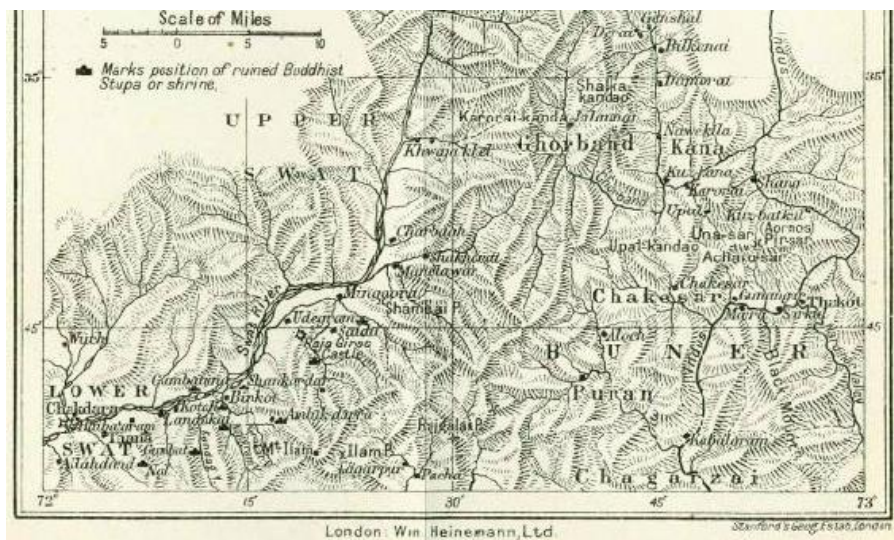
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MAP II.



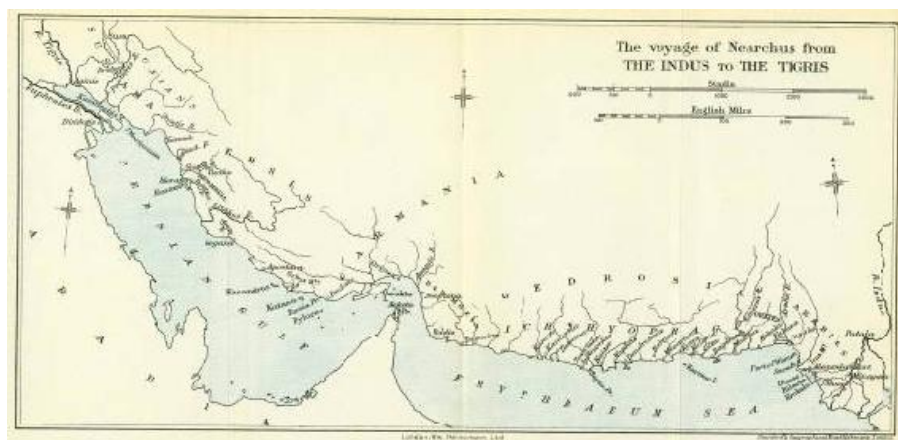


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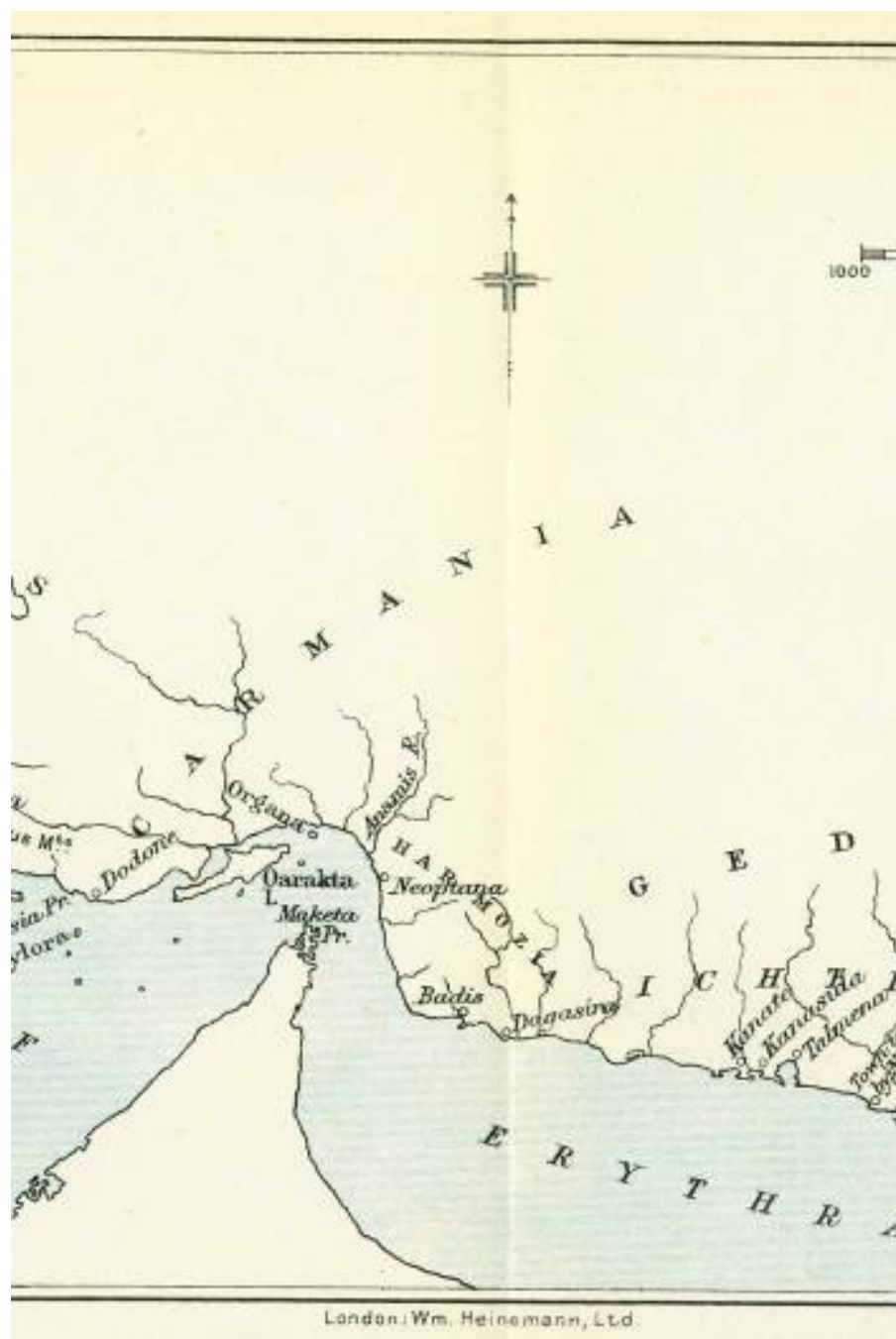
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MAP III.





Detail



Detail

The voyage of Nearchus from THE INDUS TO THE TIGRIS



Stanford's Geographical Estate, Edinburgh, London

Detail

INDICA



Translated by E. Iliff Robson

This book concerns the expedition of Alexander's officer Nearchus, who travelled from India to the Persian Gulf, following his commander's conquest of the Indus Valley. The historical work is of chief importance due to Arrian's in depth digressions on the history, geography and culture of the ancient Indian subcontinent. The *Indica* is composed in the Ionic dialect, taking Herodotus for its literary mode.

After Alexander the Great had conquered the Indus valley, he planned to return by land to the centre of his empire in Babylon. As he wanted to learn about the mouth of the Indus and the sea between India and Babylon, he sent his officer Nearchus (c. 360 – 300 BC) to perform the voyage and report what he saw. *Indica* mostly describes what Nearchus saw on that voyage. Nearchus was a native of Lato in Crete and son of Androtimus, whose family settled at Amphipolis in Macedonia at some point during Philip II's reign. It is believed that Nearchus was older than Alexander, as were Ptolemy, Erigyius, and the others of the 'boyhood friends'.

The *Indica* begins with a description of the geography of India, in particular focusing upon the size of the rivers Indus and the Ganges, together with their tributaries. A comparison is made with the Danube and the Nile. The text then proceeds to tell the stories of Heracles and Dionysus in India. Arrian describes the classes of occupation that the Indians have and their overall social structure. The account also describes their manner of hunting, including a description of the great fauna of India and their methods of war. The book then moves into the story of Nearchus' voyage from India to Babylon, following the conquests of Alexander the Great. From this point onwards, the text mostly concerns accounts of naval adventure. However, Arrian occasionally breaks off from the main story to provide information about the various peoples that lived in India, whom Nearchus' soldiers came into conflict with.

The book concludes with Nearchus meeting up with Alexander, who had been conducting his own land voyage from India to Susa. Nearchus is congratulated for a safe journey and rewarded for his efforts.

Arrian drew upon a number of ancient sources in composing the *Indica*, with the main source being the account written by Nearchus himself. This text is now mostly lost, but it appears that Arrian owned a complete copy in his own time. Arrian also drew from several other ancient writers, including Eratosthenes and, most notably, Megasthenes, whose own work was also

titled *Indica*.



Confluence of Indus and Zaskar rivers.

INDICA

I. ALL the territory that lies west of the river Indus up to the river Cophen is inhabited by Astacenians and Assacenians, Indian tribes. But they are not, like the Indians dwelling within the river Indus, tall of stature, nor similarly brave in spirit, nor as black as the greater part of the Indians. These long ago were subject to the Assyrians; then to the Medes, and so they became subject to the Persians; and they paid tribute to Cyrus son of Cambyzes from their territory, as Cyrus commanded. The Nysaeans are not an Indian race; but part of those who came with Dionysus to India; possibly even of those Greeks who became past service in the wars which Dionysus waged with Indians; possibly also volunteers of the neighbouring tribes whom Dionysus settled there together with the Greeks, calling the country Nysaea from the mountain Nysa, and the city itself Nysa. And the mountain near the city, on whose foothills Nysa is built, is called Merus (A thigh.) because of the incident at Dionysus' birth. All this the poets sang about Dionysus; and I leave it to the narrators of Greek or Eastern history to recount them. Among the Assacenians is Massaca, a great city, where resides the chief authority of the Assacian land; and another city Peucela, this also a great city, not far from the Indus. These places then are inhabited on this side of the Indus towards the west, as far as the river Cophen.

II. But the parts from the Indus eastward, these I shall call India, and its inhabitants Indians. The boundary of the land of India towards the north is Mount Taurus. It is not still called Taurus in this land; but Taurus begins from the sea over against Pamphylia and Lycia and Cilicia; and reaches as far as the Eastern Ocean, running right across Asia. But the mountain has different names in different places; in one, Parapamisus, in another Emodus; elsewhere it is called Imaon, and perhaps has all sorts of other names; but the Macedonians who fought with Alexander called it Caucasus; another Caucasus, that is, not the Scythian; so that the story ran that Alexander came even to the far side of the Caucasus. The western part of India is bounded by the river Indus right down to the ocean, where the river runs out by two mouths, not joined together as are the five mouths of the Ister; but like those of the Nile, by which the Egyptian delta is formed; thus also the Indian delta is formed by the river Indus, not less than the Egyptian; and this in the Indian tongue is called Pattala. (The Sanskrit for "leaf" is Patala.) Towards the south this ocean bounds the land of India, and eastward the sea itself is the boundary. The southern part near Pattala and the mouths of the Indus were surveyed by Alexander and Macedonians and many Greeks; as for the eastern part, Alexander did not traverse this beyond the river Hyphasis. A few historians have described the parts which are this side of the Ganges and where are the mouths of the Ganges and the city of Palimbothra, the greatest Indian city on the Ganges.

III. I hope I may be allowed to regard Eratosthenes of Cyrene as worthy of special credit, since he was a student of Geography. He states that beginning with Mount Taurus, where are the springs of the river Indus, along the Indus to the Ocean, and to the mouths of the Indus, the side of India is thirteen thousand stades in length. The opposite side to this one, that from the same mountain to the Eastern Ocean, he does not reckon as merely equal to the former side, since it has a promontory running well into the sea; the promontory stretching to about three thousand stades. So then he would make this side of India, to the eastward, a total length of sixteen thousand stades. This he gives, then, as the breadth of India. Its length, however, from west to east, up to the city of Palimbothra, he states that he gives as measured by reed-measurements; for there is a royal road; and this extends to ten thousand stades; beyond that, the information is not so certain. Those, however, who have followed common talk say that including the promontory, which runs into the sea, India extends over about ten thousand stades; but farther north its length is about twenty thousand stades. But Ctesias of Cnidus affirms that the land of India is equal in size to the rest of Asia, which is absurd; and Onesicritus is absurd, who says that India is a third of the entire world; Nearchus, for his part, states that the journey through the actual plain of India is a four months' journey. Megasthenes would have the breadth of India that from east to west, which others call its length; and he says that it is of sixteen thousand stades, at its shortest stretch. From north to south, then, becomes for him its length, and it extends twenty-two thousand three hundred stades, to its narrowest point. The Indian rivers are greater than any others in Asia; greatest are the Ganges and the Indus, whence the land gets its name; each of these is greater than the Nile of Egypt and the Scythian Ister, even were these put together; my own idea is that even the Acesines is greater than the Ister and the Nile, where the Acesines having taken in the Hydaspes, Hydraotes, and Hyphasis, runs into the Indus, so that its breadth there becomes thirty stades. Possibly also other greater rivers run through the land of India.

IV. As for the yonder side of the Hyphasis, I cannot speak with confidence, since Alexander did not proceed beyond the Hyphasis. But of these two greatest rivers, the Ganges and the Indus, Megasthenes wrote that the Ganges is much greater than the Indus, and so do all others who mention the Ganges; for (they say) the Ganges is already large as it comes from its springs, and receives as tributaries the river Cainas and the Erannoboas and the Cossoanus, all navigable; also the river Sonus and the Sittocatis and the Solomatis, these likewise navigable. Then besides there are the Condochates and the Sambus and Magon and Agoranis and Omalis; and also there run into it the Commenases, a great river, and the Cacuthis and Andomatis, flowing from the Indian tribe of the Mandiadienae; after them the Amystis by the city Catadupas, and the Oxymagis at the place called Pazalae, and the Errenysis among the Mathae, an Indian tribe, also meet the Ganges. Megasthenes says that of these none is inferior to the Maeander, where the Maeander is

navigable. The breath therefore of the Ganges, where it is at its narrowest, runs to a hundred stades; often it spreads into lakes, so that the opposite side cannot be seen, where it is low and has no projections of hills. It is the same with the Indus; the Hydraotes, in the territory of the Cambistholians, receives the Hyphasis in that of the Astrybae, and the Saranges from the Cecians, and the Neydrus from the Attacenians, and flows, with these, into the Acesines. The Hydaspes also among the Oxydracae receives the Sinarus among the Arispae and it too flows out into the Acesines. The Acesines among the Mallians joins the Indus; and the Tutapus, a large river, flows into the Acesines. All these rivers swell the Acesines, and proudly retaining its own name it flows into the Indus. The Cophen, in the Peucelaetis, taking with it the Malantus, the Soastus, and the Garroea, joins the Indus. Above these the Parenus and Saparnus, not far from one another, flow into the Indus. The Soanus, from the mountains of the Abissareans, without any tributary, flows into it. Most of these Megasthenes reports to be navigable. It should not then be incredible that neither Nile nor Ister can be even compared with Indus or Ganges in volume of water. For we know of no tributary to the Nile; rather from it canals have been cut through the land of Egypt. As for the Ister, it emerges from its springs a meagre stream, but receives many tributaries; yet not equal in number to the Indian tributaries which flow into Indus or Ganges; and very few of these are navigable; I myself have only noticed the Enus and the Saus. The Enus on the line between Norica and Rhaetia joins the Ister, the Saus in Paenonia. The country where the rivers join is called Taurunus. If anybody is aware of other navigable rivers which form tributaries to the Ister, he certainly does not know many.

V. I hope that anyone who desires to explain the cause of the number and size of the Indian rivers will do so; and that my remarks may be regarded as set down on hearsay only. For Megasthenes has recorded names of many other rivers, which beyond the Ganges and the Indus run into the eastern and southern outer ocean; so that he states the number of Indian rivers in all to be fifty-eight, and these all navigable. But not even Megasthenes, so far as I can see, travelled over any large part of India; yet a good deal more than the followers of Alexander son of Philip did. For he states that he met Sandracottus, the greatest of the Indian kings, and Porus, even greater than he was. This Megasthenes says, moreover, that the Indians waged war on no men, nor other men on the Indians, but on the other hand that Sesostris the Egyptian, after subduing the most part of Asia, and after invading Europe with an army, yet returned back; and Indathyrus the Scythian who started from Scythia subdued many tribes of Asia, and invaded Egypt victoriously; but Semiramis the Assyrian queen tried to invade India, but died before she could carry out her purposes; it was in fact Alexander only who actually invaded India. Before Alexander, too, there is a considerable tradition about Dionysus as having also invaded India, and having subdued the Indians; about Heracles there is not much tradition. As for Dionysus, the city of Nysa is no mean

memorial of his expedition, and also Mount Merus, and the growth of ivy on this mountain; then the habit of the Indians themselves setting out to battle with the sound of drums and cymbals; and their dappled costume, like that worn by the bacchanals of Dionysus. But of Heracles the memorials are slight. Yet the story of the rock Aornos, which Alexander forced, namely, that Heracles could not capture it, I am inclined to think a Macedonian boast; just as the Macedonians called Parapamisus by the name of Caucasus, though it has nothing to do with Caucasus. And besides, learning that there was a cave among the Parapamisadae, they said that this was the cave of Prometheus the Titan, in which he was crucified for his theft of the fire. Among the Sibae, too, an Indian tribe, having noticed them clad with skins they used to assert that they were relics of Heracles' expedition. What is more, as the Sibae carried a club, and they brand their cattle with a club, they referred this too to some memory of Heracles' club. If anyone believes this, at least it must be some other Heracles, not he of Thebes, but either of Tyre or of Egypt, or some great king of the higher inhabited country near India.

VI. This then must be regarded as a digression, so that too much credence may not be given to the stories which certain persons have related about the Indians beyond the Hyphasis; for those who served under Alexander are reasonably trustworthy up to the Hyphasis. For Megasthenes tells us this also about an Indian river; its name is Silas, it flows from a spring of the same name as the river through the territory of the Sileans, the people also named both from river and spring; its water has the following peculiarity; nothing is supported by it, nothing can swim in it or float upon it, but everything goes straight to the bottom; so far is this water thinner and more aery than any other. In the summer there is rain through India; especially on the mountains, Parapamisus and Hemodus and the Imaus, and from them the rivers run great and turbulent. The plains of India also receive rain in summer, and much part of them becomes swamp; in fact Alexander's army retired from the river Acesines in midsummer, when the river had overflowed on to the plains; from these, therefore, one can gauge the flooding of the Nile, since probably the mountains of Ethiopia receive rain in summer, and from them the Nile is swollen and overflows its banks on to the land of Egypt; the Nile therefore also runs turbid this time of the year, as it probably would not be from melting snow; nor yet if its stream was dammed up by the seasonal winds which blow during the summer; and besides, the mountains of Ethiopia are probably not snow-covered, on account of the heat. But that they receive rain as India does is not outside the bounds of probability; since in other respects India is not unlike Ethiopia, and the Indian rivers have crocodiles like the Ethiopian and Egyptian Nile; and some of the Indian rivers have fish and other large water animals like those of the Nile, save the river-horse: though Onesicritus states that they do have the river-horse also. The appearance of the inhabitants, too, is not so far different in India and Ethiopia; the southern Indians resemble the Ethiopians a good deal, and are black of countenance, and their hair black

also, only they are not as snub-nosed or so woolly-haired as the Ethiopians; but the northern Indians are most like the Egyptians in appearance.

VII. Megasthenes states that there are one hundred and eighteen Indian tribes. That there are many, I agree with Megasthenes; but I cannot conjecture how he learnt and recorded the exact number, when he never visited any great part of India, and since these different races have not much intercourse one with another. The Indians, he says, were originally nomads, as are the non-agricultural Scythians, who wandering in their waggons inhabit now one and now another part of Scythia; not dwelling in cities and not reverencing any temples of the gods; just so the Indians also had no cities and built no temples; but were clothed with the skins of animals slain in the chase, and for food ate the bark of trees; these trees were called in the Indian tongue Tala, (The fan-palm; it is tapped for the sugar.) and there grew upon them, just as on the tops of palm trees, what look like clews of wool. They also used as food what game they had captured, eating it raw, before, at least, Dionysus came into India. But when Dionysus had come, and become master of India, he founded cities, and gave laws for these cities, and became to the Indians the bestower of wine, as to the Greeks, and taught them to sow their land, giving them seed. It may be that Triptolemus, when he was sent out by Demeter to sow the entire earth, did not come this way; or perhaps before Triptolemus this Dionysus whoever he was came to India and gave the Indians seeds of domesticated plants; then Dionysus first yoked oxen to the plough and made most of the Indians agriculturists instead of wanderers, and armed them also with the arms of warfare. Further, Dionysus taught them to reverence other gods, but especially, of course, himself, with clashings of cymbals and beating of drums and dancing in the Satyric fashion, the dance called among Greeks the "cordax"; and taught them to wear long hair in honour of the god, and instructed them in the wearing of the conical cap and the anointings with perfumes; so that the Indians came out even against Alexander to battle with the sound of cymbals and drums.

VIII. When departing from India, after making all these arrangements, he made Spatembas king of the land, one of his Companions, being most expert in Bacchic rites; when Spatembas died, Budyas his son reigned in his stead; the father was King of India fifty-two years, and the son twenty years; and his son, again, came to the throne, one Cradeuas; and his descendants for the most part received the kingdom in succession, son succeeding father; if the succession failed, then the kings were appointed for some pre-eminence. But Heracles, whom tradition states to have arrived as far as India, was called by the Indians themselves "Indigenous." This Heracles was chiefly honoured by the Surasenians, an Indian tribe, among whom are two great cities, Methora and Cleisobora, and the navigable river Iobares flows through their territory. Megasthenes also says that the garb which this Heracles wore was like that of the Theban Heracles, as also the Indians themselves record; he also had many sons in his country, for this Heracles too wedded many wives; he had only one

daughter, called Pandaea; as also the country in which she was born, and to rule which Heracles educated her, was called Pandaea after the girl; here she possessed five hundred elephants given by her father, four thousand horsemen, and as many as a hundred and thirty thousand foot-soldiers. This also some writers relate about Heracles; he traversed all the earth and sea, and when he had rid the earth of evil monsters he found in the sea a jewel much affected by women. And thus, even to our day, those who bring exports from India to our country purchase these jewels at great price and export them, and all Greeks in old time, and Romans now who are rich and prosperous, are more eager to buy the sea pearl, as it is called in the Indian tongue; for that Heracles, the jewel appearing to him charming, collected from all the sea to India this kind of pearl, to adorn his daughter. And Megasthenes says that this oyster is taken with nets; that it is a native of the sea, many oysters being together, like bees; and that the pearl oysters have a king or queen, as bees do. Should anyone by chance capture the king, he can easily surround the rest of the oysters; but should the king slip through, then the others cannot be taken; and of those that are taken, the Indians let their flesh rot, but use the skeleton as an ornament. For among the Indians this pearl sometimes is worth three times its weight in solid gold, which is itself dug up in India.

VIII. In this country where Heracles' daughter was queen, the girls are marriageable at seven years, and the men do not live longer than forty years. About this there is a story among the Indians, that Heracles, to whom when in mature years this daughter was born, realizing that his own end was near, and knowing of no worthy husband to whom he might bestow his daughter, himself became her husband when she was seven, so that Indian kings, their children, were left behind. Heracles made her then marriageable, and hence all the royal race of Pandaea arose, with the same privilege from Heracles. But I think, even if Heracles was able to accomplish anything so absurd, he could have lengthened his own life, so as to mate with the girl when of maturer years. But really if this about the age of the girls in this district is true, it seems to me to tend the same way as the men's age, since the oldest of them die at forty years. For when old age comes on so much sooner and death with age, maturity will reasonably be earlier, in proportion to the end; so that at thirty the men might be on the threshold of old age, and at twenty, men in their prime, and manhood at about fifteen, so that the women might reasonably be marriageable at seven. For that the fruits ripen earlier in this country than elsewhere, and perish earlier, this Megasthenes himself tells us. From Dionysus to Sandracottus the Indians counted a hundred and fifty-three kings, over six thousand and forty-two years, and during this time thrice [movements were made] for liberty... this for three hundred years; the other for a hundred and twenty years; the Indians say that Dionysus was fifteen generations earlier than Heracles; but no one else ever invaded India, not even Cyrus son of Cambyzes, though he made an expedition against the Scythians, and in all other ways was the most energetic of the kings in Asia; but

Alexander came and conquered by force of arms all the countries he entered; and would have conquered the whole world had his army been willing. But no Indian ever went outside his own country on a warlike expedition, so righteous were they.

X. This also is related; that Indians do not put up memorials to the dead; but they regard their virtues as sufficient memorials for the departed, and the songs which they sing at their funerals. As for the cities of India, one could not record their number accurately by reason of their multitude; but those of them which are near rivers or near the sea, they build of wood; for if they were built of brick, they could not last long because of the rain, and also because their rivers overflow their banks and fill the plains with water. But such cities as are built on high and lofty places, they make of brick and clay. The greatest of the Indian cities is called Palimbothra, in the district of the Prasians, at the confluence of the Erannoboas and the Ganges; the Ganges, greatest of all rivers; the Erannoboas may be the third of the Indian rivers, itself greater than the rivers of other countries; but it yields precedence to the Ganges, when it pours into it its tributary stream. And Megasthenes says that the length of the city along either side, where it is longest, reaches to eighty stades; its breadth to fifteen; and a ditch has been dug round the city, six plethra in breadth, thirty cubits high; and on the wall are five hundred and seventy towers, and sixty-four gates. This also is remarkable in India, that all Indians are free, and no Indian at all is a slave. In this the Indians agree with the Lacedaemonians. Yet the Lacedaemonians have Helots for slaves, who perform the duties of slaves; but the Indians have no slaves at all, much less is any Indian a slave.

XI. The Indians generally are divided into seven castes. Those called the wise men are less in number than the rest, but chiefest in honour and regard. For they are under no necessity to do any bodily labour; nor to contribute from the results of their work to the common store; in fact, no sort of constraint whatever rests upon these wise men, save to offer the sacrifices to the gods on behalf of the people of India. Then whenever anyone sacrifices privately, one of these wise men acts as instructor of the sacrifice, since otherwise the sacrifice would not have proved acceptable to the gods. These Indians also are alone expert in prophecy, and none, save one of the wise men, is allowed to prophesy. And they prophesy about the seasons of the year, or of any impending public calamity; but they do not trouble to prophesy on private matters to individuals, either because their prophecy does not condescend to smaller things, or because it is undignified for them to trouble about such things. And when one has thrice made an error in his prophecy, he does not suffer any harm, except that he must for ever hold his peace; and no one will ever persuade such a one to prophesy on whom this silence has been enjoined. These wise men spend their time naked, during the winter in the open air and sunshine, but in summer, when the sun is strong, in the meadows and the marsh lands under great trees; (The banyan.) their shade Nearchus computes

to reach five plethra all round, and ten thousand men could take shade under one tree; so great are these trees. They eat fruits in their season, and the bark of the trees; (Perhaps an error like that of VII. 3 above (the bark stripped, not eaten).) this is sweet and nutritious as much as are the dates of the palm. Then next to these come the farmers, these being the most numerous class of Indians; they have no use for warlike arms or warlike deeds, but they till the land; and they pay the taxes to the kings and to the cities, such as are self-governing; and if there is internal war among the Indians, they may not touch these workers, and not even devastate the land itself; but some are making war and slaying all comers, and others close by are peacefully ploughing or gathering the fruits or shaking down apples or harvesting. The third class of Indians are the herdsmen, pasturers of sheep and cattle, and these dwell neither by cities nor in the villages. They are nomads and get their living on the hillsides, and they pay taxes from their animals; they hunt also birds and wild game in the country.

XII. The fourth class is of artisans and shopkeepers; these are workers, and pay tribute from their works, save such as make weapons of war; these are paid by the community. In this class are the shipwrights and sailors, who navigate the rivers. The fifth class of Indians is the soldiers' class, next after the farmers in number; these have the greatest freedom and the most spirit. They practise military pursuits only. Their weapons others forge for them, and again others provide horses; others too serve in the camps, those who groom their horses and polish their weapons, guide the elephants, and keep in order and drive the chariots. They themselves, when there is need of war, go to war, but in time of peace they make merry; and they receive so much pay from the community that they can easily from their pay support others. The sixth class of Indians are those called overlookers. They oversee everything that goes on in the country or in the cities; and this they report to the King, where the Indians are governed by kings, or to the authorities, where they are independent. To these it is illegal to make any false report; nor was any Indian ever accused of such falsification. The seventh class is those who deliberate about the community together with the King, or, in such cities as are self-governing, with the authorities. In number this class is small, but in wisdom and uprightness it bears the palm from all others; from this class are selected their governors, district governors, and deputies, custodians of the treasures, officers of army and navy, financial officers, and overseers of agricultural works. To marry out of any class is unlawful — as, for instance, into the farmer class from the artisans, or the other way; nor must the same man practise two pursuits; nor change from one class into another, as to turn farmer from shepherd, or shepherd from artisan. It is only permitted to join the wise men out of any class; for their business is not an easy one, but of all most' laborious.

XIII. Most wild animals which the Greeks hunt the Indians hunt also, but these have a way of hunting elephants unlike all other kinds of hunting, just as

these animals are unlike other animals. It is this; they choose a place that is level and open to the sun's heat, and dig a ditch in a circle, wide enough for a great army to camp within it. They dig the ditch five fathoms broad, and four deep. The earth which they throw out of the ditch they heap on either side of the ditch, and so use it as a wall; then they make shelters for themselves, dug out of the wall on the outside of the ditch, and leave small windows in them; through these the light comes in, and also they watch the animals coming in and charging into the enclosure. Then within the enclosure they leave some three or four of the females, those that are tamest, and leave only one entrance by the ditch, making a bridge over it; and here they heap much earth and grass so that the animals cannot distinguish the bridge, and so suspect any guile. The hunters then keep themselves out of the way, hiding under the shelters dug in the ditch. Now the wild elephants do not approach inhabited places by daylight but at night they wander all about and feed in herds, following the largest and finest of their number, as cows do the bulls. And when they approach the ditch and hear the trumpeting of the females and perceive them by their scent, they rush to the walled enclosure; and when, working round the outside edge of the ditch, they find the bridge, they push across it into the enclosure. Then the hunters, perceiving the entry of the wild elephants, some smartly remove the bridge, others hurrying to the neighbouring villages report that the elephants are caught in the enclosure; and the inhabitants on hearing the news mount the most spirited, and at the same time most disciplined elephants, and then drive them towards the enclosure, and when they have driven them thither they do not at once join battle, but allow the wild elephants to grow distressed by hunger and to be tamed by thirst. But when they think they are sufficiently distressed, then they erect the bridge again, and enter the enclosure; and at first there is a fierce battle between the tamed elephants and the captives, and then, as one would expect, the wild elephants are tamed, distressed as they are by a sinking of their spirits and by hunger. Then the riders dismounting from the tamed elephants tie together the feet of the now languid wild ones; then they order the tamed elephants to punish the rest by repeated blows, till in their distress they fall to earth; then they come near them and throw nooses round their necks; and climb on them as they lie there. And that they may not toss their drivers nor do them any injury, they make an incision in their necks with a sharp knife, all round, and bind their noose round the wound, so that by reason of the sore they keep their heads and necks still. For were they to turn round to do mischief, the wound beneath the rope chafes them. And so they keep quiet, and perceiving that they are conquered, they are led off by the tamed elephants by the rope.

XIV. Such elephants as are not yet full grown or from some defect are not worth the acquiring, they allow to depart to their own lairs. Then they lead off their captives to the villages and first of all give them green shoots and grass to eat; but they, from want of heart, are not willing to eat anything; so the Indians range themselves about them and with songs and drums and cymbals,

beating and singing, lull them to sleep. For if there is an intelligent animal, it is the elephant. Some of them have been known, when their drivers have perished in battle, to have caught them up and carried them to burial; others have stood over them and protected them. Others, when they have fallen, have actively fought for them; one, indeed, who in a passion slew his driver, died from remorse and grief. I myself have seen an elephant clanging the cymbals, and others dancing; two cymbals were fastened to the player's forelegs, and one on his trunk, and he rhythmically beat with his trunk the cymbal on either leg in turn; the dancers danced in circle, and raising and bending their forelegs in turn moved also rhythmically, as the player with the cymbals marked the time for them. The elephants mate in spring, as do oxen and horses, when certain pores about the temples of the females open and exhale; the female bears its offspring sixteen months at the least, eighteen at most; it has one foal, as does a mare; and this it suckles till its eighth year. The longest-lived elephants survive to two hundred years; but many die before that by disease; but as far as mere age goes, they reach this age. If their eyes are affected, cow's milk injected cures them; for their other sicknesses a draught of dark wine, and for their wounds swine's flesh roast, and laid on the spot, are good. These are the Indian remedies for them.

XV. The Indians regard the tiger as much stronger than the elephant. Nearchus writes that he had seen a tiger's skin, but no tiger; the Indians record that the tiger is in size as great as the largest horse, and its swiftness and strength without parallel, for a tiger, when it meets an elephant, leaps on to the head and easily throttles it. Those, however, which we see and call tigers are dappled jackals, but larger than ordinary jackals. Nay, about ants also Nearchus says that he himself saw no ant, of the sort which some writers have described as native of India; he saw, however, several of their skins brought into the Macedonian camp. Megasthenes, however, confirms the accounts given about these ants; that ants do dig up gold, not indeed for the gold, but as they naturally burrow, that they may make holes, just as our small ants excavate a small amount of earth; but these, which are bigger than foxes, dig up earth also proportionate to their size; the earth is auriferous, and thus the Indians get their gold. Megasthenes, however, merely quotes hearsay, and as I have no certainty to write on the subject, I readily dismiss this subject of ants. But Nearchus describes, as something miraculous, parrots, as being found in India, and describes the parrot, and how it utters a human voice. But I having seen several, and knowing others acquainted with this bird, shall not dilate on them as anything remarkable; nor yet upon the size of the apes, nor the beauty of some Indian apes, and the method of capture. For I should only say what everyone knows, except perhaps that apes are anywhere beautiful. And further Nearchus says that snakes are hunted there, dappled and swift; and that which he states Peithon son of Antigones to have caught, was upwards of sixteen cubits; but the Indians (he proceeds) state that the largest snakes are much larger than this. No Greek physicians have discovered a remedy against Indian

snake-bite; but the Indians themselves used to cure those who were struck. And Nearchus adds that Alexander had gathered about him Indians very skilled in physic, and orders were sent round the camp that anyone bitten by a snake was to report at the royal pavilion. But these same men cured other diseases and illnesses also. But there are not many illnesses in India, since the seasons are more temperate than with us. If anyone is seriously ill, they would inform their wise men, and they were thought to use the divine help to cure what could be cured.

XVI. The Indians wear linen garments, as Nearchus says, the linen (Really cotton.) coming from the trees of which I have already made mention. This linen is either brighter than the whiteness of other linen, or the people's own blackness makes it appear unusually bright. They have a linen tunic to the middle of the calf, and for outer garments, one thrown round about their shoulders, and one wound round their heads. They wear ivory ear-rings, that is, the rich Indians; the common people do not use them. Nearchus writes that they dye their beards various colours; some therefore have these as white-looking as possible, others dark, others crimson, others purple, others grass-green. The more dignified Indians use sunshades against the summer heat. They have slippers of white skin, and these too made neatly; and the soles of their sandals are of different colours, and also high, so that the wearers seem taller. Indian war equipment differs; the infantry have a bow, of the height of the owner; this they poise on the ground, and set their left foot against it, and shoot thus; drawing the bowstring a very long way back; for their arrows are little short of three cubits, and nothing can stand against an arrow shot by an Indian archer, neither shield nor breastplate nor any strong armour. In their left hands they carry small shields of untanned hide, narrower than their bearers, but not much shorter. Some have javelins in place of bows. All carry a broad scimitar, its length not under three cubits; and this, when they have a hand-to-hand fight — and Indians do not readily fight so among themselves — they bring down with both hands in smiting, so that the stroke may be an effective one. Their horsemen have two javelins, like lances, and a small shield smaller than the infantry's. The horses have no saddles, nor do they use Greek bits nor any like the Celtic bits, but round the end of the horses' mouths they have an untanned stitched rein fitted; in this they have fitted, on the inner side, bronze or iron spikes, but rather blunted; the rich people have ivory spikes; within the mouth of the horses is a bit, like a spit, to either end of which the reins are attached. Then when they tighten the reins this bit masters the horse, and the spikes, being attached thereto, prick the horse and compel it to obey the rein.

XVII. The Indians in shape are thin and tall and much lighter in movement than the rest of mankind. They usually ride on camels, horses, and asses; the richer men on elephants. For the elephant in India is a royal mount; then next in dignity is a four-horse chariot, and camels come third; to ride on a single horse is low. Their women, such as are of great modesty, can be seduced by no other gift, but yield themselves to anyone who gives an elephant; and the

Indians think it no disgrace to yield thus on the gift of an elephant, but rather it seems honourable for a woman that her beauty should be valued at an elephant. They marry neither giving anything nor receiving anything; such girls as are marriageable their fathers bring out and allow anyone who proves victorious in wrestling or boxing or running or shows pre-eminence in any other manly pursuit to choose among them. The Indians eat meal and till the ground, except the mountaineers; but these eat the flesh of game. This must be enough for a description of the Indians, being the most notable things which Nearchus and Megasthenes, men of credit, have recorded about them. But as the main subject of this my history was not to write an account of the Indian customs but the way in which Alexander's navy reached Persia from India, this must all be accounted a digression.

XVIII. For Alexander, when his fleet was made ready on the banks of the Hydaspes, collected together all the Phoenicians and all the Cyprians and Egyptians who had followed the northern expedition.

From these he manned his ships, picking out as crews and rowers for them any who were skilled in seafaring. There were also a good many islanders in the army, who understood these things, and Ionians and Hellespontines. As commanders of triremes were appointed, from the Macedonians, Hephaestion son of Amyntor, and Leonnatus son of Eunous, Lysimachus son of Agathocles, and Asclepiodorus son of Timander, and Archon son of Cleinias, and Demonicus son of Athenaeus, Archias son of Anaxidotus, Ophelias son of Seilenus, Timanthes son of Pantiades; all these were of Pella. From Amphipolis these were appointed officers: Nearchus son of Androtimus, who wrote the account of the voyage; and Laomedon son of Larichus, and Androstenes son of Callistratus; and from Orestis, Craterus son of Alexander, and Perdikkas son of Orontes. Of Eordaea, Ptolemaeus son of Lagos and Aristonous son of Peisaeus; from Pydna, Metron son of Epicharmus and Nicarchides son of Simus. Then besides, Attalus son of Andromenes, of Stympha; Peucestas son of Alexander, from Mieza; Peithon son of Crateuas, of Alcomenae; Leonnatus son of Antipater, of Aegae; Pantauchus son of Nicolaus, of Aloris; Mylleas son of Zoilus, of Beroea; all these being Macedonians. Of Greeks, Medius son of Oxythemis, of Larisa; Eumenes son of Hieronymus, from Cardia; Critobulus son of Plato, of Cos; Thoas son of Menodorus, and Maeander, son of Mandrogenes, of Magnesia; Andron son of Cabeleus, of Teos; of Cyprians, Nicoeles son of Pasicrates, of Soli; and Nithaphon son of Pnytagoras, of Salamis. Alexander appointed also a Persian trierarch, Bagoas son of Pharnuces; but of Alexander's own ship the helmsman was Onesieritus of Astypalaea; and the accountant of the whole fleet was Euagoras son of Eucleon, of Corinth. As admiral was appointed Nearchus, son of Androtimus, Cretan by race, and he lived in Amphipolis on the Strymon. And when Alexander had made all these dispositions, he sacrificed to the gods, both the gods of his race, and all of whom the prophets had warned him, and to Poseidon and Amphitrite and the Nereids, and to

Ocean himself and to the river Hydaspes, whence he started, and to the Acesines, into which the Hydaspes runs, and to the Indus, into which both run; and he instituted contests of art and of athletics, and victims for sacrifice were given to all the army, according to their detachments.

XIX. Then when he had made all ready for starting the voyage, Alexander ordered Craterus to march by the one side of the Hydaspes with his army, cavalry and infantry alike; Hephaestion had already started along the other, with another army even bigger than that under Craterus. Hephaestion took with him the elephants, up to the number of two hundred. Alexander himself took with him all the peltasts, as they are called, and all the archers, and of the cavalry, those called "Companions"; in all, eight thousand. But Craterus and Hephaestion, with their forces, were ordered to march ahead and await the fleet. But he sent Philip, whom he had made satrap of this country, to the banks of the river Acesines, Philip also with a considerable force; for by this time a hundred and twenty thousand men of fighting age were following him, together with those whom he himself had brought from the sea-coast; and with those also whom his officers, sent to recruit forces, had brought back; so that he now led all sorts of Oriental tribes, and armed in every sort of fashion. Then he himself loosing his ships sailed down the Hydaspes to the meeting-place of Acesines and Hydaspes. His whole fleet of ships was eighteen hundred, both ships of war and merchantmen, and horse transports besides and others bringing provisions together with the troops. And how his fleet descended the rivers, and the tribes he conquered on the descent, and how he endangered himself among the Mallians, and the wound he there received, then the way in which Peucestas and Leonnatus defended him as he lay there — all this I have related already in my other history, written in the Attic dialect. This my present work, however, is a story of the voyage, which Nearchus successfully undertook with his fleet starting from the mouths of the Indus by the Ocean to the Persian Gulf, which some call the Red Sea.

XX. On this Nearchus writes thus: Alexander had a vehement desire to sail the sea which stretches from India to Persia; but he disliked the length of the voyage and feared lest, meeting with some country desert or without roadsteads, or not properly provided with the fruits of the earth, his whole fleet might be destroyed; and this, being no small blot on his great achievements, might wreck all his happiness; but yet his desire to do something unusual and strange won the day; still, he was in doubt whom he should choose, as equal to his designs; and also as the right man to encourage the personnel of the fleet, sent as they were on an expedition of this kind, so that they should not feel that they were being sent blindly to manifest dangers. And Nearchus says that Alexander discussed with him whom he should select to be admiral of this fleet; but as mention was made of one and another, and as Alexander rejected some, as not willing to risk themselves for his sake, others as chicken-hearted, others as consumed by desire for home, and finding some objection to each; then Nearchus himself spoke and pledged himself thus: "O

King, I undertake to lead your fleet! And may God help the emprise! I will bring your ships and men safe to Persia, if this sea is so much as navigable and the undertaking not above human powers." Alexander, however, replied that he would not allow one of his friends to run such risks and endure such distress; yet Nearchus did not slacken in his request, but besought Alexander earnestly; till at length Alexander accepted Nearchus' willing spirit, and appointed him admiral of the entire fleet, on which the part of the army which was detailed to sail on this voyage and the crews felt easier in mind, being sure that Alexander would never have exposed Nearchus to obvious danger unless they also were to come through safe. Then the splendour of the whole preparations and the smart equipment of the ships, and the outstanding enthusiasm of the commanders of the triremes about the different services and the crews had uplifted even those who a short while ago were hesitating, both to bravery and to higher hopes about the whole affair; and besides it contributed not a little to the general good spirits of the force that Alexander himself had started down the Indus and had explored both outlets, even into the Ocean, and had offered victims to Poseidon, and all the other sea gods, and gave splendid gifts to the sea. Then trusting as they did in Alexander's generally remarkable good fortune, they felt that there was nothing that he might not dare, and nothing that he could not carry through.

XXI. Now when the trade winds had sunk to rest, which continue blowing from the Ocean to the land all the summer season, and hence render the voyage impossible, they put to sea, in the archonship at Athens of Cephisodorus, on the twentieth day of the month Boedromion, as the Athenians reckon it; but as the Macedonians and Asians counted it, it was... the eleventh year of Alexander's reign. (A name of a month has been lost. It was probably October 326, though Droysen fixes the date as September 325.) Nearchus also sacrificed, before weighing anchor, to Zeus the Saviour, and he too held an athletic contest. Then moving out from their roadstead, they anchored on the first day in the Indus river near a great canal, and remained there two days; the district was called Stura; it was about a hundred stades from the roadstead. Then on the third day they started forth and sailed to another canal, thirty stades' distance, and this canal was already salt; for the sea came up into it, especially at full tides, and then at the ebb the water remained there, mingled with the river water. This place was called Caumara. Thence they sailed twenty stades and anchored at Coreëstis, still on the river. Thence they started again and sailed not so very far, for they saw a reef at this outlet of the river Indus, and the waves were breaking violently on the shore, and the shore itself was very rough. But where there was a softer part of the reef, they dug a channel, five stades long, and brought the ships down it, when the flood tide came up from the sea. Then sailing round, to a distance of a hundred and fifty stades, they anchored at a sandy island called Crocala, and stayed there through the next day; and there lives here an Indian race called Arabeans, of whom I made mention in my larger history; and that they have

their name from the river Arabis, which runs through their country and finds its outlet in the sea, forming the boundary between this country and that of the Oreitans. From Crocala, keeping on the right hand the hill they call Irus, they sailed on, with a low-lying island on their left; and the island running parallel with the shore makes a narrow bay. Then when they had sailed through this, they anchored in a harbour with good anchorage; and as Nearchus considered the harbour a large and fine one, he called it Alexander's Haven. At the heads of the harbour there lies an island, about two stades away, called Bibacta; the neighbouring region, however, is called Sangada.

This island, forming a barrier to the sea, of itself makes a harbour. There constant strong winds were blowing off the ocean. Nearchus therefore, fearing lest some of the natives might collect to plunder the camp, surrounded the place with a stone wall. He stayed there thirty-three days; and through that time, he says, the soldiers hunted for mussels, oysters, and razor-fish, as they are called; they were all of unusual size, much larger than those of our seas. They also drank briny water.

XXII. On the wind falling, they weighed anchor; and after sailing sixty stades they moored off a sandy shore; there was a desert island near the shore. They used this, therefore, as a breakwater and moored there; the island was called Domai. On the shore there was no water, but after advancing some twenty stades inland they found good water. Next day they sailed up to nightfall to Saranga, some three hundred stades, and moored off the beach, and water was found about eight stades from the beach. Thence they sailed and moored at Sacala, a desert spot. Then making their way through two rocks, so close together that the oar-blades of the ships touched the rocks to port and starboard, they moored at Morontobara, after sailing some three hundred stades. The harbour is spacious, circular, deep, and calm, but its entrance is narrow. They called it, in the natives' language, "The Ladies' Pool," since a lady was the first sovereign of this district. When they had got safe through the rocks, they met great waves, and the sea running strong; and moreover it seemed very hazardous to sail seaward of the cliffs. For the next day, however, they sailed with an island on their port beam, so as to break the sea, so close indeed to the beach that one would have conjectured that it was a channel cut between the island and the coast. The entire passage was of some seventy stades. On the beach were many thick trees, and the island was wholly covered with shady forest. About dawn, they sailed outside the island, by a narrow and turbulent passage; for the tide was still falling. And when they had sailed some hundred and twenty stades they anchored in the mouth of the river Arabis. There was a fine large harbour by its mouth; but there was no drinking water; for the mouths of the Arabis were mixed with sea-water. However, after penetrating forty stades inland they found a water-hole, and after drawing water thence they returned back again. By the harbour was a high island, desert, and round it one could get oysters and all kinds of fish. Up to this the country of the Arabeans extends; they are the last Indians settled in

this direction; from here on the territory of the Oreitans begins.

XXIII. Leaving the outlets of the Arabis they coasted along the territory of the Oreitans, and anchored at Pagala, after a voyage of two hundred stades, near a breaking sea; but they were able all the same to cast anchor. The crews rode out the seas in their vessels, though a few went in search of water, and procured it. Next day they sailed at dawn, and after making four hundred and thirty stades they put in towards evening at Cabana, and moored on a desert shore. There too was a heavy surf, and so they anchored their vessels well out to sea. It was on this part of the voyage that a heavy squall from seaward caught the fleet, and two warships were lost on the passage, and one galley; the men swam off and got to safety, as they were sailing quite near the land. But about midnight they weighed anchor and sailed as far as Cocala, which was about two hundred stades from the beach off which they had anchored. The ships kept the open sea and anchored, but Nearchus disembarked the crews and bivouacked on shore; after all these toils and dangers in the sea, they desired to rest awhile. The camp was entrenched, to keep off the natives. Here Leonnatus, who had been in charge of operations against the Oreitans, beat in a great battle the Oreitans, along with others who had joined their enterprise. He slew some six thousand of them, including all the higher officers; of the cavalry with Leonnatus fifteen fell, and of his infantry, among a few others, Apollophanes satrap of Gadrosia. This I have related in my other history, and also how Leonnatus was crowned by Alexander for this exploit with a golden coronet before the Macedonians. There provision of corn had been gathered ready, by Alexander's orders, to victual the host; and they took on board ten days' rations. The ships which had suffered in the passage so far they repaired; and whatever troops Nearchus thought were inclined to malingering he handed over to Leonnatus, but he himself recruited his fleet from Leonnatus' soldiery.

XXIV. Thence they set sail and progressed with a favouring wind; and after a passage of five hundred stades they anchored by a torrent, which was called Tomerus. There was a lagoon at the mouths of the river, and the depressions near the bank were inhabited by natives in stifling cabins. These seeing the convoy sailing up were astounded, and lining along the shore stood ready to repel any who should attempt a landing. They carried thick spears, about six cubits long; these had no iron tip, but the same result was obtained by hardening the point with fire. They were in number about six hundred. Nearchus observed these evidently standing firm and drawn up in order, and ordered the ships to hold back within range, so that their missiles might reach the shore; for the natives' spears, which looked stalwart, were good for close fighting, but had no terrors against a volley. Then Nearchus took the lightest and lightest-armed troops, such as were also the best swimmers, and bade them swim off as soon as the word was given. Their orders were that, as soon as any swimmer found bottom, he should await his mate, and not attack the natives till they had their formation three deep; but then they were to raise

their battle cry and charge at the double. On the word, those detailed for this service dived from the ships into the sea, and swam smartly, and took up their formation in orderly manner, and having made a phalanx, charged, raising, for their part, their battle cry to the God of War, and those on shipboard raised the cry along with them; and arrows and missiles from the engines were hurled against the natives. They, astounded at the flash of the armour, and the swiftness of the charge, and attacked by showers of arrows and missiles, half naked as they were, never stopped to resist but gave way. Some were killed in flight; others were captured; but some escaped into the hills. Those captured were hairy, not only their heads but the rest of their bodies; their nails were rather like beasts' claws; they used their nails (according to report) as if they were iron tools; with these they tore asunder their fishes, and even the less solid kinds of wood; everything else they cleft with sharp stones; for iron they did not possess. For clothing they wore skins of animals, some even the thick skins of the larger fishes.

XXV. Here the crews beached their ships and repaired such as had suffered. On the sixth day from this they set sail, and after voyaging about three hundred stades they came to a country which was the last point in the territory of the Oreitans: the district was called Malana. Such Oreitans as live inland, away from the sea, dress as the Indians do, and equip themselves similarly for warfare; but their dialect and customs differ. The length of the coasting voyage along the territory of the Arabeis was about a thousand stades from the point of departure; the length of the Oreitan coast sixteen hundred. As they sailed along the land of India — for thence onward the natives are no longer Indians — Nearchus states that their shadows were not cast in the same way; but where they were making for the high seas and steering a southerly course, their shadows appeared to fall southerly too; but whenever the sun was at midday, then everything seemed shadowless. (Nearchus — or Arrian — is confused; and the common observation that in southern latitudes at midday objects seem to stand upon and so hide their own shadows could have been made elsewhere.) Then such of the stars as they had seen hitherto in the sky, some were completely hidden, others showed themselves low down towards the earth; those they had seen continually before were now observed both setting, and then at once rising again. I think this tale of Nearchus' is likely; since in Syene of Egypt, when the sun is at the summer solstice, people show a well where at midday one sees no shade; and in Meroe, at the same season, no shadows are cast. So it seems reasonable that in India too, since they are far southward, the same natural phenomena may occur, and especially in the Indian Ocean, just because it particularly runs southward. But here I must leave this subject.

XXVI. Next to the Oreitans, more inland, dwelt the Gadrosians, whose country Alexander and his army had much pains in traversing; indeed they suffered more than during all the rest of his expedition: all this I have related in my larger history. Below the Gadrosians, as you follow the actual coast,

dwelt the people called the Fish-eaters. The fleet sailed past their country. On the first day they unmoored about the second watch, and put in at Bagisara; a distance along the coast of about six hundred stades. There is a safe harbour there, and a village called Pasira, some sixty stades from the sea; the natives about it are called Pasireans. The next day they weighed anchor earlier than usual and sailed round a promontory which ran far seaward, and was high, and precipitous. Then they dug wells; and obtained a good deal of water, but of poor quality; and for that day they rode at anchor, because there was heavy surf on the beach. Next day they put in at Colta after a voyage of two hundred stades. Thence they departed at dawn, and after voyaging six hundred stades anchored at Calyba. A village is on the shore, a few date-palms grew near it, and there were dates, still green, upon them. About a hundred stades from the beach is an island called Carnine. There the villagers brought gifts to Nearchus, sheep and fishes; the mutton, he says, had a fishy taste, like the flesh of the sea-birds, since even the sheep feed on fish; for there is no grass in the place. However, on the next day they sailed two hundred stades and moored off a beach, and a village about thirty stades from the sea; it was called Cissa, and Carbis was the name of the strip of coast. There they found a few boats, the sort which poor fishermen might use; but the fishermen themselves they did not find, for they had run away as soon as they saw the ships anchoring. There was no corn there, and the army had spent most of its store; but they caught and embarked there some goats, and so sailed away. Rounding a tall cape running some hundred and fifty stades into the sea, they put in at a calm harbour; there was water there, and fishermen dwelt near; the harbour was called Mosarna.

XXVII. Nearchus tells us that from this point a pilot sailed with them, a Gadrosian called Hydraces. He had promised to take them as far as Carmania; from thence on the navigation was not difficult, but the districts were better known, up to the Persian Gulf. From Mosarna they sailed at night, seven hundred and fifty stades, to the beach of Balomus. Thence again to Barna, a village, four hundred stades, where there were many date-palms and a garden; and in the garden grew myrtles and abundant flowers, of which wreaths were woven by the natives. There for the first time they saw garden-trees, and men dwelling there not entirely like animals. Thence they coasted a further two hundred stades and reached Dendrobosa, and the ships kept the roadstead at anchor. Thence about midnight they sailed and came to a harbour Cophas, after a voyage of about four hundred stades; here dwelt fishermen, with small and feeble boats; and they did not row with their oars on a rowlock, as the Greeks do, but as you do in a river, propelling the water on this side or that like labourers digging (*i e* they “dug” the water with a paddle. Trimmers at coaling ports sometimes actually use their shovels as paddles, giving point to Arrian’s comparison.) the soil. At the harbour was abundant pure water. About the first watch they weighed anchor and arrived at Cyiza, after a passage of eight hundred stades, where there was a desert beach and a heavy surf. Here,

therefore, they anchored, and each ship took its own meal. Thence they voyaged five hundred stades and arrived at a small town built near the shore on a hill. Nearchus, who imagined that the district must be tilled, told Archias of Pella, son of Anaxidotus, who was sailing with Nearchus, and was a notable Macedonian, that they must surprise the town, since he had no hope that the natives would give the army provisions of their good-will; while he could not capture the town by force, but this would require a siege and much delay; while they in the meanwhile were short of provisions. But that the land did produce corn he could gather from the straw which they saw lying deep near the beach. When they had come to this resolve, Nearchus bade the fleet in general to get ready as if to go to sea; and Archias, in his place, made all ready for the voyage; but Nearchus himself was left behind with a single ship and went off as if to have a look at the town.

XXVIII. As Nearchus approached the walls, the natives brought him, in a friendly way, gifts from the city; tunny-fish baked in earthen pans; for there dwell the westernmost of the Fish-eating tribes, and were the first whom the Greeks had seen cooking their food; and they brought also a few cakes and dates from the palms. Nearchus said that he accepted these gratefully; and desired to visit the town, and they permitted him to enter. But as soon as he passed inside the gates, he bade two of the archers to occupy the postern, while he and two others, and the interpreter, mounted the wall on this side and signalled to Archias and his men as had been arranged: that Nearchus should signal, and Archias understand and do what had been ordered. On seeing the signal the Macedonians beached their ships with all speed; they leapt in haste into the sea, while the natives, astounded at this manoeuvre, ran to their arms. The interpreter with Nearchus cried out that they should give corn to the army, if they wanted to save their city; and the natives replied that they had none, and at the same time attacked the wall. But the archers with Nearchus shooting from above easily held them up. When, however, the natives saw that their town was already occupied and almost on the way to be enslaved, they begged Nearchus to take what corn they had and retire, but not to destroy the town. Nearchus, however, bade Archias to seize the gates and the neighbouring wall; but he sent with the natives some soldiers to see whether they would without any trick reveal their corn. They showed freely their flour, ground down from the dried fish; but only a small quantity of corn and barley. In fact they used as flour what they got from the fish; and loaves of corn flour they used as a delicacy. When, however, they had shown all they had, the Greeks provisioned themselves from what was there, and put to sea, anchoring by a headland which the inhabitants regarded as sacred to the Sun: the headland was called Bageia.

XXIX. Thence, weighing anchor about midnight, they voyaged another thousand stades to Talmena, a harbour giving good anchorage. Thence they went to Canasis, a deserted town, four hundred stades farther; here they found a well sunk; and near by were growing wild date-palms. They cut out the

hearts (The clusters of young leaves have a "heart" like that of the lettuce which is worth eating.) of these and ate them; for the army had run short of food. In fact they were now really distressed by hunger, and sailed on therefore by day and night, and anchored off a desolate shore. But Nearchus, afraid that they would disembark and leave their ships from faint-heartedness, purposely kept the ships in the open roadstead. They sailed thence and anchored at Canate, after a voyage of seven hundred and fifty stades. Here there are a beach and shallow channels. Thence they sailed eight hundred stades, anchoring at Troea; there were small and poverty-stricken villages on the coast. The inhabitants deserted their huts and the Greeks found there a small quantity of corn, and dates from the palms. They slaughtered seven camels which had been left there, and ate the flesh of them. About daybreak they weighed anchor and sailed three hundred stades, and anchored at Dagaseira; there some wandering tribe dwelt. Sailing thence they sailed without stop all night and day, and after a voyage of eleven hundred stades they got past the country of the Fish-eaters, where they had been much distressed by want of food. They did not moor near shore, for there was a long line of surf, but at anchor, in the open. The length of the voyage along the coast of the Fish-eaters is a little above ten thousand stades. These Fish-eaters live on fish; and hence their name; only a few of them fish, for only a few have proper boats and have any skill in the art of catching fish; but for the most part it is the receding tide which provides their catch. Some have made nets also for this kind of fishing; most of them about two stades in length. They make the nets from the bark of the date-palm, twisting the bark like twine. And when the sea recedes and the earth is left, where the earth remains dry it has no fish, as a rule; but where there are hollows, some of the water remains, and in this a large number of fish, mostly small, but some large ones too. They throw their nets over these and so catch them. They eat them raw, just as they take them from the water, that is, the more tender kinds; the larger ones, which are tougher, they dry in the sun till they are quite sere and then pound them and make a flour and bread of them; others even make cakes of this flour. Even their flocks are fed on the fish, dried; for the country has no meadows and produces no grass. They collect also in many places crabs and oysters and shell-fish. There are natural salts in the country; from these (Some name of a fish, perhaps tunny, is omitted.) they make oil. Those of them who inhabit the desert parts of their country, treeless as it is and with no cultivated parts, find all their sustenance in the fish; but a few of them sow part of their district, using the corn as a relish to the fish, for the fish form their bread. The richest among them have built huts; they collect the bones of any large fish which the sea casts up, and use them in place of beams. Doors they make from any flat bones which they can pick up. But the greater part of them, and the poorer sort, have huts made from the fishes' backbones.

XXX. (The story in this chapter appears also in Strabo (p. 725). The Greek style is unlike Arrian's ordinary style.) Large whales live in the outer ocean,

and fishes much larger than those in our inland sea. Nearchus states that when they left Cyiza, about daybreak they saw water being blown upwards from the sea as it might be shot upwards by the force of a waterspout. They were astonished, and asked the pilots of the convoy what it might be and how it was caused; they replied that these whales as they rove about the ocean spout up the water to a great height; the sailors, however, were so startled that the oars fell from their hands. Nearchus went and encouraged and cheered them, and whenever he sailed past any vessel, he signalled them to turn the ship's bow on towards the whales as if to give them battle; and raising their battle cry with the sound of the surge to row with rapid strokes and with a great deal of noise. So they all took heart of grace and sailed together according to signal. But when they actually were nearing the monsters, then they shouted with all the power of their throats, and the bugles blared, and the rowers made the utmost splashings with their oars. So the whales, now visible at the bows of the ships, were scared, and dived into the depths; then not long afterwards they came up astern and spouted the sea-water on high. Thereupon joyful applause welcomed this unexpected salvation, and much praise was showered on Nearchus for his courage and prudence. Some of these whales go ashore at different parts of the coast; and when the ebb comes, they are caught in the shallows; and some even were cast ashore high and dry; thus they would perish and decay, and their flesh rotting off them would leave the bones convenient to be used by the natives for their huts. Moreover, the bones in their ribs served for the larger beams for their dwellings; and the smaller for rafters; the jawbones were the doorposts, since many of these whales reached a length of five-and-twenty fathoms.

XXXI. While they were coasting along the territory of the Fish-eaters, they heard a rumour about an island, (This island we have had already in Ch. XXVI. Arrian is clearly using different authorities, and has not always harmonized them.) which lies some little distance from the mainland in this direction, about a hundred stades, but is uninhabited. The natives said that it was sacred to the Sun and was called Nosala, and that no human being ever of his own will put in there; but that anyone who ignorantly touched there at once disappeared. Nearchus, however, says that one of his galleys with an Egyptian crew was lost with all hands not far from this island, and that the pilots stoutly averred about it that they had touched ignorantly on the island and so had disappeared. But Nearchus sent a thirty-oar to sail round the island, with orders not to put in, but that the crew should shout loudly, while coasting round as near as they dared; and should call on the lost helmsman by name, or any of the crew whose name they knew. As no one answered, he tells us that he himself sailed up to the island, and compelled his unwilling crew to put in; then he went ashore and exploded this island fairy-tale. They heard also another current story about this island, that one of the Nereids dwelt there; but the name of this Nereid was not told. She showed much friendliness to any sailor who approached the island; but then turned him into a fish and

threw him into the sea. The Sun then became irritated with the Nereid, and bade her leave the island; and she agreed to remove thence, but begged that the spell on her be removed; the Sun consented; and such human beings as she had turned into fishes he pitied, and turned them again from fishes into human beings, and hence arose the people called Fish-eaters, and so they descended to Alexander's day. Nearchus shows that all this is mere legend; but I have no commendation for his pains and his scholarship; the stories are easy enough to demolish; and I regard it as tedious to relate these old tales and then prove them all false.

XXXII. Beyond these Fish-eaters the Gadrosians inhabit the interior, a poor and sandy territory; this was where Alexander's army and Alexander himself suffered so seriously, as I have already related in my other book. But when the fleet, leaving the Fish-eaters, put in at Carmania, they anchored in the open, at the point where they first touched Carmania; since there was a long and rough line of surf parallel with the coast. From there they sailed no further due west, but took a new course and steered with their bows pointing between north and west. Carmania is better wooded than the country of the Fish-eaters, and bears more fruits; it has more grass, and is well watered. They moored at an inhabited place called Badis, in Carmania; with many cultivated trees growing, except the olive tree, and good vines; it also produced corn. Thence they set out and voyaged eight hundred stades, and moored off a desert shore; and they sighted a long cape jutting out far into the ocean; it seemed as if the headland itself was a day's sail away. Those who had knowledge of the district said that this promontory belonged to Arabia, and was called Maceta; and that thence the Assyrians imported cinnamon and other spices. From this beach off which the fleet anchored in the open roadstead, and the promontory, which they sighted opposite them, running out into the sea, the bay (this is my opinion, and Nearchus held the same) runs back into the interior, and would seem to be the Red Sea. When they sighted this cape, Onesicritus bade them take their course from it and sail direct to it, in order not to have the trouble of coasting round the bay. Nearchus, however, replied that Onesicritus was a fool, if he was ignorant of Alexander's purpose in despatching the expedition. It was not because he was unequal to the bringing all his force safely through on foot that he had despatched the fleet; but he desired to reconnoitre the coasts that lay on the line of the voyage, the roadsteads, the islets; to explore thoroughly any bay which appeared, and to learn of any cities which lay on the sea-coast; and to find out what land was fruitful, and what was desert. They must therefore not spoil Alexander's undertaking, especially when they were almost at the close of their toils, and were, moreover, no longer in any difficulty about provisions on their coasting cruise. His own fear was, since the cape ran a long way southward, that they would find the land there waterless and sun-scorched. This view prevailed; and I think that Nearchus evidently saved the expeditionary force by this decision; for it is generally held that this cape and the country about it are entirely desert and quite

denuded of water.

XXXIII. They sailed then, leaving this part of the shore, hugging the land; and after voyaging some seven hundred stades they anchored off another beach, called Neoptana. Then at dawn they moved off seaward, and after traversing a hundred stades they moored by the river Anamis; the district was called Harmozeia. All here was friendly, and produced fruit of all sorts, except that olives did not grow there. There they disembarked, and had a welcome rest from their long toils, remembering the miseries they had endured by sea and on the coast of the Fish-eaters; recounting one to another the desolate character of the country, the almost bestial nature of the inhabitants, and their own distresses. Some of them advanced some distance inland, breaking away from the main force, some in pursuit of this, and some of that. There a man appeared to them, wearing a Greek cloak, and dressed otherwise in the Greek fashion, and speaking Greek also. Those who first sighted him said that they burst into tears, so strange did it seem after all these miseries to see a Greek, and to hear Greek spoken. They asked whence he came, who he was; and he said that he had become separated from Alexander's camp, and that the camp, and Alexander himself, were not very far distant. Shouting aloud and clapping their hands they brought this man to Nearchus; and he told Nearchus everything, and that the camp and the King himself were distant five days' journey from the coast. He also promised to show Nearchus the governor of this district and did so; and Nearchus took counsel with him how to march inland to meet the King. For the moment indeed he returned to the ship; but at dawn he had the ships drawn up on shore, to repair any which had been damaged on the voyage; and also because he had determined to leave the greater part of his force behind here. So he had a double stockade built round the ships' station, and a mud wall with a deep trench, beginning from the bank of the river and going on to the beach, where his ships had been dragged ashore.

XXXIII. While Nearchus was busied with these arrangements, the governor of the country, who had been told that Alexander felt the deepest concern about this expedition, took for granted that he would receive some great reward from Alexander if he should be the first to tell him of the safety of the expeditionary force, and that Nearchus would presently appear before the King. So then he hastened by the shortest route and told Alexander: "See, here is Nearchus coming from the ships." On this Alexander, though not believing what was told him, yet, as he naturally would be, was pleased by the news itself. But when day succeeded day, and Alexander, reckoning the time when he received the good news, could not any longer believe it, when, moreover, relay sent after relay, to escort Nearchus, either went a part of the route, and meeting no one, came back unsuccessful, or went on further, and missing Nearchus' party, did not themselves return at all, then Alexander bade the man be arrested for spreading a false tale and making things all the worse by this false happiness; and Alexander showed both by his looks and his mind that he

was wounded with a very poignant grief. Meanwhile, however, some of those sent to search for Nearchus, who had horses to convey him, and chariots, did meet on the way Nearchus and Archias, and five or six others; that was the number of the party which came inland with him. On this meeting they recognized neither Nearchus nor Archias — so altered did they appear; with their hair long, unwashed, covered with brine, wizened, pale from sleeplessness and all their other distresses; when, however, they asked where Alexander might be, the search party gave reply as to the locality and passed on. Archias, however, had a happy thought, and said to Nearchus: "I suspect, Nearchus, that these persons who are traversing the same road as ours through this desert country have been sent for the express purpose of finding us; as for their failure to recognize us, I do not wonder at that; we are in such a sorry plight as to be unrecognizable. Let us tell them who we are, and ask them why they come hither." Nearchus approved; they did ask whither the party was going; and they replied: "To look for Nearchus and his naval force." Whereupon, "Here am I, Nearchus," said he, "and here is Archias. Do you lead on; we will make a full report to Alexander about the expeditionary force."

XXXIV. The soldiers took them up in their cars and drove back again. Some of them, anxious to be beforehand with the good news, ran forward and told Alexander: "Here is Nearchus; and with him Archias and five besides, coming to your presence." They could not, however, answer any questions about the fleet. Alexander thereupon became possessed of the idea that these few had been miraculously saved, but that his whole army had perished; and did not so much rejoice at the safe arrival of Nearchus and Archias, as he was bitterly pained by the loss of all his force. Hardly had the soldiers told this much, when Nearchus and Archias approached; Alexander could only with great difficulty recognize them; and seeing them as he did long-haired and ill-clad, his grief for the whole fleet and its personnel received even greater surety. Giving his right hand to Nearchus and leading him aside from the Companions and the bodyguard, for a long time he wept; but at length recovering himself he said: "That you come back safe to us, and Archias here, the entire disaster is tempered to me; but how perished the fleet and the force?"

"Sir," he replied, "your ships and men are safe; we are come to tell with our own lips of their safety." On this Alexander wept the more, since the safety of the force had seemed too good to be true; and then he enquired where the ships were anchored. Nearchus replied: "They are all drawn up at the mouth of the river Anamis, and are undergoing a refit." Alexander then called to witness Zeus of the Greeks and the Libyan Ammon that in good truth he rejoiced more at this news than because he had conquered all Asia; since the grief he had felt at the supposed loss of the fleet cancelled all his other good fortune.

XXXV. The governor of the province, however, whom Alexander had

arrested for his false tidings, seeing Nearchus there on the spot, fell at his feet: "Here," he said, "am I, who reported your safe arrival to Alexander; you see in what plight I now am." So Nearchus begged Alexander to let him go, and he was let off. Alexander then sacrificed thank-offerings for the safety of his host, to Zeus the Saviour, Heracles, Apollo the Averter of Evil, Poseidon and all the gods of the sea; and he held a contest of art and of athletics, and also a procession; Nearchus was in the front row in the procession, and the troops showered on him ribbons and flowers. At the end of the procession Alexander said to Nearchus: "I will not let you, Nearchus, run risks or suffer distresses again like those of the past; some other admiral shall henceforth command the navy till he brings it into Susa." Nearchus, however, broke in and said: "King, I will obey you in all things, as is my bounden duty; but should you desire to do me a gracious favour, do not this thing, but let me be the admiral of your fleet right up to the end, till I bring your ships safe to Susa. Let it not be said that you entrusted me with the difficult and desperate work, but the easy task which leads to ready fame was taken away and put into another's hands." Alexander checked his speaking further and thanked him warmly to boot; and so he sent him back again, giving him a force as escort, but a small one, as he was going through friendly territory. Yet his journey to the sea was not untroubled; the natives of the country round about were in possession of the strong places of Carmania, since their satrap had been put to death by Alexander's orders, and his successor recently appointed, Tlepolemus, had not established his authority. Twice then or even thrice on the one day the party came into conflict with different bodies of natives who kept coming up, and thus without losing any time they only just managed to get safe to the sea-coast. Then Nearchus sacrificed to Zeus the Saviour and held an athletic meeting.

XXXVI. (From here onwards the *Indica* becomes mere guide-book, and the syntax is looser, while the style seems hurried.) When therefore Nearchus had thus duly performed all his religious duties, they weighed anchor. Coasting along a rough and desert island, they anchored off another island, a large one, and inhabited; this was after a voyage of three hundred stades from their point of departure. The desert island was called Organa, and that off which they moored Oaracta. Vines grew on it and date-palms; and it produced corn; the length of the island was eight hundred stades. The governor of the island, Mazenes, sailed with them as far as Susa as a volunteer pilot. They said that in this island the tomb of the first chief of this territory was shown; his name was Erythres, and hence came the name of the sea. Thence they weighed anchor and sailed onward, and when they had coasted about two hundred stades along this same island they anchored off it once more and sighted another island, about forty stades from this large one. It was said to be sacred to Poseidon, and not to be trod by foot of man. About dawn they put out to sea, and were met by so violent an ebb that three of the ships ran ashore and were held hard and fast on dry land, and the rest only just sailed through the surf

and got safe into deep water. The ships, however, which ran aground were floated off when next flood came, and arrived next day where the main fleet was. They moored at another island, about three hundred stades from the mainland, after a voyage of four hundred stades. Thence they sailed about dawn, and passed on their port side a desert island; its name was Pylora. Then they anchored at Sisidona, a desolate little township, with nothing but water and fish; for the natives here were fish-eaters whether they would or not, because they dwelt in so desolate a territory. Thence they got water, and reached Cape Tarsias, which runs right out into the sea, after a voyage of three hundred stades. Thence they made for Cataea, a desert island, and low-lying; this was said to be sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite; the voyage was of three hundred stades. Every year the natives round about send sheep and goats as sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite, and one could see them, now quite wild from lapse of time and want of handling.

XXXVII. So far extends Carmania; beyond this is Persia. The length of the voyage along the Carmanian coast is three thousand seven hundred stades. The natives' way of life is like that of the Persians, to whom they are also neighbours; and they wear the same military equipment. The Greeks moved on thence, from the sacred island, and were already coasting along Persian territory; they put in at a place called Ilas, where a harbour is formed by a small desert island, which is called Cecandrus; the voyage thither is four hundred stades. At daybreak they sailed to another island, an inhabited one, and anchored there; here, according to Nearchus, there is pearl fishing, as in the Indian Ocean. They sailed along the point of this island, a distance of forty stades, and there moored. Next they anchored off a tall hill, called Ochus, in a safe harbour; fishermen dwelt on its banks. Thence they sailed four hundred and fifty stades, and anchored off Apostana; many boats were anchored there, and there was a village near, about sixty stades from the sea. They weighed anchor at night and sailed thence to a gulf, with a good many villages settled round about. This was a voyage of four hundred stades; and they anchored below a mountain, on which grew many date-palms and other fruit trees such as flourish in Greece. Thence they unmoored and sailed along to Gogana, about six hundred stades, to an inhabited district; and they anchored off the torrent, called Areon, just at its outlet. The anchorage there was uncomfortable; the entrance was narrow, just at the mouth, since the ebb tide caused shallows in all the neighbourhood of the outlet. After this they anchored again at another river-mouth, after a voyage of about eight hundred stades. This river was called Sitacus. Even here, however, they did not find a pleasant anchorage; in fact this whole voyage along Persia was shallows, surf, and lagoons. There they found a great supply of corn brought together there by the King's orders, for their provisioning; there they abode twenty-one days in all; they drew up the ships, and repaired those that had suffered, and the others too they put in order.

XXXVIII. Thence they started and reached the city of Hieratis, a populous

place. The voyage was of seven hundred and fifty stades; and they anchored in a channel running from the river to the sea and called Heratemis. At sunrise they sailed along the coast to a torrent called Padagrus; the entire district forms a peninsula. There were many gardens, and all sorts of fruit trees were growing there; the name of the place was Mesambria. From Mesambria they sailed and after a voyage of about two hundred stades anchored at Taoce on the river Granis. Inland from here was a Persian royal residence, about two hundred stades from the mouth of the river. On this voyage, Nearchus says, a great whale was seen, stranded on the shore, and some of the sailors sailed past it and measured it, and said it was of ninety cubits' length. Its hide was scaly, and so thick that it was a cubit in depth; and it had many oysters, limpets, and seaweeds growing on it. Nearchus also says that they could see many dolphins round the whale, and these larger than the Mediterranean dolphins. Going on hence, they put in at the torrent Rogonis, in a good harbour; the length of this voyage was two hundred stades. Thence again they sailed four hundred stades and bivouacked on the side of a torrent; its name was Brizana. Then they found difficult anchorage; there were surf, and shallows, and reefs showing above the sea. But when the flood tide came in, they were able to anchor; when, however, the tide retired again, the ships were left high and dry. Then when the flood duly returned, they sailed out, and anchored in a river called Oroatis, greatest, according to Nearchus, of all the rivers which on this coast run into the Ocean.

XL. The Persians dwell up to this point and the Susians next to them. Above the Susians lives another independent tribe; these are called Uxians, and in my earlier history I have described them as brigands. The length of the voyage along the Persian coast was four thousand four hundred stades. The Persian land is divided, they say, into three climatic zones. The part which lies by the Red Sea is sandy and sterile, owing to the heat. Then the next zone, northward, has a temperate climate; the country is grassy and has lush meadows and many vines and all other fruits except the olive; it is rich with all sorts of gardens, has pure rivers running through, and also lakes, and is good both for all sorts of birds which frequent rivers and lakes, and for horses, and also pastures the other domestic animals, and is well wooded, and has plenty of game. The next zone, still going northward, is wintry and snowy. Nearchus tells us of some envoys from the Black Sea who after quite a short journey met Alexander traversing Persia and caused him no small astonishment; and they explained to Alexander how short the journey was. I have explained that the Uxians are neighbours to the Susians, as the Mardians — they also are brigands — live next the Persians, and the Cossaeans come next to the Medes. All these tribes Alexander reduced, coming upon them in winter-time, when they thought their country unapproachable. He also founded cities so that they should no longer be nomads but cultivators, and tillers of the ground, and so having a stake in the country might be deterred from raiding one another. From here the convoy passed along the Susian

territory. About this part of the voyage Nearchus says he cannot speak with accurate detail, except about the roadsteads and the length of the voyage. This is because the country is for the most part marshy and runs out well into the sea, with breakers, and is very hard to get good anchorage in. So their voyage was mostly in the open sea. They sailed out, therefore, from the mouths of the river, where they had encamped, just on the Persian border, taking on board water for five days; for the pilots said that they would meet no fresh water.

XLI. Then after traversing five hundred stades they anchored in the mouth of a lake, full of fish, called Cataderbis: at the mouth was a small island called Margastana. Thence about daybreak they sailed out and passed the shallows in columns of single ships; the shallows were marked on either side by poles driven down, just as in the strait between the island Leucas and Acarnania signposts have been set up for navigators so that the ships should not ground on the shallows. However, the shallows round Leucas are sandy and render it easy for those aground to get off; but here it is mud on both sides of the channel, both deep and tenacious; once aground there, they could not possibly get off. For the punt-poles sank into the mud and gave them no help, and it proved impossible for the crews to disembark and push the ships off, for they sank up to their breasts in the ooze. Thus then they sailed out with great difficulty and traversed six hundred stades, each crew abiding by its ship; and then they took thought for supper. During the night, however, they were fortunate in reaching deep sailing water and next day also, up to the evening; they sailed nine hundred stades, and anchored in the mouth of the Euphrates near a village of Babylonia, called Diridotis; here the merchants gather together frankincense from the neighbouring country and all other sweet-smelling spices which Arabia produces.

From the mouth of the Euphrates to Babylon Nearchus says it is a voyage of three thousand three hundred stades.

XLII. There they heard that Alexander was departing towards Susa. They therefore sailed back, in order to sail up the Pasitigris and meet Alexander. So they sailed back, with the land of Susia on their left, and they went along the lake into which the Tigris runs. It flows from Armenia past the city of Ninus, which once was a great and rich city, and so makes the region between itself and the Euphrates; that is why it is called "Between the Rivers." The voyage from the lake up to the river itself is six hundred stades, and there is a village of Susia called Aginis; this village is five hundred stades from Susa. The length of the voyage along Susian territory to the mouth of the Pasitigris is two thousand stades. From there they sailed up the Pasitigris through inhabited and prosperous country. When they had sailed up about a hundred and fifty stades they moored there, waiting for the scouts whom Nearchus had sent to see where the King was. He himself sacrificed to the Saviour gods, and held an athletic meeting, and the whole naval force made merry. And when news was brought that Alexander was now approaching they sailed again up the river; and they moored near the pontoon bridge on which Alexander

intended to take his army over to Susa. There the two forces met; Alexander offered sacrifices for his ships and men, come safe back again, and games were held; and wherever Nearchus appeared in the camp, the troops pelted him with ribbons and flowers. There also Nearchus and Leonnatus were crowned by Alexander with a golden crown; Nearchus for the safe conveying of the ships, Leonnatus for the victory he had achieved among the Oreitans and the natives who dwelt next to them. Thus then Alexander received safe back his navy, which had started from the mouths of the Indus.

XLIII. On the right side of the Red Sea beyond Babylonia is the chief part of Arabia, and of this a part comes down to the sea of Phoenicia and Palestinian Syria, but on the west, up to the Mediterranean, the Egyptians are upon the Arabian borders. Along Egypt a gulf (The Red Sea. But Arrian is quite confused in this passage, and the text may also have suffered.) running in from the Great Sea makes it clear that by reason of the gulf's joining with the High Seas one might sail round from Babylon into this gulf which runs into Egypt. Yet, in point of fact, no one has yet sailed round this way by reason of the heat and the desert nature of the coasts, only a few people who sailed over the open sea. But those of the army of Cambyses who came safe from Egypt to Susa and those troops who were sent from Ptolemy Lagus to Seleucus Nicator at Babylon through Arabia crossed an isthmus in a period of eight days and passed through a waterless and desert country, riding fast upon camels, carrying water for themselves on their camels, and travelling by night; for during the day they could not come out of shelter by reason of the heat. So far is the region on the other side of this stretch of land, which we have demonstrated to be an isthmus from the Arabian gulf running into the Red Sea, from being inhabited, that its northern parts are quite desert and sandy. Yet from the Arabian gulf which runs along Egypt people have started, and have circumnavigated the greater part of Arabia hoping to reach the sea nearest to Susa and Persia, and thus have sailed so far round the Arabian coast as the amount of fresh water taken aboard their vessels have permitted, and then have returned home again. And those whom Alexander sent from Babylon, in order that, sailing as far as they could on the right of the Red Sea, they might reconnoitre the country on this side — these explorers sighted certain islands lying on their course, and very possibly put in at the mainland of Arabia. But the cape which Nearchus says his party sighted running out into the sea opposite Carmania no one has ever been able to round, and thus turn inwards towards the far side. I am inclined to think that had this been navigable, and had there been any passage, it would have been proved navigable, and a passage found, by the indefatigable energy of Alexander. Moreover, Hanno the Libyan started out from Carthage and passed the pillars of Heracles and sailed into the outer Ocean, with Libya on his port side, and he sailed on towards the east, five-and-thirty days all told. But when at last he turned southward, he fell in with every sort of difficulty, want of water, blazing heat, and fiery streams running into the sea. But Cyrene, lying in the

more desert parts of Africa, is grassy and fertile and well-watered; it bears all sorts of fruits and animals, right up to the region where the silphium grows; beyond this silphium belt its upper parts are bare and sandy.

Here this my history shall cease, which, as well as my other, deals with Alexander of Macedon son of Philip.

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DIATRIBES



Translated by George Long

The *Ἐπικτήτου διατριβαί* are a series of extracts of the teachings of the Stoic philosopher Epictetus, recorded by one of his students, Arrian, circa 108 AD. They were originally composed of eight books, but only four now remain in their entirety, along with a few fragments of the lost books. In a preface attached to the *Diatribes*, Arrian narrates how he wrote the texts, explaining, “I neither wrote these in the way in which a man might write such things; nor did I make them public myself, inasmuch as I declare that I did not even write them. But whatever I heard him say, the same I attempted to write down in his own words as nearly as possible, for the purpose of preserving them as memorials to myself afterwards of the thoughts and the freedom of speech of Epictetus.”

The *Diatribes* are unlikely to be exact transcriptions of Epictetus’ words, but are instead taken down in the form of lecture notes. Epictetus (c. 55 AD – 135) was a crippled Greek slave of Phrygia during Nero’s reign, who heard lectures by the Stoic Musonius before being set free. After being expelled with several other philosophers by the emperor Domitian in 89 AD, Epictetus settled permanently in Nicopolis in Epirus. The school he established there he called a “healing place for sick souls”, where he taught practical philosophy, which has been preserved by Arrian.

The *Diatribes* present Epictetus’ Stoic ethics as broad and firm in method, and occasionally humorous and gloomy in spirit. The work propounds challenging questions, such as “How should one live righteously?” The philosopher also presents a compelling demonstration of the ideal Stoic man.

The earliest manuscript is a twelfth-century copy kept at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which contains a blot on one of the pages, rendering a series of words illegible. As in all the other known manuscripts these words are omitted, we know that they must have been derived from the Bodleian copy.



The Codex Bodleianus of the Diatribes of Epictetus

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A sixteenth century artist's impression of Epictetus

ARRIAN TO LUCIUS GELLIUS, WITH WISHES FOR HIS HAPPINESS.

I NEITHER wrote these Discourses of Epictetus in the way in which a man might write such things; nor did I make them public myself, inasmuch as I declare that I did not even write them. But whatever I heard him say, the same I attempted to write down in his own words as nearly as possible, for the purpose of preserving them as memorials to myself afterwards of the thoughts and the freedom of speech of Epictetus. Accordingly, the Discourses are naturally such as a man would address without preparation to another, not such as a man would write with the view of others reading them. Now, being such, I do not know how they fell into the hands of the public, without either my consent or my knowledge. But it concerns me little if I shall be considered incompetent to write; and it concerns Epictetus not at all if any man shall despise his words; for at the time when he uttered them, it was plain that he had no other purpose than to move the minds of his hearers to the best things. If, indeed, these Discourses should produce this effect, they will have, I think, the result which the words of philosophers ought to have. But if they shall not, let those who read them know that, when Epictetus delivered them, the hearer could not avoid being affected in the way that Epictetus wished him to be. But if the Discourses themselves, as they are written, do not effect this result, it may be that the fault is mine, or, it may be, that the thing is unavoidable.

Farewell!

BOOK I.

OF THE THINGS WHICH ARE IN OUR POWER, AND NOT IN OUR POWER.

OF all the faculties (except that which I shall soon mention), you will find not one which is capable of contemplating itself, and, consequently, not capable either of approving or disapproving. How far does the grammatic art possess the contemplating power? As far as forming a judgment about what is written and spoken. And how far music? As far as judging about melody. Does either of them then contemplate itself? By no means. But when you must write something to your friend, grammar will tell you what words you should write; but whether you should write or not, grammar will not tell you. And so it is with music as to musical sounds; but whether you should sing at the present time and play on the lute, or do neither, music will not tell you. What faculty then will tell you? That which contemplates both itself and all other things. And what is this faculty? The rational faculty; for this is the only faculty that we have received which examines itself, what it is, and what power it has, and what is the value of this gift, and examines all other faculties: for what else is there which tells us that golden things are beautiful, for they do not say so themselves? Evidently it is the faculty which is capable of judging of appearances. What else judges of music, grammar, and the other faculties, proves their uses, and points out the occasions for using them? Nothing else.

As then it was fit to be so, that which is best of all and supreme over all is the only thing which the gods have placed in our power, the right use of appearances; but all other things they have not placed in our power. Was it because they did not choose? I indeed think that, if they had been able, they would have put these other things also in our power, but they certainly could not. For as we exist on the earth, and are bound to such a body and to such companions, how was it possible for us not to be hindered as to these things by externals?

But what says Zeus? Epictetus, if it were possible, I would have made both your little body and your little property free and not exposed to hindrance. But now be not ignorant of this: this body is not yours, but it is clay finely tempered. And since I was not able to do for you what I have mentioned, I have given you a small portion of us, this faculty of pursuing an object and avoiding it, and the faculty of desire and aversion, and, in a word, the faculty of using the appearances of things; and if you will take care of this faculty and consider it your only possession, you will never be hindered, never meet with impediments; you will not lament, you will not blame, you will not flatter any person.

Well, do these seem to you small matters? I hope not. Be content with them then and pray to the gods. But now when it is in our power to look after one

thing, and to attach ourselves to it, we prefer to look after many things, and to be bound to many things, to the body and to property, and to brother and to friend, and to child and to slave. Since then we are bound to many things, we are depressed by them and dragged down. For this reason, when the weather is not fit for sailing, we sit down and torment ourselves, and continually look out to see what wind is blowing. It is north. What is that to us? When will the west wind blow? When it shall choose, my good man, or when it shall please Aeolus; for God has not made you the manager of the winds, but Aeolus. What then? We must make the best use that we can of the things which are in our power, and use the rest according to their nature. What is their nature then? As God may please.

Must I then alone have my head cut off? What, would you have all men lose their heads that you may be consoled? Will you not stretch out your neck as Lateranus did at Rome when Nero ordered him to be beheaded? For when he had stretched out his neck, and received a feeble blow, which made him draw it in for a moment, he stretched it out again. And a little before, when he was visited by Epaphroditus, Nero's freedman, who asked him about the cause of offence which he had given, he said, "If I choose to tell anything, I will tell your master."

What then should a man have in readiness in such circumstances? What else than this? What is mine, and what is not mine; and what is permitted to me, and what is not permitted to me. I must die. Must I then die lamenting? I must be put in chains. Must I then also lament? I must go into exile. Does any man then hinder me from going with smiles and cheerfulness and contentment? Tell me the secret which you possess. I will not, for this is in my power. But I will put you in chains. Man, what are you talking about? Me in chains? You may fetter my leg, but my will not even Zeus himself can overpower. I will throw you into prison. My poor body, you mean. I will cut your head off. When then have I told you that my head alone cannot be cut off? These are the things which philosophers should meditate on, which they should write daily, in which they should exercise themselves.

Thræsea used to say, I would rather be killed to-day than banished to-morrow. What then did Rufus say to him? If you choose death as the heavier misfortune, how great is the folly of your choice? But if, as the lighter, who has given you the choice? Will you not study to be content with that which has been given to you?

What then did Agrippinus say? He said, "I am not a hindrance to myself." When it was reported to him that his trial was going on in the Senate, he said, "I hope it may turn out well; but it is the fifth hour of the day" — this was the time when he was used to exercise himself and then take the cold bath—"let us go and take our exercise." After he had taken his exercise, one comes and tells him, You have been condemned. To banishment, he replies, or to death? To banishment. What about my property? It is not taken from you. Let us go to Aricia then, he said, and dine.

This it is to have studied what a man ought to study; to have made desire, aversion, free from hindrance, and free from all that a man would avoid. I must die. If now, I am ready to die. If, after a short time, I now dine because it is the dinner-hour; after this I will then die. How? Like a man who gives up what belongs to another.

HOW A MAN ON EVERY OCCASION CAN MAINTAIN HIS PROPER CHARACTER.

To the rational animal only is the irrational intolerable; but that which is rational is tolerable. Blows are not naturally intolerable. How is that? See how the Lacedaemonians endure whipping when they have learned that whipping is consistent with reason. To hang yourself is not intolerable. When then you have the opinion that it is rational, you go and hang yourself. In short, if we observe, we shall find that the animal man is pained by nothing so much as by that which is irrational; and, on the contrary, attracted to nothing so much as to that which is rational.

But the rational and the irrational appear such in a different way to different persons, just as the good and the bad, the profitable and the unprofitable. For this reason, particularly, we need discipline, in order to learn how to adapt the preconception of the rational and the irrational to the several things conformably to nature. But in order to determine the rational and the irrational, we use not only the estimates of external things, but we consider also what is appropriate to each person. For to one man it is consistent with reason to hold a chamber pot for another, and to look to this only, that if he does not hold it, he will receive stripes, and he will not receive his food: but if he shall hold the pot, he will not suffer anything hard or disagreeable. But to another man not only does the holding of a chamber pot appear intolerable for himself, but intolerable also for him to allow another to do this office for him. If then you ask me whether you should hold the chamber pot or not, I shall say to you that the receiving of food is worth more than the not receiving of it, and the being scourged is a greater indignity than not being scourged; so that if you measure your interests by these things, go and hold the chamber pot. "But this," you say, "would not be worthy of me." Well then, it is you who must introduce this consideration into the inquiry, not I; for it is you who know yourself, how much you are worth to yourself, and at what price you sell yourself; for men sell themselves at various prices.

For this reason, when Florus was deliberating whether he should go down to Nero's spectacles, and also perform in them himself, Agrippinus said to him, Go down: and when Florus asked Agrippinus, Why do not you go down? Agrippinus replied, Because I do not even deliberate about the matter. For he who has once brought himself to deliberate about such matters, and to calculate the value of external things, comes very near to those who have forgotten their own character. For why do you ask me the question, whether

death is preferable or life? I say life. Pain or pleasure? I say pleasure. But if I do not take a part in the tragic acting, I shall have my head struck off. Go then and take a part, but I will not. Why? Because you consider yourself to be only one thread of those which are in the tunic. Well then it was fitting for you to take care how you should be like the rest of men, just as the thread has no design to be anything superior to the other threads. But I wish to be purple, that small part which is bright, and makes all the rest appear graceful and beautiful. Why then do you tell me to make myself like the many? and if I do, how shall I still be purple?

Priscus Helvidius also saw this, and acted conformably. For when Vespasian sent and commanded him not to go into the senate, he replied, "It is in your power not to allow me to be a member of the senate, but so long as I am, I must go in." Well, go in then, says the emperor, but say nothing. Do not ask my opinion, and I will be silent. But I must ask your opinion. And I must say what I think right. But if you do, I shall put you to death. When then did I tell you that I am immortal? You will do your part, and I will do mine: it is your part to kill; it is mine to die, but not in fear: yours to banish me; mine to depart without sorrow.

What good then did Priscus do, who was only a single person? And what good does the purple do for the toga? Why, what else than this, that it is conspicuous in the toga as purple, and is displayed also as a fine example to all other things? But in such circumstances another would have replied to Caesar who forbade him to enter the senate, I thank you for sparing me. But such a man Vespasian would not even have forbidden to enter the senate, for he knew that he would either sit there like an earthen vessel, or, if he spoke, he would say what Caesar wished, and add even more.

In this way an athlete also acted who was in danger of dying unless his private parts were amputated. His brother came to the athlete, who was a philosopher, and said, Come, brother, what are you going to do? Shall we amputate this member and return to the gymnasium? But the athlete persisted in his resolution and died. When some one asked Epictetus, How he did this, as an athlete or a philosopher? As a man, Epictetus replied, and a man who had been proclaimed among the athletes at the Olympic games and had contended in them, a man who had been familiar with such a place, and not merely anointed in Baton's school. Another would have allowed even his head to be cut off, if he could have lived without it. Such is that regard to character which is so strong in those who have been accustomed to introduce it of themselves and conjoined with other things into their deliberations.

Come then, Epictetus, shave yourself. If I am a philosopher, I answer, I will not shave myself. But I will take off your head? If that will do you any good, take it off.

Some person asked, how then shall every man among us perceive what is suitable to his character? How, he replied, does the bull alone, when the lion has attacked, discover his own powers and put himself forward in defence of

the whole herd? It is plain that with the powers the perception of having them is immediately conjoined: and, therefore, whoever of us has such powers will not be ignorant of them. Now a bull is not made suddenly, nor a brave man; but we must discipline ourselves in the winter for the summer campaign, and not rashly run upon that which does not concern us.

Only consider at what price you sell your own will: if for no other reason, at least for this, that you sell it not for a small sum. But that which is great and superior perhaps belongs to Socrates and such as are like him. Why then, if we are naturally such, are not a very great number of us like him? Is it true then that all horses become swift, that all dogs are skilled in tracking footprints? What then, since I am naturally dull, shall I, for this reason, take no pains? I hope not. Epictetus is not superior to Socrates; but if he is not inferior, this is enough for me; for I shall never be a Milo, and yet I do not neglect my body; nor shall I be a Croesus, and yet I do not neglect my property; nor, in a word, do we neglect looking after anything because we despair of reaching the highest degree.

HOW A MAN SHOULD PROCEED FROM THE PRINCIPLE OF GOD BEING THE FATHER OF ALL MEN TO THE REST.

IF a man should be able to assent to this doctrine as he ought, that we are all sprung from God in an especial manner, and that God is the father both of men and of gods, I suppose that he would never have any ignoble or mean thoughts about himself. But if Caesar (the emperor) should adopt you, no one could endure your arrogance; and if you know that you are the son of Zeus, will you not be elated? Yet we do not so; but since these two things are mingled in the generation of man, body in common with the animals, and reason and intelligence in common with the gods, many incline to this kinship, which is miserable and mortal; and some few to that which is divine and happy. Since then it is of necessity that every man uses everything according to the opinion which he has about it, those, the few, who think that they are formed for fidelity and modesty and a sure use of appearances have no mean or ignoble thoughts about themselves; but with the many it is quite the contrary. For they say, What am I? A poor, miserable man, with my wretched bit of flesh. Wretched, indeed; but you possess something better than your bit of flesh. Why then do you neglect that which is better, and why do you attach yourself to this?

Through this kinship with the flesh, some of us inclining to it become like wolves, faithless and treacherous and mischievous: some become like lions, savage and bestial and untamed; but the greater part of us become foxes, and other worse animals. For what else is a slanderer and a malignant man than a fox, or some other more wretched and meaner animal? See then and take care

that you do not become some one of these miserable things.

OF PROGRESS OR IMPROVEMENT.

HE who is making progress, having learned from philosophers that desire means the desire of good things, and aversion means aversion from bad things; having learned too that happiness and tranquillity are not attainable by man otherwise than by not failing to obtain what he desires, and not falling into that which he would avoid; such a man takes from himself desire altogether and defers it, but he employs his aversion only on things which are dependent on his will. For if he attempts to avoid anything independent of his will, he knows that sometimes he will fall in with something which he wishes to avoid, and he will be unhappy. Now if virtue promises good fortune and tranquillity and happiness, certainly also the progress towards virtue is progress towards each of these things. For it is always true that to whatever point the perfecting of anything leads us, progress is an approach towards this point.

How then do we admit that virtue is such as I have said, and yet seek progress in other things and make a display of it? What is the product of virtue? Tranquillity. Who then makes improvement? Is it he who has read many books of Chrysippus? But does virtue consist in having understood Chrysippus? If this is so, progress is clearly nothing else than knowing a great deal of Chrysippus. But now we admit that virtue produces one thing, and we declare that approaching near to it is another thing, namely, progress or improvement. Such a person, says one, is already able to read Chrysippus by himself. Indeed, sir, you are making great progress. What kind of progress? But why do you mock the man? Why do you draw him away from the perception of his own misfortunes? Will you not show him the effect of virtue that he may learn where to look for improvement? Seek it there, wretch, where your work lies. And where is your work? In desire and in aversion, that you may not be disappointed in your desire, and that you may not fall into that which you would avoid; in your pursuit and avoiding, that you commit no error; in assent and suspension of assent, that you be not deceived. The first things, and the most necessary, are those which I have named. But if with trembling and lamentation you seek not to fall into that which you avoid, tell me how you are improving.

Do you then show me your improvement in these things? If I were talking to an athlete, I should say, Show me your shoulders; and then he might say, Here are my Halteres. You and your Halteres look to that. I should reply, I wish to see the effect of the Halteres. So, when you say: Take the treatise on the active powers (ὁρμή), and see how I have studied it. I reply, Slave, I am not inquiring about this, but how you exercise pursuit and avoidance, desire and aversion, how you design and purpose and prepare yourself, whether conformably to nature or not. If conformably, give me evidence of it, and I

will say that you are making progress: but if not conformably, be gone, and not only expound your books, but write such books yourself; and what will you gain by it? Do you not know that the whole book costs only five denarii? Does then the expounder seem to be worth more than five denarii? Never then look for the matter itself in one place, and progress towards it in another.

Where then is progress? If any of you, withdrawing himself from externals, turns to his own will (προαίρεσις) to exercise it and to improve it by labour, so as to make it conformable to nature, elevated, free, unrestrained, unimpeded, faithful, modest; and if he has learned that he who desires or avoids the things which are not in his power can neither be faithful nor free, but of necessity he must change with them and be tossed about with them as in a tempest, and of necessity must subject himself to others who have the power to procure or prevent what he desires or would avoid; finally, when he rises in the morning, if he observes and keeps these rules, bathes as a man of fidelity, eats as a modest man; in like manner, if in every matter that occurs he works out his chief principles (τὰ προηγούμενα) as the runner does with reference to running, and the trainer of the voice with reference to the voice — this is the man who truly makes progress, and this is the man who has not travelled in vain. But if he has strained his efforts to the practice of reading books, and labours only at this, and has travelled for this, I tell him to return home immediately, and not to neglect his affairs there; for this for which he has travelled is nothing. But the other thing is something, to study how a man can rid his life of lamentation and groaning, and saying, Woe to me, and wretched that I am, and to rid it also of misfortune and disappointment, and to learn what death is, and exile, and prison, and poison, that he may be able to say when he is in fetters, Dear Crito, if it is the will of the gods that it be so, let it be so; and not to say, Wretched am I, an old man; have I kept my grey hairs for this? Who is it that speaks thus? Do you think that I shall name some man of no repute and of low condition? Does not Priam say this? Does not Oedipus say this? Nay, all kings say it! For what else is tragedy than the perturbations (πάθη) of men who value externals exhibited in this kind of poetry? But if a man must learn by fiction that no external things which are independent of the will concern us, for my part I should like this fiction, by the aid of which I should live happily and undisturbed. But you must consider for yourselves what you wish.

What then does Chrysippus teach us? The reply is, to know that these things are not false, from which happiness comes and tranquillity arises. Take my books, and you will learn how true and conformable to nature are the things which make me free from perturbations. O great good fortune! O the great benefactor who points out the way! To Triptolemus all men have erected temples and altars, because he gave us food by cultivation; but to him who discovered truth and brought it to light and communicated it to all, not the truth which shows us how to live, but how to live well, who of you for this reason has built an altar, or a temple, or has dedicated a statue, or who

worships God for this? Because the gods have given the vine, or wheat, we sacrifice to them: but because they have produced in the human mind that fruit by which they designed to show us the truth which relates to happiness, shall we not thank God for this?

AGAINST THE ACADEMICS.

IF a man, said Epictetus, opposes evident truths, it is not easy to find arguments by which we shall make him change his opinion. But this does not arise either from the man's strength or the teacher's weakness; for when the man, though he has been confuted, is hardened like a stone, how shall we then be able to deal with him by argument?

Now there are two kinds of hardening, one of the understanding, the other of the sense of shame, when a man is resolved not to assent to what is manifest nor to desist from contradictions. Most of us are afraid of mortification of the body, and would contrive all means to avoid such a thing, but we care not about the soul's mortification. And indeed with regard to the soul, if a man be in such a state as not to apprehend anything, or understand at all, we think that he is in a bad condition: but if the sense of shame and modesty are deadened, this we call even power (or strength).

Do you comprehend that you are awake? I do not, the man replies, for I do not even comprehend when in my sleep I imagine that I am awake. Does this appearance then not differ from the other? Not at all, he replies. Shall I still argue with this man? And what fire or what iron shall I apply to him to make him feel that he is deadened? He does perceive, but he pretends that he does not. He is even worse than a dead man. He does not see the contradiction: he is in a bad condition. Another does see it, but he is not moved, and makes no improvement: he is even in a worse condition. His modesty is extirpated, and his sense of shame; and the rational faculty has not been cut off from him, but it is brutalised. Shall I name this strength of mind? Certainly not, unless we also name it such in catamites, through which they do and say in public whatever comes into their head.

OF PROVIDENCE.

FROM everything which is or happens in the world, it is easy to praise Providence, if a man possesses these two qualities, the faculty of seeing what belongs and happens to all persons and things, and a grateful disposition. If he does not possess these two qualities, one man will not see the use of things which are and which happen; another will not be thankful for them, even if he does know them. If God had made colours, but had not made the faculty of seeing them, what would have been their use? None at all. On the other hand, if He had made the faculty of vision, but had not made objects such as to fall

under the faculty, what in that case also would have been the use of it? None at all. Well, suppose that He had made both, but had not made light? In that case, also, they would have been of no use. Who is it then who has fitted this to that and that to this? And who is it that has fitted the knife to the case and the case to the knife? Is it no one? And, indeed, from the very structure of things which have attained their completion, we are accustomed to show that the work is certainly the act of some artificer, and that it has not been constructed without a purpose. Does then each of these things demonstrate the workman, and do not visible things and the faculty of seeing and light demonstrate Him? And the existence of male and female, and the desire of each for conjunction, and the power of using the parts which are constructed, do not even these declare the workman? If they do not, let us consider the constitution of our understanding according to which, when we meet with sensible objects, we do not simply receive impressions from them, but we also select something from them, and subtract something, and add, and compound by means of them these things or those, and, in fact, pass from some to other things which, in a manner, resemble them: is not even this sufficient to move some men, and to induce them not to forget the workman? If not so, let them explain to us what it is that makes each several thing, or how it is possible that things so wonderful and like the contrivances of art should exist by chance and from their own proper motion?

What, then, are these things done in us only? Many, indeed, in us only, of which the rational animal had peculiarly need; but you will find many common to us with irrational animals. Do they then understand what is done? By no means. For use is one thing, and understanding is another: God had need of irrational animals to make use of appearances, but of us to understand the use of appearances. It is therefore enough for them to eat and to drink, and to sleep and to copulate, and to do all the other things which they severally do. But for us, to whom He has given also the intellectual faculty, these things are not sufficient; for unless we act in a proper and orderly manner, and conformably to the nature and constitution of each thing, we shall never attain our true end. For where the constitutions of living beings are different, there also the acts and the ends are different. In those animals then whose constitution is adapted only to use, use alone is enough: but in an animal (man), which has also the power of understanding the use, unless there be the due exercise of the understanding, he will never attain his proper end. Well then God constitutes every animal, one to be eaten, another to serve for agriculture, another to supply cheese, and another for some like use; for which purposes what need is there to understand appearances and to be able to distinguish them? But God has introduced man to be a spectator of God and of His works; and not only a spectator of them, but an interpreter. For this reason it is shameful for man to begin and to end where irrational animals do; but rather he ought to begin where they begin, and to end where nature ends in us; and nature ends in contemplation and understanding, and in a way of life

conformable to nature. Take care then not to die without having been spectators of these things.

But you take a journey to Olympia to see the work of Phidias, and all of you think it a misfortune to die without having seen such things. But when there is no need to take a journey, and where a man is, there he has the works (of God) before him, will you not desire to see and understand them? Will you not perceive either what you are, or what you were born for, or what this is for which you have received the faculty of sight? But you may say, there are some things disagreeable and troublesome in life. And are there none at Olympia? Are you not scorched? Are you not pressed by a crowd? Are you not without comfortable means of bathing? Are you not wet when it rains? Have you not abundance of noise, clamour, and other disagreeable things? But I suppose that setting all these things off against the magnificence of the spectacle, you bear and endure. Well then and have you not received faculties by which you will be able to bear all that happens? Have you not received greatness of soul? Have you not received manliness? Have you not received endurance? And why do I trouble myself about anything that can happen if I possess greatness of soul? What shall distract my mind or disturb me, or appear painful? Shall I not use the power for the purposes for which I received it, and shall I grieve and lament over what happens?

Yes, but my nose runs. For what purpose then, slave, have you hands? Is it not that you may wipe your nose? — Is it then consistent with reason that there should be running of noses in the world? — Nay, how much better it is to wipe your nose than to find fault. What do you think that Hercules would have been if there had not been such a lion, and hydra, and stag, and boar, and certain unjust and bestial men, whom Hercules used to drive away and clear out? And what would he have been doing if there had been nothing of the kind? Is it not plain that he would have wrapped himself up and have slept? In the first place then he would not have been a Hercules, when he was dreaming away all his life in such luxury and ease; and even if he had been one, what would have been the use of him? and what the use of his arms, and of the strength of the other parts of his body, and his endurance and noble spirit, if such circumstances and occasions had not roused and exercised him? Well then must a man provide for himself such means of exercise, and seek to introduce a lion from some place into his country, and a boar, and a hydra? This would be folly and madness: but as they did exist, and were found, they were useful for showing what Hercules was and for exercising him. Come then do you also having observed these things look to the faculties which you have, and when you have looked at them, say: Bring now, O Zeus, any difficulty that thou pleasest, for I have means given to me by thee and powers for honouring myself through the things which happen. You do not so: but you sit still, trembling for fear that some things will happen, and weeping, and lamenting, and groaning for what does happen: and then you blame the gods. For what is the consequence of such meanness of spirit but impiety? And yet

God has not only given us these faculties; by which we shall be able to bear everything thing happens without being depressed or broken by it; but, like a good king and a true father, He has given us these faculties free from hindrance, subject to no compulsion, unimpeded, and has put them entirely in our own power, without even having reserved to Himself any power of hindering or impeding. You, who have received these powers free and as your own, use them not: you do not even see what you have received, and from whom; some of you being blinded to the giver, and not even acknowledging your benefactor, and others, through meanness of spirit, betaking yourselves to fault-finding and making charges against God. Yet I will show to you that you have powers and means for greatness of soul and manliness: but what powers you have for finding fault and making accusations, do you show me.

OF THE USE OF SOPHISTICAL ARGUMENTS AND HYPOTHETICAL AND THE LIKE.

THE handling of sophistical and hypothetical arguments, and of those which derive their conclusions from questioning, and in a word the handling of all such arguments, relates to the duties of life, though the many do not know this truth. For in every matter we inquire how the wise and good man shall discover the proper path and the proper method of dealing with the matter. Let then people either say that the grave man will not descend into the contest of question and answer, or, that if he does descend into the contest, he will take no care about not conducting himself rashly or carelessly in questioning and answering. But if they do not allow either the one or the other of these things, they must admit that some inquiry ought to be made into those topics (τόπων) on which particularly questioning and answering are employed. For what is the end proposed in reasoning? To establish true propositions, to remove the false, to withhold assent from those which are not plain. Is it enough then to have learned only this? It is enough, a man may reply. Is it then also enough for a man, who would not make a mistake in the use of coined money, to have heard this precept, that he should receive the genuine drachmae and reject the spurious? It is not enough. What then ought to be added to this precept? What else than the faculty which proves and distinguishes the genuine and the spurious drachmae? Consequently also in reasoning what has been said is not enough; but it is necessary that a man should acquire the faculty of examining and distinguishing the true and the false, and that which is not plain? It is necessary. Besides this, what is proposed in reasoning? That you should accept what follows from that which you have properly granted. Well, is it then enough in this case also to know this? It is not enough; but a man must learn how one thing is a consequence of other things, and when one thing follows from one thing, and when it follows from several collectively. Consider then if it be not necessary that this power should also be acquired by him, who purposes to conduct himself skilfully in reasoning, the power of

demonstrating himself the several things which he has proposed, and the power of understanding the demonstrations of others, and of not being deceived by sophists, as if they were demonstrating. Therefore there has arisen among us the practice and exercise of conclusive arguments and figures, and it has been shown to be necessary.

But in fact in some cases we have properly granted the premises or assumptions, and there results from them something; and though it is not true, yet none the less it does result. What then ought I to do? Ought I to admit the falsehood? And how is that possible? Well, should I say that I did not properly grant that which we agreed upon? But you are not allowed to do even this. Shall I then say that the consequence does not arise through what has been conceded? But neither is this allowed. What then must be done in this case? Consider if it is not this: as to have borrowed is not enough to make a man still a debtor, but to this must be added the fact that he continues to owe the money and that the debt is not paid, so it is not enough to compel you to admit the inference that you have granted the premises (τὰ λήμματα), but you must abide by what you have granted. Indeed, if the premises continue to the end such as they were when they were granted, it is absolutely necessary for us to abide by what we have granted, and we must accept their consequences: but if the premises do not remain such as they were when they were granted, it is absolutely necessary for us also to withdraw from what we granted, and from accepting what does not follow from the words in which our concessions were made. For the inference is now not our inference, nor does it result with our assent, since we have withdrawn from the premises which we granted. We ought then both to examine such kinds of premises, and such change and variation of them (from one meaning to another), by which in the course of questioning or answering, or in making the syllogistic conclusion, or in any other such way, the premises undergo variations, and give occasion to the foolish to be confounded, if they do not see what conclusions (consequences) are. For what reason ought we to examine? In order that we may not in this matter be employed in an improper manner nor in a confused way.

And the same in hypotheses and hypothetical arguments; for it is necessary sometimes to demand the granting of some hypothesis as a kind of passage to the argument which follows. Must we then allow every hypothesis that is proposed, or not allow every one? And if not every one, which should we allow? And if a man has allowed an hypothesis, must he in every case abide by allowing it? or must he sometimes withdraw from it, but admit the consequences and not admit contradictions? Yes; but suppose that a man says, If you admit the hypothesis of a possibility, I will draw you to an impossibility. With such a person shall a man of sense refuse to enter into a contest, and avoid discussion and conversation with him? But what other man than the man of sense can use argumentation and is skilful in questioning and answering, and incapable of being cheated and deceived by false reasoning? And shall he enter into the contest, and yet not take care whether he shall

engage in argument not rashly and not carelessly? And if he does not take care, how can he be such a man as we conceive him to be? But without some such exercise and preparation, can he maintain a continuous and consistent argument? Let them show this; and all these speculations (θεωρήματα) become superfluous, and are absurd and inconsistent with our notion of a good and serious man.

Why are we still indolent and negligent and sluggish, and why do we seek pretences for not labouring and not being watchful in cultivating our reason? If then I shall make a mistake in these matters may I not have killed my father? Slave, where was there a father in this matter that you could kill him? What then have you done? The only fault that was possible here is the fault which you have committed. This is the very remark which I made to Rufus when he blamed me for not having discovered the one thing omitted in a certain syllogism: I suppose, I said, that I have burnt the Capitol. Slave, he replied, was the thing omitted here the Capitol? Or are these the only crimes, to burn the Capitol and to kill your father? But for a man to use the appearances presented to him rashly and foolishly and carelessly, and not to understand argument, nor demonstration, nor sophism, nor, in a word, to see in questioning and answering what is consistent with that which we have granted or is not consistent; is there no error in this?

THAT THE FACULTIES ARE NOT SAFE TO THE UNINSTRUCTED

IN as many ways as we can change things which are equivalent to one another, in just so many ways we can change the forms of arguments (ἐπιχειρήματα) and enthymemes (ἐνθυμήματα) in argumentation. This is an instance: if you have borrowed and not repaid, you owe me the money: you have not borrowed and you have not repaid; then you do not owe me the money. To do this skilfully is suitable to no man more than to the philosopher; for if the enthymeme is an imperfect syllogism, it is plain that he who has been exercised in the perfect syllogism must be equally expert in the imperfect also.

Why then do we not exercise ourselves and one another in this manner? Because, I reply, at present, though we are not exercised in these things and not distracted from the study of morality, by me at least, still we make no progress in virtue. What then must we expect if we should add this occupation? and particularly as this would not only be an occupation which would withdraw us from more necessary things, but would also be a cause of self-conceit and arrogance, and no small cause. For great is the power of arguing and the faculty of persuasion, and particularly if it should be much exercised, and also receive additional ornament from language: and so universally, every faculty acquired by the uninstructed and weak brings with it the danger of these persons being elated and inflated by it. For by what means could one persuade a young man who excels in these matters, that he ought

not to become an appendage to them, but to make them an appendage to himself? Does he not trample on all such reasons, and strut before us elated and inflated, not enduring that any man should reprove him and remind him of what he has neglected and to what he has turned aside?

What then was not Plato a philosopher? I reply, and was not Hippocrates a physician? but you see how Hippocrates speaks. Does Hippocrates then speak thus in respect of being a physician? Why do you mingle things which have been accidentally united in the same men? And if Plato was handsome and strong, ought I also to set to work and endeavour to become handsome or strong, as if this was necessary for philosophy, because a certain philosopher was at the same time handsome and a philosopher? Will you not choose to see and to distinguish in respect to what men become philosophers, and what things belong to them in other respects? And if I were a philosopher, ought you also to be made lame? What then? Do I take away these faculties which you possess? By no means; for neither do I take away the faculty of seeing. But if you ask me what is the good of man, I cannot mention to you anything else than that it is a certain disposition of the will with respect to appearances.

HOW FROM THE FACT THAT WE ARE AKIN TO GOD A MAN MAY PROCEED TO THE CONSEQUENCES.

IF the things are true which are said by the philosophers about the kinship between God and man, what else remains for men to do than what Socrates did? Never in reply to the question, to what country you belong, say that you are an Athenian or a Corinthian, but that you are a citizen of the world (κόσμιος). For why do you say that you are an Athenian, and why do you not say that you belong to the small nook only into which your poor body was cast at birth? Is it not plain that you call yourself an Athenian or Corinthian from the place which has a greater authority and comprises not only that small nook itself and all your family, but even the whole country from which the stock of your progenitors is derived down to you? He then who has observed with intelligence the administration of the world, and has learned that the greatest and supreme and the most comprehensive community is that which is composed of men and God, and that from God have descended the seeds not only to my father and grandfather, but to all beings which are generated on the earth and are produced, and particularly to rational beings — for these only are by their nature formed to have communion with God, being by means of reason conjoined with him — why should not such a man call himself a citizen of the world, why not a son of God, and why should he be afraid of anything which happens among men? Is kinship with Caesar (the emperor) or with any other of the powerful in Rome sufficient to enable us to live in safety, and above (contempt and without any fear at all? and to have God for

your maker (ποιητήν), and father and guardian, shall not this release us from sorrows and fears?

But a man may say, Whence shall I get bread to eat when I have nothing?

And how do slaves, and runaways, on what do they rely when they leave their masters? Do they rely on their lands or slaves, or their vessels of silver? They rely on nothing but themselves; and food does not fail them. And shall it be necessary for one among us who is a philosopher to travel into foreign parts, and trust to and rely on others, and not to take care of himself, and shall he be inferior to irrational animals and more cowardly, each of which being self-sufficient, neither fails to get its proper food, nor to find a suitable way of living, and one conformable to nature?

I indeed think that the old man ought to be sitting here, not to contrive how you may have no mean thoughts nor mean and ignoble talk about yourselves, but to take care that there be not among us any young men of such a mind, that when they have recognised their kinship to God, and that we are fettered by these bonds, the body, I mean, and its possessions, and whatever else on account of them is necessary to us for the economy and commerce of life, they should intend to throw off these things as if they were burdens painful and intolerable, and to depart to their kinsmen. But this is the labour that your teacher and instructor ought to be employed upon, if he really were what he should be. You should come to him and say, "Epictetus, we can no longer endure being bound to this poor body, and feeding it and giving it drink, and rest, and cleaning it, and for the sake of the body complying with the wishes of these and of those. Are not these things indifferent and nothing to us; and is not death no evil? And are we not in a manner kinsmen of God, and did we not come from him? Allow us to depart to the place from which we came; allow us to be released at last from these bonds by which we are bound and weighed down. Here there are robbers and thieves and courts of justice, and those who are named tyrants, and think that they have some power over us by means of the body and its possessions. Permit us to show them that they have no power over any man." And I on my part would say, "Friends, wait for God: when He shall give the signal and release you from this service, then go to Him; but for the present endure to dwell in this place where He has put you: short indeed is this time of your dwelling here, and easy to bear for those who are so disposed: for what tyrant or what thief, or what courts of justice, are formidable to those who have thus considered as things of no value the body and the possessions of the body? Wait then, do not depart without a reason."

Something like this ought to be said by the teacher to ingenuous youths. But now what happens? The teacher is a lifeless body, and you are lifeless bodies. When you have been well filled to-day, you sit down and lament about the morrow, how you shall get something to eat. Wretch, if you have it, you will have it; if you have it not, you will depart from life. The door is open. Why do you grieve? where does there remain any room for tears? and where is there occasion for flattery? why shall one man envy another? why should a

man admire the rich or the powerful, even if they be both very strong and of violent temper? for what will they do to us? We shall not care for that which they can do; and what we do care for, that they cannot do. How did Socrates behave with respect to these matters? Why, in what other way than a man ought to do who was convinced that he was a kinsman of the gods? "If you say to me now," said Socrates to his judges, "we will acquit you on the condition that you no longer discourse in the way in which you have hitherto discoursed, nor trouble either our young or our old men, I shall answer, you make yourselves ridiculous by thinking that, if one of our commanders has appointed me to a certain post, it is my duty to keep and maintain it, and to resolve to die a thousand times rather than desert it; but if God has put us in any place and way of life, we ought to desert it." Socrates speaks like a man who is really a kinsman of the gods. But we think about ourselves, as if we were only stomachs, and intestines, and shameful parts; we fear, we desire; we flatter those who are able to help us in these matters, and we fear them also.

A man asked me to write to Rome about him, a man who, as most people thought, had been unfortunate, for formerly he was a man of rank and rich, but had been stripped of all, and was living here. I wrote on his behalf in a submissive manner; but when he had read the letter, he gave it back to me and said, "I wished for your help, not your pity: no evil has happened to me."

Thus also Musonius Rufus, in order to try me, used to say: This and this will befall you from your master; and when I replied that these were things which happen in the ordinary course of human affairs. Why then, said he, should I ask him for anything when I can obtain it from you? For, in fact, what a man has from himself, it is superfluous and foolish to receive from another? Shall I then, who am able to receive from myself greatness of soul and a generous spirit, receive from you land and money or a magisterial office? I hope not: I will not be so ignorant about my own possessions. But when a man is cowardly and mean, what else must be done for him than to write letters as you would about a corpse. Please to grant us the body of a certain person and a sextarius of poor blood. For such a person is, in fact, a carcase and a sextarius (a certain quantity) of blood, and nothing more. But if he were anything more, he would know that one man is not miserable through the means of another.

AGAINST THOSE WHO EAGERLY SEEK PREFERMENT AT ROME.

IF we applied ourselves as busily to our own work as the old men at Rome do to those matters about which they are employed, perhaps we also might accomplish something. I am acquainted with a man older than myself, who is now superintendent of corn at Rome, and I remember the time when he came here on his way back from exile, and what he said as he related the events of his former life, and how he declared that with respect to the future after his

return he would look after nothing else than passing the rest of his life in quiet and tranquillity. For how little of life, he said, remains for me. I replied, you will not do it, but as soon as you smell Rome, you will forget all that you have said; and if admission is allowed even into the imperial palace, he will gladly thrust himself in and thank God. If you find me, Epictetus, he answered, setting even one foot within the palace, think what you please. Well, what then did he do? Before he entered the city, he was met by letters from Caesar, and as soon as he received them, he forgot all, and ever after has added one piece of business to another. I wish that I were now by his side to remind him of what he said when he was passing this way, and to tell him how much better a seer I am than he is.

Well then do I say that man is an animal made for doing nothing? Certainly not. But why are we not active?(We are active.) For example, as to myself, as soon as day comes, in a few words I remind myself of what I must read over to my pupils; then forthwith I say to myself, But what is it to me how a certain person shall read? the first thing for me is to sleep. And indeed what resemblance is there between what other persons do and what we do? If you observe what they do, you will understand. And what else do they do all day long than make up accounts, enquire among themselves, give and take advice about some small quantity of grain, a bit of land, and such kind of profits? Is it then the same thing to receive a petition and to read in it: I intreat you to permit me to export a small quantity of coin; and one to this effect: "I intreat you to learn from Chrysippus what is the administration of the world, and what place in it the rational animal holds; consider also who you are, and what is the nature of your good and bad. Are these things like the other, do they require equal care, and is it equally base to neglect these and those? Well then are we the only persons who are lazy and love sleep? No; but much rather you young men are. For we old men when we see young men amusing themselves are eager to play with them; and if I saw you active and zealous, much more should I be eager myself to join you in your serious pursuits."

OF NATURAL AFFECTION.

WHEN he was visited by one of the magistrates, Epictetus inquired of him about several particulars, and asked if he had children and a wife. The man replied that he had; and Epictetus inquired further, how he felt under the circumstances. Miserable, the man said. Then Epictetus asked, In what respect, for men do not marry and beget children in order to be wretched, but rather to be happy. But I, the man replied, am so wretched about my children that lately, when my little daughter was sick and was supposed to be in danger, I could not endure to stay with her, but I left home till a person sent me news that she had recovered. Well then, said Epictetus, do you think that you acted right? I acted naturally, the man replied. But convince me of this that you acted naturally, and I will convince you that everything which takes

place according to nature takes place rightly. This is the case, said the man, with all or at least most fathers. I do not deny that: but the matter about which we are inquiring is whether such behaviour is right; for in respect to this matter we must say that tumours also come for the good of the body, because they do come; and generally we must say that to do wrong is natural, because nearly all or at least most of us do wrong. Do you show me then how your behaviour is natural. I cannot, he said; but do you rather show me how it is not according to nature, and is not rightly done.

Well, said Epictetus, if we were inquiring about white and black, what criterion should we employ for distinguishing between them? The sight, he said. And if about hot and cold, and hard and soft, what criterion? The touch. Well then, since we are inquiring about things which are according to nature, and those which are done rightly or not rightly, what kind of criterion do you think that we should employ? I do not know, he said. And yet not to know the criterion of colours and smells, and also of tastes, is perhaps no great harm; but if a man do not know the criterion of good and bad, and of things according to nature and contrary to nature, does this seem to you a small harm? The greatest harm (I think). Come tell me, do all things which seem to some persons to be good and becoming, rightly appear such; and at present as to Jews and Syrians and Egyptians and Romans, is it possible that the opinions of all of them in respect to food are right? How is it possible? he said. Well, I suppose, it is absolutely necessary that, if the opinions of the Egyptians are right, the opinions of the rest must be wrong: if the opinions of the Jews are right, those of the rest cannot be right. Certainly. But where there is ignorance, there also there is want of learning and training in things which are necessary. He assented to this. You then, said Epictetus, since you know this, for the future will employ yourself seriously about nothing else, and will apply your mind to nothing else than to learn the criterion of things which are according to nature, and by using it also to determine each several thing. But in the present matter I have so much as this to aid you towards what you wish. Does affection to those of your family appear to you to be according to nature and to be good? Certainly. Well, is such affection natural and good, and is a thing consistent with reason not good? By no means. Is then that which is consistent with reason in contradiction with affection? I think not. You are right, for if it is otherwise, it is necessary that one of the contradictions being according to nature, the other must be contrary to nature. Is it not so? It is, he said. Whatever then we shall discover to be at the same time affectionate and also consistent with reason, this we confidently declare to be right and good. Agreed. Well then to leave your sick child and to go away is not reasonable, and I suppose that you will not say that it is; but it remains for us to inquire if it is consistent with affection. Yes, let us consider. Did you then, since you had an affectionate disposition to your child, do right when you ran off and left her; and has the mother no affection for the child? Certainly, she has. Ought then the mother also to have left her, or ought she not? She ought not. And the

nurse, does she love her? She does. Ought then she also to have left her? By no means. And the paedagogue, does he not love her? He does love her. Ought then he also to have deserted her? and so should the child have been left alone and without help on account of the great affection of you the parents and of those about her, or should she have died in the hands of those who neither loved her nor cared for her? Certainly not. Now this is unfair and unreasonable, not to allow those who have equal affection with yourself to do what you think to be proper for yourself to do because you have affection. It is absurd. Come then, if you were sick, would you wish your relations to be so affectionate, and all the rest, children and wife, as to leave you alone and deserted? By no means. And would you wish to be so loved by your own that through their excessive affection you would always be left alone in sickness? or for this reason would you rather pray, if it were possible, to be loved by your enemies and deserted by them? But if this is so, it results that your behaviour was not at all an affectionate act.

Well then, was it nothing which moved you and induced you to desert your child? and how is that possible? But it might be something of the kind which moved a man at Rome to wrap up his head while a horse was running which he favoured; and when contrary to expectation the horse won, he required sponges to recover from his fainting fit. What then is the thing which moved? The exact discussion of this does not belong to the present occasion perhaps; but it is enough to be convinced of this, if what the philosophers say is true, that we must not look for it anywhere without, but in all cases it is one and the same thing which is the cause of our doing or not doing something, of saying or not saying something, of being elated or depressed, of avoiding any thing or pursuing: the very thing which is now the cause to me and to you, to you of coming to me and sitting and hearing, and to me of saying what I do say. And what is this? Is it any other than our will to do so? No other. But if we had willed otherwise, what else should we have been doing than that which we willed to do? This then was the cause of Achilles' lamentation, not the death of Patroclus; for another man does not behave thus on the death of his companion; but it was because he chose to do so. And to you this was the very cause of your then running away, that you chose to do so; and on the other side, if you should (hereafter) stay with her, the reason will be the same. And now you are going to Rome because you choose; and if you should change your mind, you will not go thither. And in a word, neither death nor exile nor pain nor anything of the kind is the cause of our doing anything or not doing; but our own opinions and our wills (δόγματα).

Do I convince you of this or not? You do convince me. Such then as the causes are in each case, such also are the effects. When then we are doing anything not rightly, from this day we shall impute it to nothing else than to the will (δόγμα or opinion) from which we have done it: and it is that which we shall endeavour to take away and to extirpate more than the tumours and abscesses out of the body. And in like manner we shall give the same account

of the cause of the things which we do right; and we shall no longer allege as causes of any evil to us, either slave or neighbour, or wife or children, being persuaded, that if we do not think things to be what we do think them to be, we do not the acts which follow from such opinions; and as to thinking or not thinking, that is in our power and not in externals. It is so, he said. From this day then we shall inquire into and examine nothing else, what its quality is, or its state, neither land nor slaves nor horses nor dogs, nothing else than opinions. I hope so. You see then that you must become a Scholasticus, an animal whom all ridicule, if you really intend to make an examination of your own opinions: and that this is not the work of one hour or day, you know yourself.

OF CONTENTMENT.

WITH respect to gods, there are some who say that a divine being does not exist: others say that it exists, but is inactive and careless, and takes no forethought about any thing; a third class say that such a being exists and exercises forethought, but only about great things and heavenly things, and about nothing on the earth; a fourth class say that a divine being exercises forethought both about things on the earth and heavenly things, but in a general way only, and not about things severally. There is a fifth class to whom Ulysses and Socrates belong, who say: "I move not without thy knowledge" (*Iliad*, x. 278). Before all other things then it is necessary to inquire about each of these opinions, whether it is affirmed truly or not truly. For if there are no gods, how is it our proper end to follow them? And if they exist, but take no care of anything, in this case also how will it be right to follow them? But if indeed they do exist and look after things, still if there is nothing communicated from them to men, nor in fact to myself, how even so is it right (to follow them)? The wise and good man then after considering all these things, submits his own mind to him who administers the whole, as good citizens do to the law of the state. He who is receiving instruction ought to come to be instructed with this intention, How shall I follow the gods in all things, how shall I be contented with the divine administration, and how can I become free? For he is free to whom every thing happens according to his will, and whom no man can hinder. What then is freedom madness? Certainly not: for madness; in freedom do not consist. But, you say, I would have every thing result just as I like, and in whatever way I like. You are mad, you are beside yourself. Do you not know that freedom is a noble and valuable thing? But for me inconsiderately to wish for things to happen as I inconsiderately like, this appears to be not only not noble, but even most base. For how do we proceed in the matter of writing? Do I wish to write the name of Dion as I choose? No, but I am taught to choose to write it as it ought to be written. And how with respect to music? In the same manner. And what universally in every art or science? Just the same. If it were not so, it would be of no value to

know anything, if knowledge were adapted to every man's whim. Is it then in this alone, in this which is the greatest and the chief thing, I mean freedom, that I am permitted to will inconsiderately? By no means; but to be instructed is this, to learn to wish that every thing may happen as it does. And how do things happen? As the disposer has disposed them? And he has appointed summer and winter, and abundance and scarcity, and virtue and vice, and all such opposites for the harmony of the whole; and to each of us he has given a body, and parts of the body, and possessions, and companions.

Remembering then this disposition of things, we ought to go to be instructed, not that we may change the constitution of things, — for we have not the power to do it, nor is it better that we should have the power, — but in order that, as the things around us are what they are and by nature exist, we may maintain our minds in harmony with the things which happen. For can we escape from men? and how is it possible? And if we associate with them, can we change them? Who gives us the power? What then remains, or what method is discovered of holding commerce with them? Is there such a method by which they shall do what seems fit to them, and we not the less shall be in a mood which is conformable to nature? But you are unwilling to endure and are discontented: and if you are alone, you call it solitude; and if you are with men, you call them knaves and robbers; and you find fault with your own parents and children, and brothers and neighbours. But you ought when you are alone to call this condition by the name of tranquillity and freedom, and to think yourself like to the gods; and when you are with many, you ought not to call it crowd, nor trouble, nor uneasiness, but festival and assembly, and so accept all contentedly.

What then is the punishment of those who do not accept? It is to be what they are. Is any person dissatisfied with being alone? let him be alone. Is a man dissatisfied with his parents? let him be a bad son, and lament. Is he dissatisfied with his children? let him be a bad father. Cast him into prison. What prison? Where he is already, for he is there against his will; and where a man is against his will, there he is in prison. So Socrates was not in prison, for he was there willingly. Must my leg then be lamed? Wretch, do you then on account of one poor leg find fault with the world? Will you not willingly surrender it for the whole? Will you not withdraw from it? Will you not gladly part with it to him who gave it? And will you be vexed and discontented with the things established by Zeus, which he with the Moirae (fates) who were present and spinning the thread of your generation, defined and put in order? Know you not how small apart you are compared with the whole. I mean with respect to the body, for as to intelligence you are not inferior to the gods nor less; for the magnitude of intelligence is not measured by length nor yet by height, but by thoughts.

Will you not then choose to place your good in that in which you are equal to the gods? — Wretch that I am to have such a father and mother. — What then, was it permitted to you to come forth and to select and to say: Let such a

man at this moment unite with such a woman that I may be produced? It was not permitted, but it was a necessity for your parents to exist first, and then for you to be begotten. Of what kind of parents? Of such as they were. Well then, since they are such as they are, is there no remedy given to you? Now if you did not know for what purpose you possess the faculty of vision, you would be unfortunate and wretched if you closed your eyes when colours were brought before them; but in that you possess greatness of soul and nobility of spirit for every event that may happen, and you know not that you possess them, are you not more unfortunate and wretched? Things are brought close to you which are proportionate to the power which you possess, but you turn away this power most particularly at the very time when you ought to maintain it open and discerning. Do you not rather thank the gods that they have allowed you to be above these things which they have not placed in your power, and have made you accountable only for those which are in your power? As to your parents, the gods have left you free from responsibility; and so with respect to your brothers, and your body, and possessions, and death and life. For what then have they made you responsible? For that which alone is in your power, the proper use of appearances. Why then do you draw on yourself the things for which you are not responsible? It is, indeed, a giving of trouble to yourself.

HOW EVERYTHING MAY BE DONE ACCEPTABLY TO THE GODS.

WHEN some one asked, how may a man eat acceptably to the gods, he answered: If he can eat justly and contentedly, and with equanimity, and temperately and orderly, will it not be also acceptably to the gods? But when you have asked for warm water and the slave has not heard, or if he did hear has brought only tepid water, or he is not even found to be in the house, then not to be vexed or to burst with passion, is not this acceptable to the gods? — How then shall a man endure such persons as this slave? Slave yourself, will you not bear with your own brother, who has Zeus for his progenitor, and is like a son from the same seeds and of the same descent from above? But if you have been put in any such higher place, will you immediately make yourself a tyrant? Will you not remember who you are, and whom you rule? that they are kinsmen, that they are brethren by nature, that they are the offspring of Zeus? — But I have purchased them, and they have not purchased me. Do you see in what direction you are looking, that it is towards the earth, towards the pit, that it is towards these wretched laws of dead men? but towards the laws of the gods you are not looking.

THAT THE DEITY OVERSEES ALL THINGS.

WHEN a person asked him how a man could be convinced that all his actions

are under the inspection of God, he answered, Do you not think that all things are united in one? do, the person replied. Well, do you not think that earthly things have a natural agreement and union with heavenly things? I do. And how else so regularly as if by God's command, when He bids the plants to flower, do they flower? when He bids them to send forth shoots, do they shoot? when He bids them to produce fruit, how else do they produce fruit? when He bids the fruit to ripen, does it ripen? when again He bids them to cast down the fruits, how else do they cast them down? and when to shed the leaves, do they shed the leaves? and when He bids them to fold themselves up and to remain quiet and rest, how else do they remain quiet and rest? And how else at the growth and the wane of the moon, and at the approach and recession of the sun, are so great an alteration and change to the contrary seen in earthly things? But are plants and our bodies so bound up and united with the whole, and are not our souls much more? and our souls so bound up and in contact with God as parts of Him and portions of Him; and does not God perceive every motion of these parts as being his own motion connate with himself? Now are you able to think of the divine administration, and about all things divine, and at the same time also about human affairs, and to be moved by ten thousand things at the same time in your senses and in your understanding, and to assent to some, and to dissent from others, and again as to some things to suspend your judgment; and do you retain in your soul so many impressions from so many and various things, and being moved by them, do you fall upon notions similar to those first impressed, and do you retain numerous arts and the memories of ten thousand things; and is not God able to oversee all things, and to be present with all, and to receive from all a certain communication? And is the sun able to illuminate so large a part of the All, and to leave so little not illuminated, that part only which is occupied by the earth's shadow; and He who made the sun itself and makes it go round, being a small part of himself compared with the whole, cannot He perceive all things?

But I cannot, the man may reply, comprehend all these things at once. But who tells you that you have equal power with Zeus? Nevertheless he has placed by every man a guardian, every man's Daemon, to whom he has committed the care of the man, a guardian who never sleeps, is never deceived. For to what better and more careful guardian could He have intrusted each of us? When then you have shut the doors and made darkness within, remember never to say that you are alone, for you are not; but God is within, and your Daemon is within, and what need have they of light to see what you are doing? To this God you ought to swear an oath just as the soldiers do to Caesar. But they who are hired for pay swear to regard the safety of Caesar before all things; and you who have received so many and such great favors, will you not swear, or when you have sworn, will you not abide by your oath? And what shall you swear? Never to be disobedient, never to make any charges, never to find fault with any thing that he has

given, and never unwillingly to do or to suffer any thing that is necessary. Is this oath like the soldier's oath? The soldiers swear not to prefer any man to Cæsar: in this oath men swear to honour themselves before all.

WHAT PHILOSOPHY PROMISES.

WHEN a man was consulting him how he should persuade his brother to cease being angry with him, Epictetus replied, Philosophy does not propose to secure for a man any external thing. If it did (or, if it were not, as I say), philosophy would be allowing something which is not within its province. For as the carpenter's material is wood, and that of the statuary is copper, so the matter of the art of living is each man's life. — What then is my brother's? — That again belongs to his own art; but with respect to yours, it is one of the external things, like a piece of land, like health, like reputation. But Philosophy promises none of these. In every circumstance I will maintain, she says, the governing part conformable to nature. Whose governing part? His in whom I am, she says.

How then shall my brother cease to be angry with me? Bring him to me and I will tell him. But I have nothing to say to you about his anger.

When the man, who was consulting him, said, I seek to know this, How, even if my brother is not reconciled to me, shall I maintain myself in a state conformable to nature? Nothing great, said Epictetus, is produced suddenly, since not even the grape or the fig is. If you say to me now that you want a fig, I will answer to you that it requires time: let it flower first, then put forth fruit, and then ripen. Is then the fruit of a fig-tree not perfected suddenly and in one hour, and would you possess the fruit of a man's mind in so short a time and so easily? Do not expect it, even if I tell you.

OF PROVIDENCE.

Do not wonder if for other animals than man all things are provided for the body, not only food and drink, but beds also, and they have no need of shoes nor bed materials, nor clothing; but we require all these additional things. For animals not being made for themselves, but for service, it was not fit for them to be made so as to need other things. For consider what it would be for us to take care not only of ourselves, but also about cattle and asses, how they should be clothed, and how shod, and how they should eat and drink. Now as soldiers are ready for their commander, shod, clothed, and armed: but it would be a hard thing for the chiliarch (tribune) to go round and shoe or clothe his thousand men: so also nature has formed the animals which are made for service, all ready, prepared, and requiring no further care. So one little boy with only a stick drives the cattle.

But now we, instead of being thankful that we need not take the same care

of animals as of ourselves, complain of God on our own account; and yet, in the name of Zeus and the gods, any one thing of those which exist would be enough to make a man perceive the providence of God, at least a man who is modest and grateful. And speak not to me now of the great things, but only of this, that milk is produced from grass, and cheese from milk, and wool from skins. Who made these things or devised them? No one, you say. O amazing shamelessness and stupidity!

Well, let us omit the works of nature, and contemplate her smaller (subordinate, *πάρεργα*) acts. Is there anything less useful than the hair on the chin? What then, has not nature used this hair also in the most suitable manner possible? Has she not by it distinguished the male and the female? does not the nature of every man forthwith proclaim from a distance, I am a man: as such approach me, as such speak to me; look for nothing else; see the signs? Again, in the case of women, as she has mingled something softer in the voice, so she has also deprived them of hair (on the chin). You say, not so: the human animal ought to have been left without marks of distinction, and each of us should have been obliged to proclaim, I am a man. But how is not the sign beautiful and becoming and venerable? how much more beautiful than the cock's comb, how much more becoming than the lion's mane? For this reason we ought to preserve the signs which God has given, we ought not to throw them away, nor to confound, as much as we can, the distinctions of the sexes.

Are these the only works of providence in us? And what words are sufficient to praise them and set them forth according to their worth? For if we had understanding, ought we to do any thing else both jointly and severally than to sing hymns and bless the deity, and to tell of his benefits? Ought we not when we are digging and ploughing and eating to sing this hymn to God? "Great is God, who has given us such implements with which we shall cultivate the earth: great is God who has given us hands, the power of swallowing, a stomach, imperceptible growth, and the power of breathing while we sleep." This is what we ought to sing on every occasion, and to sing the greatest and most divine hymn for giving us the faculty of comprehending these things and using a proper way. Well then, since most of you have become blind, ought there not to be some man to fill this office, and on behalf of all to sing the hymn to God? For what else can I do, a lame old man, than sing hymns to God? If then I was a nightingale, I would do the part of a nightingale. if I were a swan, I would do like a swan. But now I am a rational creature, and I ought to praise God: this is my work; I do it, nor will I desert this post, so long as I am allowed to keep it; and I exhort you to join in this same song.

THAT THE LOGICAL ART IS NECESSARY.

SINCE reason is the faculty which analyses and perfects the rest, and it ought

itself not to be unanalysed, by what should it be analysed? for it is plain that this should be done either by itself or by another thing. Either then this other thing also is reason, or something else superior to reason; which is impossible. But if it is reason, again who shall analyse that reason? For if that reason does this for itself, our reason also can do it. But if we shall require something else, the thing will go on to infinity and have no end. Reason therefore is analysed by itself. Yes: but it is more urgent to cure (our opinions) and the like. Will you then hear about those things? Hear. But if you should say, "I know not whether you are arguing truly or falsely," and if I should express myself in any way ambiguously, and you should say to me, "Distinguish," I will bear with you no longer, and I shall say to you, "It is more urgent." This is the reason, I suppose, why they (the Stoic teachers) place the logical art first, as in the measuring of corn we place first the examination of the measure. But if we do not determine first what is a modius, and what is a balance, how shall we be able to measure or weigh anything?

In this case then if we have not fully learned and accurately examined the criterion of all other things, by which the other things are learned, shall we be able to examine accurately and to learn fully any thing else? How is this possible? Yes; but the modius is only wood, and a thing which produces no fruit. — But it is a thing which can measure corn. — Logic also produces no fruit. — As to this indeed we shall see: but then even if a man should grant this, it is enough that logic has the power of distinguishing and examining other things, and, as we may say, of measuring and weighing them. Who says this? Is it only Chrysippus, and Zeno, and Cleanthes? And does not Antisthenes say so? And who is it that has written that the examination of names is the beginning of education? And does not Socrates say so? And of whom does Xenophon write, that he began with the examination of names, what each name signified? Is this then the great and wondrous thing to understand or interpret Chrysippus? Who says this? — What then is the wondrous thing? — To understand the will of nature. Well then do you apprehend it yourself by your own power? and what more have you need of? For if it is true that all men err involuntarily, and you have learned the truth, of necessity you must act right. — But in truth I do not apprehend the will of nature. Who then tells us what it is? — They say that it is Chrysippus. — I proceed, and I inquire what this interpreter of nature says. I begin not to understand what he says: I seek an interpreter of Chrysippus. — Well, consider how this is said, just as if it were said in the Roman tongue. — What then is this superciliousness of the interpreter? There is no superciliousness which can justly be charged even to Chrysippus, if he only interprets the will of nature, but does not follow it himself; and much more is this so with his interpreter. For we have no need of Chrysippus for his own sake, but in order that we may understand nature. Nor do we need a diviner (sacrificer) on his own account, but because we think that through him we shall know the future and understand the signs given by the gods; nor do we need the viscera of

animals for their own sake, but because through them signs are given; nor do we look with wonder on the crow or raven, but on God, who through them gives signs?

I go then to the interpreter of these things and the sacrificer, and I say, Inspect the viscera for me, and tell me what signs they give. The man takes the viscera, opens them, and interprets: Man, he says, you have a will free by nature from hindrance and compulsion; this is written here in the viscera. I will show you this first in the matter of assent. Can any man hinder you from assenting to the truth? No man can. Can any man compel you to receive what is false? No man can. You see that in this matter you have the faculty of the will free from hindrance, free from compulsion, unimpeded. Well then, in the matter of desire and pursuit of an object, is it otherwise? And what can overcome pursuit except another pursuit? And what can overcome desire and aversion (ἔκκλισιν) except another desire and aversion? But, you object: "If you place before me the fear of death, you do compel me." No, it is not what is placed before you that compels, but your opinion that it is better to do so and so than to die. In this matter then it is your opinion that compelled you: that is, will compelled will. For if God had made that part of himself, which he took from himself and gave to us, of such a nature as to be hindered or compelled either by himself or by another, he would not then be God nor would he be taking care of us as he ought. This, says the diviner, I find in the victims: these are the things which are signified to you. If you choose, you are free; if you choose, you will blame no one: you will charge no one. All will be at the same time according to your mind and the mind of God. For the sake of this divination I go to this diviner and to the philosopher, not admiring him for this interpretation, but admiring the things which he interprets.

THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO BE ANGRY WITH THE ERRORS (FAULTS) OF OTHERS.

IF what philosophers say is true, that all men have one principle, as in the case of assent the persuasion that a thing is so, and in the case of dissent the persuasion that a thing is not so, and in the case of a suspense of judgment the persuasion that a thing is uncertain, so also in the case of a movement towards any thing the persuasion that a thing is for a man's advantage, and it is impossible to think that one thing is advantageous and to desire another, and to judge one thing to be proper and to move towards another, why then are we angry with the many? They are thieves and robbers, you may say. What do you mean by thieves and robbers? They are mistaken about good and evil. Ought we then to be angry with them, or to pity them? But show them their error, and you will see how they desist from their errors. If they do not see their errors, they have nothing superior to their present opinion.

Ought not then this robber and this adulterer to be destroyed? By no means say so, but speak rather in this way: This man who has been mistaken and

deceived about the most important things, and blinded, not in the faculty of vision which distinguishes white and black, but in the faculty which distinguishes good and bad, should we not destroy him? If you speak thus, you will see how inhuman this is which you say, and that it is just as if you would say, Ought we not to destroy this blind and deaf man? But if the greatest harm is the privation of the greatest things, and the greatest thing in every man is the will or choice such as it ought to be, and a man is deprived of this will, why are you also angry with him? Man, you ought not to be affected contrary to nature by the bad things of another. Pity him rather: drop this readiness to be offended and to hate, and these words which the many utter: "these accursed and odious fellows." How have you been made so wise at once? and how are you so peevish? Why then are we angry? Is it because we value so much the things of which these men rob us? Do not admire your clothes, and then you will not be angry with the thief. Do not admire the beauty of your wife, and you will not be angry with the adulterer. Learn that a thief and an adulterer have no place in the things which are yours, but in those which belong to others and which are not in your power. If you dismiss these things and consider them as nothing, with whom are you still angry? But so long as you value these things, be angry with yourself rather than with the thief and the adulterer. Consider the matter thus: you have fine clothes; your neighbour has not: you have a window; you wish to air the clothes. The thief does not know wherein man's good consists, but he thinks that it consists in having fine clothes, the very thing which you also think. Must he not then come and take them away? When you show a cake to greedy persons, and swallow it all yourself, do you expect them not to snatch it from you? Do not provoke them: do not have a window: do not air your clothes. I also lately had an iron lamp placed by the side of my household gods: hearing a noise at the door, I ran down, and found that the lamp had been carried off. I reflected that he who had taken the lamp had done nothing strange. What then? To-morrow, I said, you will find an earthen lamp: for a man only loses that which he has. I have lost my garment. The reason is that you had a garment. I have pain in my head. Have you any pain in your horns? Why then are you troubled? for we only lose those things, we have only pains about those things which we possess.

But the tyrant will chain — what? the leg. He will take away — what? the neck. What then will he not chain and not take away? the will. This is why the antients taught the maxim, Know thyself. Therefore we ought to exercise ourselves in small things, and beginning with them to proceed to the greater. I have pain in the head. Do not say, alas! I have pain in the ear. Do not say, alas I And I do not say, that you are not allowed to groan, but do not groan inwardly; and if your slave is slow in bringing a bandage, do not cry out and torment yourself, and say, "Every body hates me": for who would not hate such a man? For the future, relying on these opinions, walk about upright, free; not trusting to the size of your body, as an athlete, for a man ought not to

be invincible in the way that an ass is.

Who then is the invincible? It is he whom none of the things disturb which are independent of the will. Then examining one circumstance after another I observe, as in the case of an athlete; he has come off victorious in the first contest: well then, as to the second? and what if there should be great heat? and what, if it should be at Olympia? And the same I say in this case: if you should throw money in his way, he will despise it. Well, suppose you put a young girl in his way, what then? and what, if it is in the dark? what if it should be a little reputation, or abuse; and what, if it should be praise; and what if it should be death? He is able to overcome all. What then if it be in heat, and what if it is in the rain, and what if he be in a melancholy (mad) mood, and what if he be asleep? He will still conquer. This is my invincible athlete.

HOW WE SHOULD BEHAVE TO TYRANTS.

IF a man possesses any superiority, or thinks that he does, when he does not, such a man, if he is uninstructed, will of necessity be puffed up through it. For instance, the tyrant says, "I am master of all?" And what can you do for me? Can you give me desire which shall have no hindrance? How can you? Have you the infallible power of avoiding what you would avoid? Have you the power of moving towards an object without error? And how do you possess this power? Come, when you are in a ship, do you trust to yourself or to the helmsman? And when you are in a chariot, to whom do you trust but to the driver? And how is it in all other arts? Just the same. In what then lies your power? All men pay respect to me. Well, I also pay respect to my platter, and I wash it and wipe it; and for the sake of my oil flask, I drive a peg into the wall. Well then, are these things superior to me? No, but they supply some of my wants, and for this reason I take care of them. Well, do I not attend to my ass? Do I not wash his feet? Do I not clean him? Do you not know that every man has regard to himself, and to you just the same as he has regard to his ass? For who has regard to you as a man? Show me. Who wishes to become like you? Who imitates you, as he imitates Socrates? — But I can cut off your head. — You say right. I had forgotten that I must have regard to you, as I would to a fever and the bile, and raise an altar to you, as there is at Rome an altar to fever.

What is it then that disturbs and terrifies the multitude? is it the tyrant and his guards? [By no means.] I hope that it is not so. It is not possible that what is by nature free can be disturbed by anything else, or hindered by any other thing than by itself. But it is a man's own opinions which disturb him: for when the tyrant says to a man, "I will chain your leg," he who values his leg says, "Do not; have pity:" but he who values his own will says, "If it appears more advantageous to you, chain it." Do you not care? I do not care. I will show you that I am master. You cannot do that. Zeus has set me free: do you

think that he intended to allow his own son to be enslaved? But you are master of my carcase: take it. — So when you approach me, you have no regard to me? No, but I have regard to myself; and if you wish me to say that I have regard to you also, I tell you that I have the same regard to you that I have to my pipkin.

This is not a perverse self-regard, for the animal is constituted so as to do all things for itself. For even the sun does all things for itself; nay, even Zeus himself. But when he chooses to be the Giver of rain and the Giver of fruits, and the Father of Gods and men, you see that he cannot obtain these functions and these names, if he is not useful to man; and, universally, he has made the nature of the rational animal such that it cannot obtain any one of its own proper interests, if it does not contribute something to the common interest. In this manner and sense it is not unsociable for a man to do every thing for the sake of himself. For what do you expect? that a man should neglect himself and his own interest? And how in that case can there be one and the same principle in all animals, the principle of attachment (regard) to themselves?

What then? when absurd notions about things independent of our will, as if they were good and (or) bad, lie at the bottom of our opinions, we must of necessity pay regard to tyrants; for I wish that men would pay regard to tyrants only, and not also to the bedchamber men. How is it that the man becomes all at once wise, when Caesar has made him superintendent of the close stool? How is it that we say immediately, "Felicion spoke sensibly to me." I wish he were ejected from the bedchamber, that he might again appear to you to be a fool.

Epaphroditus had a shoemaker whom he sold because he was good for nothing. This fellow by some good luck was bought by one of Caesar's men, and became Caesar's shoemaker. You should have seen what respect Epaphroditus paid to him: "How does the good Felicion do, I pray?" Then if any of us asked, "What is master (Epaphroditus) doing?" the answer was, "He is consulting about something with Felicion." Had he not sold the man as good for nothing? Who then made him wise all at once? This is an instance of valuing something else than the things which depend on the will.

Has a man been exalted to the tribuneship? All who meet him offer their congratulations: one kisses his eyes, another the neck, and the slaves kiss his hands. He goes to his house, he finds torches lighted. He ascends the Capitol: he offers a sacrifice on the occasion. Now who ever sacrificed for having had good desires? for having acted conformably to nature? For in fact we thank the gods for those things in which we place our good. A person was talking to me to-day about the priesthood of Augustus. I say to him: "Man, let the thing alone: you will spend much for no purpose." But he replies, "Those who draw up agreements will write my name." Do you then stand by those who read them, and say to such persons "It is I whose name is written there"? And if you can now be present on all such occasions, what will you do when you are dead? My name will remain. — Write it on a stone, and it will remain. But

come, what remembrance of you will there be beyond Nicopolis? — But I shall wear a crown of gold. — If you desire a crown at all, take a crown of roses and put it on, for it will be more elegant in appearance.

ABOUT REASON, HOW IT CONTEMPLATES ITSELF.

EVERY art and faculty contemplates certain things especially. When then it is itself of the same kind with the objects which it contemplates, it must of necessity contemplate itself also: but when it is of an unlike kind, it cannot contemplate itself. For instance, the shoemaker's art is employed on skins, but itself is entirely distinct from the material of skins: for this reason it does not contemplate itself. Again, the grammarian's art is employed about articulate speech; is then the art also articulate speech? By no means. For this reason it is not able to contemplate itself. Now reason, for what purpose has it been given by nature? For the right use of appearances. What is it then itself? A system (combination) of certain appearances. So by its nature it has the faculty of contemplating itself also. Again, sound sense, for the contemplation of what things does it belong to us? Good and evil, and things which are neither. What is it then itself? Good. And want of sense, what is it? Evil. Do you see then that good sense necessarily contemplates both itself and the opposite? For this reason it is the chief and the first work of a philosopher to examine appearances, and to distinguish them, and to admit none without examination. You see even in the matter of coin, in which our interest appears to be somewhat concerned, how we have invented an art, and how many means the assayer uses to try the value of coin, the sight, the touch, the smell, and lastly the hearing. He throws the coin (denarius) down, and observes the sound, and he is not content with its sounding once, but through his great attention he becomes a musician. In like manner, where we think that to be mistaken and not to be mistaken make a great difference, there we apply great attention to discovering the things which can deceive. But in the matter of our miserable ruling faculty, yawning and sleeping, we carelessly admit every appearance, for the harm is not noticed.

When then you would know how careless you are with respect to good and evil, and how active with respect to things which are indifferent (neither good nor evil), observe how you feel with respect to being deprived of the sight of the eyes, and how with respect to being deceived, and you will discover that you are far from feeling as you ought to do in relation to good and evil. But this is a matter which requires much preparation, and much labour and study. Well then do you expect to acquire the greatest of arts with small labour? And yet the chief doctrine of philosophers is very brief. If you would know, read Zeno's writings and you will see For how few words it requires to say that man's end (or object) is to follow the gods, and that the nature of good is a proper use of appearances. But if you say What is God, what is appearance, and what is particular and what is universal nature? then indeed many words

are necessary. If then Epicurus should come and say, that the good must be in the body; in this case also many words become necessary, and we must be taught what is the leading principle in us, and the fundamental and the substantial; and as it is not probable that the good of a snail is in the shell, is it probable that the good of a man is in the body? But you yourself, Epicurus, possess something better than this. What is that in you which deliberates, what is that which examines every thing, what is that which forms a judgment about the body itself, that it is the principal part? and why do you light your lamp and labour for us, and write so many books? is it that we may not be ignorant of the truth, who we are, and what we are with respect to you? Thus the discussion requires many words.

AGAINST THOSE WHO WISH TO BE ADMIRERD.

WHEN a man holds his proper station in life, he does not gape after things beyond it. Man, what do you wish to happen to you? I am satisfied if I desire and avoid conformably to nature, if I employ movements towards and from an object as I am by nature formed to do, and purpose and design and assent. Why then do you strut before us as if you had swallowed a spit? My wish has always been that those who meet me should admire me, and those who follow me should exclaim O the great philosopher. Who are they by whom you wish to be admired? Are they not those of whom you are used to say, that they are mad? Well then do you wish to be admired by madmen?

ON PRAECOGNITIONS.

PRAECOGNITIONS are common to all men, and praecognition is not contradictory to praecognition. For who of us does not assume that Good is useful and eligible, and in all circumstances that we ought to follow and pursue it? And who of us does not assume that Justice is beautiful and becoming? When then does the contradiction arise? It arises in the adaptation of the praecognitions to the particular cases. When one man says, He has done well: he is a brave man, and another says, "Not so; but he has acted foolishly;" then the disputes arise among men. This is the dispute among the Jews and the Syrians and the Egyptians and the Romans; not whether holiness should be preferred to all things and in all cases should be pursued, but whether it is holy to eat pig's flesh or not holy. You will find this dispute also between Agamemnon and Achilles; for call them forth. What do you say, Agamemnon? ought not that to be done which is proper and right? Certainly. Well, what do you say, Achilles? do you not admit that what is good ought to be done? I do most certainly. Adapt your praecognitions then to the present matter. Here the dispute begins. Agamemnon says, I ought not to give up Chryseis to her father. Achilles says, You ought. It is certain that one of the

two makes a wrong adaptation of the praecognition of "ought" or "duty." Further, Agamemnon says, Then if I ought to restore Chryseis, it is fit that I take his prize from some of you. Achilles replies, "Would you then take her whom I love?" Yes, her whom you love. Must I then be the only man who goes without a prize? and must I be the only man who has no prize? Thus the dispute begins.

What then is education? Education is the learning how to adapt the natural praecognitions to the particular things conformably to nature; and then to distinguish that of things some are in our power, but others are not: in our power are will and all acts which depend on the will; things not in our power are the body, the parts of the body, possessions, parents, brothers, children, country and generally, all with whom we live in society. In what then should we place the good? To what kind of things (οὐσίᾳ) shall we adapt it? To the things which are in our power? Is not health then a good thing, and soundness of limb, and life? and are not children and parents and country? Who will tolerate you if you deny this?

Let us then transfer the notion of good to these things. Is it possible then, when a man sustains damage and does not obtain good things, that he can be happy? It is not possible. And can he maintain towards society a proper behaviour? He can not. For I am naturally formed to look after my own interest. If it is my interest to have an estate in land, it is my interest also to take it from my neighbour. If it is my interest to have a garment, it is my interest also to steal it from the bath. This is the origin of wars, civil commotions, tyrannies, conspiracies. And how shall I be still able to maintain my duty towards Zeus? for if I sustain damage and am unlucky, he takes no care of me; and what is he to me if he cannot help me; and further, what is he to me if he allows me to be in the condition in which I am? I now begin to hate him. Why then do we build temples, why set up statues to Zeus, as well as to evil daemons, such as to Fever; and how is Zeus the Saviour, and how the giver of rain, and the giver of fruits? And in truth if we place the nature of Good in any such things, all this follows.

What should we do then? This is the inquiry of the true philosopher who is in labour. Now I do not see what the Good is nor the Bad. Am I not mad? Yes. But suppose that I place the good somewhere among the things which depend on the will: all will laugh at me. There will come some greyhead wearing many gold rings on his fingers, and he will shake his head and say, Hear, my child. It is right that you should philosophize; but you ought to have some brains also: all this that you are doing is silly. You learn the syllogism from philosophers; but you know how to act better than philosophers do. — Man, why then do you blame me, if I know? What shall I say to this slave? If I am silent, he will burst. I must speak in this way: Excuse me, as you would excuse lovers: I am not my own master: I am mad.

AGAINST EPICURUS.

EVEN Epicurus perceives that we are by nature social, but having once placed our good in the husk he is no longer able to say anything else. For on the other hand he strongly maintains this, that we ought not to admire nor to accept any thing which is detached from the nature of good; and he is right in maintaining this. How then are we [suspicious], if we have no natural affection to our children? Why do you advise the wise man not to bring up children? Why are you afraid that he may thus fall into trouble? For does he fall into trouble on account of the mouse which is nurtured in the house? What does he care if a little mouse in the house makes lamentation to him? But Epicurus knows that if once a child is born, it is no longer in our power not to love it nor care about it. For this reason, Epicurus says, that a man who has any sense also does not engage in political matters; for he knows what a man must do who is engaged in such things; for indeed, if you intend to behave among men as you would among a swarm of flies, what hinders you? But Epicurus, who knows this, ventures to say that we should not bring up children. But a sheep does not desert its own offspring, nor yet a wolf; and shall a man desert his child? What do you mean? that we should be as silly as sheep? but not even do they desert their offspring: or as savage as wolves, but not even do wolves desert their young. Well, who would follow your advice, if he saw his child weeping after falling on the ground? For my part I think that even if your mother and your father had been told by an oracle, that you would say what you have said, they would not have cast you away.

HOW WE SHOULD STRUGGLE WITH CIRCUMSTANCES.

IT is circumstances (difficulties) which show what men are. Therefore when a difficulty falls upon you, remember that God, like a trainer of wrestlers, has matched you with a rough young man. For what purpose? you may say. Why that you may become an Olympic conqueror; but it is not accomplished without sweat. In my opinion no man has had a more profitable difficulty than you have had, if you choose to make use of it as an athlete would deal with a young antagonist. We are now sending a scout to Rome; but no man sends a cowardly scout, who, if he only hears a noise and sees a shadow any where, comes running back in terror and reports that the enemy is close at hand. So now if you should come and tell us, Fearful is the state of affairs at Rome, terrible is death, terrible is exile; terrible is calumny; terrible is poverty; fly, my friends; the enemy is near — we shall answer, Be gone, prophesy for yourself; we have committed only one fault, that we sent such a scout.

Diogenes, who was sent as a scout before you, made a different report to us. He says that death is no evil, for neither is it base: he says that fame (reputation) is the noise of madmen. And what has this spy said about pain, about pleasure, and about poverty? He says that to be naked is better than any

purple robe, and to sleep on the bare ground is the softest bed; and he gives as a proof of each thing that he affirms his own courage, his tranquillity, his freedom, and the healthy appearance and compactness of his body. There is no enemy near, he says; all is peace. How so, Diogenes? See, he replies, if I am struck, if I have been wounded, if I have fled from any man. This is what a scout ought to be. But you come to us and tell us one thing after another. Will you not go back, and you will see clearer when you have laid aside fear?

What then shall I do? What do you do when you leave a ship? Do you take away the helm or the oars? What then do you take away? You take what is your own, your bottle and your wallet; and now if you think of what is your own, you will never claim what belongs to others. The emperor (Domitian) says, Lay aside your *lati-clave*. See, I put on the *angusticlave*. Lay aside this also. See, I have only my toga. Lay aside your toga. See, I am now naked. But you still raise my envy. Take then all my poor body; when, at a man's command, I can throw away my poor body, do I still fear him?

But a certain person will not leave to me the succession to his estate. What then? had I forgotten that not one of these things was mine. How then do we call them mine? Just as we call the bed in the inn. If then the innkeeper at his death leaves you the beds; all well; but if he leaves them to another, he will have them, and you will seek another bed. If then you shall not find one, you will sleep on the ground: only sleep with a good will and snore, and remember that tragedies have their place among the rich and kings and tyrants, but no poor man fills a part in a tragedy, except as one of the Chorus. Kings indeed commence with prosperity: "ornament the palace with garlands": then about the third or fourth act they call out, "Oh Cithaeron, why didst thou receive me"? Slave, where are the crowns, where the diadem? The guards help thee not at all. When then you approach any of these persons, remember this that you are approaching a tragedian, not the actor, but Oedipus himself. But you say, such a man is happy; for he walks about with many, and I also place myself with the many and walk about with many. In sum remember this: the door is open; be not more timid than little children, but as they say, when the thing does not please them, "I will play no longer," so do you, when things seem to you of such a kind, say I will no longer play, and be gone: but if you stay, do not complain.

ON THE SAME.

IF these things are true, and if we are not silly, and are not acting hypocritically when we say that the good of man is in the will, and the evil too, and that every thing else does not concern us, why are we still disturbed, why are we still afraid? The things about which we have been busied are in no man's power: and the things which are in the power of others, we care not for. What kind of trouble have we still?

But give me directions. Why should I give you directions? has not Zeus

given you directions? Has he not given to you what is your own free from hindrance and free from impediment, and what is not your own subject to hindrance and impediment? What directions then, what kind of orders did you bring when you came from him? Keep by every means what is your own; do not desire what belongs to others. Fidelity (integrity) is your own, virtuous shame is your own; who then can take these things from you? who else than yourself will hinder you from using them? But how do you act? when you seek what is not your own, you lose that which is your own. Having such promptings and commands from Zeus, what kind do you still ask from me? Am I more powerful than he, am I more worthy of confidence? But if you observe these, do you want any others besides? Well, but he has not given these orders, you will say. Produce your praecognitions (προλήψεις), produce the proofs of philosophers, produce what you have often heard, and produce what you have said yourself, produce what you have read, produce what you have meditated on; and you will then see that all these things are from God. How long then is it fit to observe these precepts from God, and not to break up the play? As long as the play is continued with propriety. In the Saturnalia a king is chosen by lot, for it has been the custom to play at this game. The king commands: Do you drink, Do you mix the wine, Do you sing, Do you go, Do you come. I obey that the game may not be broken up through me. — But if he says, think that you are in evil plight: I answer, I do not think so; and who will compel me to think so? Further, we agreed to play Agamemnon and Achilles. He who is appointed to play Agamemnon says to me, Go to Achilles and tear from him Briseis. I go. He says, Come, and I come.

For as we behave in the matter of hypothetical arguments, so ought we to do in life. Suppose it to be night. I suppose that it is night. Well then; is it day? No, for I admitted the hypothesis that it was night. Suppose that you think that it is night? Suppose that I do. But also think that it is night. That is not consistent with the hypothesis. So in this case also: Suppose that you are unfortunate. Well, suppose so. Are you then unhappy? Yes. Well then are you troubled with an unfavorable daemon (fortune)? Yes. But think also that you are in misery. This is not consistent with the hypothesis; and another (Zeus) forbids me to think so.

How long then must we obey such orders? As long as it is profitable; and this means as long as I maintain that which is becoming and consistent. Further, some men are sour and of bad temper, and they say, “I cannot sup with this man to be obliged to hear him telling daily how he fought in Mysia”: “I told you, brother, how I ascended the hill: then I began to be besieged again.” But another says, “I prefer to get my supper and to hear him talk as much as he likes.” And do you compare these estimates (judgments): only do nothing in a depressed mood, nor as one afflicted, nor as thinking that you are in misery, for no man compels you to that. — Has it smoked in the chamber? If the smoke is moderate, I will stay; if it is excessive, I go out: for you must always remember this and hold it fast, that the door is open. — Well, but you

say to me, Do not live in Nicopolis. I will not live there. — Nor in Athens. — I will not live in Athens. — Nor in Rome. — I will not live in Rome. — Live in Gyarus. — I will live in Gyarus, but it seems like a great smoke to live in Gyarus; and I depart to the place where no man will hinder me from living, for that dwelling place is open to all; and as to the last garment, that is the poor body, no one has any power over me beyond this. This was the reason why Demetrius said to Nero, “You threaten me with death, but nature threatens you.” If I set my admiration on the poor body, I have given myself up to be a slave: if on my little possessions, I also make myself a slave: for I immediately make it plain with what I may be caught; as if the snake draws in his head, I tell you to strike that part of him which he guards; and do you be assured that whatever part you choose to guard, that part your master will attack. Remembering this whom will you still flatter or fear?

But I should like to sit where the Senators sit. — Do you see that you are putting yourself in straits, you are squeezing yourself. — How then shall I see well in any other way in the amphitheatre? Man, do not be a spectator at all; and you will not be squeezed. Why do you give yourself trouble? Or wait a little, and when the spectacle is over, seat yourself in the place reserved for the Senators and sun yourself. For remember this general truth, that it is we who squeeze ourselves, who put ourselves in straits; that is our opinions squeeze us and put us in straits. For what is it to be reviled? Stand by a stone and revile it; and what will you gain? If then a man listens like a stone, what profit is there to the reviler? But if the reviler has as a stepping-stone (or ladder) the weakness of him who is reviled, then he accomplishes something. — Strip him. — What do you mean by him? — Lay hold of his garment, strip it off. I have insulted you. Much good may it do you.

This was the practice of Socrates: this was the reason why he always had one face. But we choose to practise and study any thing rather than the means by which we shall be unimpeded and free. You say, Philosophers talk paradoxes. But are there no paradoxes in the other arts? and what is more paradoxical than to puncture a man’s eye in order that he may see? If any one said this to a man ignorant of the surgical art, would he not ridicule the speaker? Where is the wonder then if in philosophy also many things which are true appear paradoxical to the inexperienced?

WHAT IS THE LAW OF LIFE.

WHEN a person was reading hypothetical arguments, Epictetus said, This also is an hypothetical law that we must accept what follows from the hypothesis. But much before this law is the law of life, that we must act conformably to nature. For if in every matter and circumstance we wish to observe what is natural, it is plain that in every thing we ought to make it our aim that neither that which is consequent shall escape us, and that we do not admit the contradictory. First then philosophers exercise us in

theory(contemplation of things), which is easier; and then next they lead us to the more difficult things; for in theory, there is nothing which draws us away from following what is taught; but in the matters of life, many are the things which distract us. He is ridiculous then who says that he wishes to begin with the matters of real life, for it is not easy to begin with the more difficult things; and we ought to employ this fact as an argument to those parents who are vexed at their children learning philosophy: Am I doing wrong then my father, and do I not know what is suitable to me and becoming? If indeed this can neither be learned nor taught, why do you blame me? but if it can be taught, teach me; and if you can not, allow me to learn from those who say that they know how to teach. For what do you think? do you suppose that I voluntarily fall into evil and miss the good? I hope that it may not be so. What is then the cause of my doing wrong? Ignorance. Do you not choose then that I should get rid of my ignorance? Who was ever taught by anger the art of a pilot or music? Do you think then that by means of your anger I shall learn the art of life? He only is allowed to speak in this way who has shown such an intention. But if a man only intending to make a display at a banquet and to show that he is acquainted with hypothetical arguments reads them and attends the philosophers, what other object has he than that some man of senatorian rank who sits by him may admire? For there (at Rome) are the really great materials (opportunities), and the riches here (at Nicopolis) appear to be trifles there. This is the reason why it is difficult for a man to be master of the appearances, where the things which disturb the judgment are great. I know a certain person who complained, as he embraced the knees of Epaphroditus, that he had only one hundred and fifty times ten thousand denarii remaining. What then did Epaphroditus do? Did he laugh at him, as we slaves of Epaphroditus did? No, but he cried out with amazement, "Poor man, how then did you keep silence, how did you endure it?"

When Epictetus had reproved(called) the person who was reading the hypothetical arguments, and the teacher who had suggested the reading was laughing at the reader, Epictetus said to the teacher, "You are laughing at yourself: you did not prepare the young man nor did you ascertain whether he was able to understand these matters; but perhaps, you are only employing him as a reader." Well then said Epictetus, if a man has not ability enough to understand a complex (syllogism), do we trust him in giving praise, do we trust him in giving blame, do we allow that he is able to form a judgment about good or bad? and if such a man blames any one, does the man care for the blame? and if he praises any one, is the man elated, when in such small matters as an hypothetical syllogism he who praises cannot see what is consequent on the hypothesis?

This then is the beginning of philosophy, a man's perception of the state of his ruling faculty; for when a man knows that it is weak, then he will not employ it on things of the greatest difficulty. But at present, if men cannot swallow even a morsel, they buy whole volumes and attempt to devour them;

and this is the reason why they vomit them up or suffer indigestion: and then come gripings, defluxes, and fevers. Such men ought to consider what their ability is. In theory it is easy to convince an ignorant person; but in the affairs of real life no one offers himself to be convinced, and we hate the man who has convinced us. But Socrates advised us not to live a life which is not subjected to examination.

IN HOW MANY WAYS APPEARANCES EXIST, AND WHAT AIDS WE SHOULD PROVIDE AGAINST THEM.

APPEARANCES are to us in four ways: for either things appear as they are; or they are not, and do not even appear to be; or they are, and do not appear to be; or they are not, and yet appear to be. Further, in all these cases to form a right judgment (to hit the mark) is the office of an educated man. But whatever it is that annoys (troubles) us, to that we ought to apply a remedy. If the sophisms of Pyrrho and of the Academics are what annoys (troubles), we must apply the remedy to them. If it is the persuasion of appearances, by which some things appear to be good, when they are not good, let us seek a remedy for this. If it is habit which annoys us, we must try to seek aid against habit. What aid then can we find against habit? The contrary habit. You hear the ignorant say: "That unfortunate person is dead: his father and mother are overpowered with sorrow; he was cut off by an untimely death and in a foreign land." Hear the contrary way of speaking: Tear yourself from these expressions: oppose to one habit the contrary habit; to sophistry oppose reason, and the exercise and discipline of reason; against persuasive (deceitful) appearances we ought to have manifest praecognitions (προλήψεις) cleared of all impurities and ready to hand.

When death appears an evil, we ought to have this rule in readiness, that it is fit to avoid evil things, and that death is a necessary thing. For what shall I do, and where shall I escape it? Suppose that I am not Sarpedon, the son of Zeus, nor able to speak in this noble way: I will go and I am resolved either to behave bravely myself or to give to another the opportunity of doing so; if I cannot succeed in doing any thing myself, I will not grudge another the doing of something noble. — Suppose that it is above our power to act thus; is it not in our power to reason thus? Tell me where I can escape death: discover for me the country, show me the men to whom I must go, whom death does not visit. Discover to me a charm against death. If I have not one, what do you wish me to do? I cannot escape from death. Shall I not escape from the fear of death, but shall I die lamenting and trembling? For the origin of perturbation is this, to wish for something, and that this should not happen. Therefore if I am able to change externals according to my wish, I change them; but if I can not, I am ready to tear out the eyes of him who hinders me. For the nature of

man is not to endure to be deprived of the good, and not to endure the falling into the evil. Then at last, when I am neither able to change circumstances nor to tear out the eyes of him who hinders me, I sit down and groan, and abuse whom I can, Zeus and the rest of the gods. For if they do not care for me, what are they to me? — Yes, but you will be an impious man. — In what respect then will it be worse for me than it is now? — To sum up, remember this that unless piety and your interest be in the same thing, piety cannot be maintained in any man. Do not these things seem necessary (true)?

Let the followers of Pyrrho and the Academics come and make their objections. For I, as to my part, have no leisure for these disputes, nor am I able to undertake the defence of common consent (opinion). If I had a suit even about a bit of land, I would call in another to defend my interests. With what evidence then am I satisfied? With that which belongs to the matter in hand. How indeed perception is effected, whether through the whole body or any part, perhaps I cannot explain: for both opinions perplex me. But that you and I are not the same, I know with perfect certainty. How do you know it? When I intend to swallow any thing, I never carry it to your mouth, but to my own. When I intend to take bread, I never lay hold of a broom, but I always go to the bread as to a mark. And you yourselves (the Pyrrhonists), who take away the evidence of the senses, do you act otherwise? Who among you, when he intended to enter a bath, ever went into a mill?

What then? Ought we not with all our power to hold to this also, the maintaining of general opinion, and fortifying ourselves against the arguments which are directed against it? Who denies that we ought to do this? Well, he should do it who is able, who has leisure for it; but as to him who trembles and is perturbed and is inwardly broken in heart (spirit), he must employ his time better on something else.

THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO BE ANGRY WITH MEN; AND WHAT ARE THE SMALL AND THE GREAT THINGS AMONG MEN.

WHAT is the cause of assenting to any thing? The fact that it appears to be true. It is not possible then to assent to that which appears not to be true. Why? Because this is the nature of the understanding, to incline to the true, to be dissatisfied with the false, and in matters uncertain to withhold assent. What is the proof of this? Imagine (persuade yourself), if you can, that it is now night. It is not possible. Take away your persuasion that it is day. It is not possible. Persuade yourself or take away your persuasion that the stars are even in number. It is impossible. When then any man assents to that which is false, be assured that he did not intend to assent to it as false, for every soul is unwillingly deprived of the truth, as Plato says; but the falsity seemed to him to be true. Well, in acts what have we of the like kind as we have here truth or

falsehood? We have the fit and the not fit (duty and not duty), the profitable and the unprofitable, that which is suitable to a person and that which is not, and whatever is like these. Can then a man think that a thing is useful to him and not choose it? He cannot. How says Medea? —

“‘Tis true I know what evil I shall do, But passion overpowers the better counsel.

“

She thought that to indulge her passion and take vengeance on her husband was more profitable than to spare her children. It was so; but she was deceived. Show her plainly that she is deceived, and she will not do it; but so long as you do not show it, what can she follow except that which appears to herself (her opinion)? Nothing else. Why then are you angry with the unhappy woman that she has been bewildered about the most important things, and is become a viper instead of human creature? And why not, if it is possible, rather pity, as we pity the blind and the lame, so those who are blinded and maimed in the faculties which are supreme?

Whoever then clearly remembers this, that to man the measure of every act is the appearance (the opinion), — whether the thing appears good or bad: if good, he is free from blame; if bad, himself suffers the penalty, for it is impossible that he who is deceived can be one person, and he who suffers another person — whoever remembers this will not be angry with any man, will not be vexed at any man, will not revile or blame any man, nor hate nor quarrel with any man.

So then all these great and dreadful deeds have this origin, in the appearance (opinion)? Yes, this origin and no other. The Iliad is nothing else than appearance and the use of appearances. It appeared to Alexander to carry off the wife of Menelaus: it appeared to Helene to follow him. If then it had appeared to Menelaus to feel that it was a gain to be deprived of such a wife, what would have happened? Not only would the Iliad have been lost, but the Odyssey also. On so small a matter then did such great things depend? But what do you mean by such great things? Wars and civil commotions, and the destruction of many men and cities. And what great matter is this? Is it nothing? — But what great matter is the death of many oxen, and many sheep, and many nests of swallows or storks being burnt or destroyed? Are these things then like those? Very like. Bodies of men are destroyed, and the bodies of oxen and sheep; the dwellings of men are burnt, and the nests of storks. What is there in this great or dreadful? Or show me what is the difference between a man's house and a stork's nest, as far as each is a dwelling; except that man builds his little houses of beams and tiles and bricks, and the stork builds them of sticks and mud. Are a stork and a man then like things? What say you? — In body they are very much alike.

Does a man then differ in no respect from a stork? Don't suppose that I say so; but there is no difference in these matters (which I have mentioned). In

what then is the difference? Seek and you will find that there is a difference in another matter. See whether it is not in a man the understanding of what he does, see if it is not in social community, in fidelity, in modesty, in steadfastness, in intelligence. Where then is the great good and evil in men? It is where the difference is. If the difference is preserved and remains fenced round, and neither modesty is destroyed, nor fidelity, nor intelligence, then the man also is preserved; but if any of these things is destroyed and stormed like a city, then the man too perishes; and in this consist the great things. Alexander, you say, sustained great damage then when the Hellenes invaded and when they ravaged Troy, and when his brothers perished. By no means; for no man is damaged by an action which is not his own; but what happened at that time was only the destruction of storks' nests: now the ruin of Alexander was when he lost the character of modesty, fidelity, regard to hospitality, and to decency. When was Achilles ruined? Was it when Patroclus died? Not so. But it happened when he began to be angry, when he wept for a girl, when he forgot that he was at Troy not to get mistresses, but to fight. These things are the ruin of men, this is being besieged, this is the destruction of cities, when right opinions are destroyed, when they are corrupted.

When then women are carried off, when children are made captives, and when the men are killed, are these not evils? How is it then that you add to the facts these opinions? Explain this to me also. — I shall not do that; but how is it that you say that these are not evils? — Let us come to the rules: produce the *praecognitions* (προλήψεις): for it is because this is neglected that we can not sufficiently wonder at what men do. When we intend to judge of weights, we do not judge by guess: where we intend to judge of straight and crooked, we do not judge by guess. In all cases where it is our interest to know what is true in any matter, never will any man among us do anything by guess. But in things which depend on the first and on the only cause of doing right or wrong, of happiness or unhappiness, of being unfortunate or fortunate, there only we are inconsiderate and rash. There is then nothing like scales (balance), nothing like a rule: but some appearance is presented, and straightway I act according to it. Must I then suppose that I am superior to Achilles or Agamemnon, so that they by following appearances do and suffer so many evils: and shall not the appearance be sufficient for me? — And what tragedy has any other beginning? The Atreus of Euripides, what is it? An appearance. The Oedipus of Sophocles, what is it? An appearance. The Phoenix? An appearance. The Hippolytus? An appearance. What kind of a man then do you suppose him to be who pays no regard to this matter? And what is the name of those who follow every appearance? They are called madmen. Do we then act at all differently?

ON CONSTANCY (OR FIRMNESS).

THE being (nature) of the Good is a certain Will; the being of the Bad is a

certain kind of Will. What then are externals? Materials for the Will, about which the will being conversant shall obtain its own good or evil. How shall it obtain the good. If it does not admire (overvalue) the materials; for the opinions about the materials, if the opinions are right, make the will good: but perverse and distorted opinions make the will bad. God has fixed this law, and says, "If you would have any thing good, receive it from yourself." You say, No, but I will have it from another. — Do not so: but receive it from yourself. Therefore when the tyrant threatens and calls me, I say, Whom do you threaten? If he says, I will put you in chains, I say, You threaten my hands and my feet. If he says, I will cut off your head, I reply, You threaten my head. If he says, I will throw you into prison, I say, You threaten the whole of this poor body. If he threatens me with banishment, I say the same. Does he then not threaten you at all? If I feel that all these things do not concern me, he does not threaten me at all; but if I fear any of them, it is I whom he threatens. Whom then do I fear? the master of what? The master of things which are in my own power? There is no such master. Do I fear the master of things which are not in my power? And what are these things to me?

Do you philosophers then teach us to despise kings? I hope not. Who among us teaches to claim against them the power over things which they possess? Take my poor body, take my property, take my reputation, take those who are about me. If I advise any persons to claim these things, they may truly accuse me. — Yes, but I intend to command your opinions also. — And who has given you this power? How can you conquer the opinion of another man? By applying terror to it, he replies, I will conquer it. Do you not know that opinion conquers itself, and is not conquered by another? But nothing else can conquer Will except the Will itself. For this reason too the law of God is most powerful and most just, which is this: Let the stronger always be superior to the weaker. Ten are stronger than one. For what? For putting in chains, for killing, for dragging whither they choose, for taking away what a man has. The ten therefore conquer the one in this in which they are stronger. In what then are the ten weaker? If the one possesses right opinions and the others do not. Well then, can the ten conquer in this matter? How is it possible? If we were placed in the scales, must not the heavier draw down the scale in which it is.

How strange then that Socrates should have been so treated by the Athenians. Slave, why do you say Socrates? Speak of the thing as it is: how strange that the poor body of Socrates should have been carried off and dragged to prison by stronger men, and that any one should have given hemlock to the poor body of Socrates, and that it should breathe out the life. Do these things seem strange, do they seem unjust, do you on account of these things blame God? Had Socrates then no equivalent for these things? Where then for him was the nature of good? Whom shall we listen to, you or him? And what does Socrates say? Anytus and Melitus can kill me, but they cannot hurt me: and further, he says, "If it so pleases God, so let it be."

But show me that he who has the inferior principles overpowers him who is superior in principles. You will never show this, nor come near showing it; for this is the law of nature and of God that the superior shall always overpower the inferior. In what? In that in which it is superior. One body is stronger than another: many are stronger than one: the thief is stronger than he who is not a thief. This is the reason why I also lost my lamp, because in wakefulness the thief was superior to me. But the man bought the lamp at this price: for a lamp he became a thief, a faithless fellow, and like a wild beast. This seemed to him a good bargain. Be it so. But a man has seized me by the cloak, and is drawing me to the public place: then others bawl out, Philosopher, what has been the use of your opinions? see you are dragged to prison, you are going to be beheaded. And what system of philosophy (εἰσαγωγήν) could I have made so that, if a stronger man should have laid hold of my cloak, I should not be dragged off; that if ten men should have laid hold of me and cast me into prison, I should not be cast in? Have I learned nothing else then? I have learned to see that every thing which happens, if it be independent of my will, is nothing to me. I may ask, if you have not gained by this. Why then do you seek advantage in any thing else than in that in which you have learned that advantage is?

Then sitting in prison I say: The man who cries out in this way neither hears what words mean, nor understands what is said, nor does he care at all to know what philosophers say or what they do. Let him alone.

But now he says to the prisoner, Come out from your prison. — If you have no further need of me in prison, I come out: if you should have need of me again, I will enter the prison. — How long will you act thus? — So long as reason requires me to be with the body: but when reason does not require this, take away the body, and fare you well. Only we must not do it inconsiderately, nor weakly, nor for any slight reason; for, on the other hand, God does not wish it to be done, and he has need of such a world and such inhabitants in it. But if he sounds the signal for retreat, as he did to Socrates, we must obey him who gives the signal, as if he were a general.

Well then, ought we to say such things to the many? Why should we? Is it not enough for a man to be persuaded himself? When children come clapping their hands and crying out, “To-day is the good Saturnalia,” do we say, “The Saturnalia are not good”? By no means, but we clap our hands also. Do you also then, when you are not able to make a man change his mind, be assured that he is a child, and clap your hands with him; and if you do not choose to do this, keep silent.

A man must keep this in mind; and when he is called to any such difficulty, he should know that the time is come for showing if he has been instructed. For he who is come into a difficulty is like a young man from a school who has practised the resolution of syllogisms; and if any person proposes to him an easy syllogism, he says, rather propose to me a syllogism which is skilfully complicated that I may exercise myself on it. Even athletes are dissatisfied

with slight young men, and say, "He cannot lift me."—"This is a youth of noble disposition." [You do not so]; but when the time of trial is come, one of you must weep and say, "I wish that I had learned more." A little more of what? If you did not learn these things in order to show them in practice, why did you learn them I think that there is some one among you who are sitting here, who is suffering like a woman in labour, and saying, "Oh, that such a difficulty does not present itself to me as that which has come to this man; oh, that I should be wasting my life in a corner, when I might be crowned at Olympia. When will any one announce to me such a contest?" Such ought to be the disposition of all of you. Even among the gladiators of Caesar (the Emperor) there are some who complain grievously that they are not brought forward and matched, and they offer up prayers to God and address themselves to their superintendents intreating that they may fight. And will no one among you show himself such? I would willingly take a voyage [to Rome] for this purpose and see what my athlete is doing, how he is studying his subject. — I do not choose such a subject, he says. Why, is it in your power to take what subject you choose? There has been given to you such a body as you have, such parents, such brethren, such a country, such a place in your country: — then you come to me and say, Change my subject. Have you not abilities which enable you to manage the subject which has been given to you? [You ought to say]: It is your business to propose; it is mine to exercise myself well. However, you do not say so, but you say, Do not propose to me such a tropic, but such [as I would choose]: do not urge against me such an objection, but such [as I would choose]." There will be a time perhaps when tragic actors will suppose that they are [only] masks and buskins and the long cloak. I say, these things, man, are your material and subject. Utter something that we may know whether you are a tragic actor or a buffoon; for both of you have all the rest in common. If any one then should take away the tragic actor's buskins and his mask, and introduce him on the stage as a phantom, is the tragic actor lost, or does he still remain? If he has voice, he still remains.

An example of another kind. "Assume the governorship of a province." I assume it, and when I have assumed it, I show how an instructed man behaves. "Lay aside the laticlave (the mark of senatorial rank), and clothing yourself in rags, come forward in this character." What then have I not the power of displaying a good voice (that is, of doing something that I ought to do)? How then do you now appear (on the stage of life)? As a witness summoned by God. "Come forward, you, and bear testimony for me, for you are worthy to be brought forward as a witness by me: is any thing external to the will good or bad? do I hurt any man? have I made every man's interest dependent on any man except himself? What testimony do you give for God?" — I am in a wretched condition, Master (Lord), and I am unfortunate; no man cares for me, no man gives me anything; all blame me, all steak ill of me. — Is this the evidence that you are going to give, and disgrace his summons, who has conferred so much honour on you, and thought you worthy of being called

to bear such testimony?

But suppose that he who has the power has declared, "I judge you to be impious and profane." What has happened to you? I have been judged to be impious and profane? Nothing else? Nothing else. But if the same person had, passed judgment on an hypothetical syllogism (συνημμένον), and had made a declaration, "the conclusion that, if it is day, it is light, I declare to be false," what has happened to the hypothetical syllogism? who is judged in this case? who has been condemned? the hypothetical syllogism, or the man who has been deceived by it? Does he then who has the power of making any declaration about you know what is pious or impious? Has he studied it, and has he learned it? Where? From whom? Then is it the fact that a musician pays no regard to him who declares that the lowest chord in the lyre is the highest; nor yet a geometrician, if he declares that the lines from the centre of a circle to the circumference are not equal; and shall he who is really instructed pay any regard to the uninstructed man when he pronounces judgment on what is pious and what is impious, on what is just and unjust? Oh, the signal wrong done by the instructed. Did they learn this here?

Will you not leave the small arguments (λογάρια) about these matters to others, to lazy fellows, that they may sit in a corner and receive their sorry pay, or grumble that no one gives them any thing; and will you not come forward and make use of what you have learned? For it is not these small arguments that are wanted now: the writings of the Stoics are full of them. What then is the thing which is wanted? A man who shall apply them, one who by his acts shall bear testimony to his words. Assume, I intreat you, this character, that we may no longer use in the schools the examples of the antients, but may have some example of our own.

To whom then does the contemplation of these matters (philosophical inquiries) belong? To him who has leisure, for man is an animal that loves contemplation. But it is shameful to contemplate these things as runaway slaves do: we should sit, as in a theatre, free from distraction, and listen at one time to the tragic actor, at another time to the lute-player; and not do as slaves do. As soon as the slave has taken his station he praises the actor and at the same time looks round: then if any one calls out his master's name, the slave is immediately frightened and disturbed. It is shameful for philosophers thus to contemplate the works of nature. For what is a master? Man is not the master of man; but death is, and life and pleasure and pain; for if he comes without these things, bring Caesar to me and you will see how firm I am. But when he shall come with these things, thundering and lightning, and when I am afraid of them, what do I do then except to recognize my master like the runaway slave? But so long as I have any respite from these terrors, as a runaway slave stands in the theatre, so do I: I bathe, I drink, I sing; but all this I do with terror and uneasiness. But if I shall release myself from my masters, that is from those things by means of which masters are formidable, what further trouble have I, what master have I still?

What then, ought we to publish these things to all men? No, but we ought to accommodate ourselves to the ignorant (τοῖς ἰδιώταις) and to say: "This man recommends to me that which he thinks good for himself: I excuse him." For Socrates also excused the jailor, who had the charge of him in prison and was weeping when Socrates was going to drink the poison, and said, How generously he laments over us. Does he then say to the jailor that for this reason we have sent away the women? No, but he says it to his friends who were able to hear (understand) it; and he treats the jailor as a child.

WHAT WE OUGHT TO HAVE READY IN DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES.

WHEN you are going in to any great personage, remember that another also from above sees what is going on, and that you ought to please him rather than the other. He then who sees from above asks you: In the schools what used you to say about exile and bonds and death and disgrace? I used to say that they are things indifferent (neither good nor bad). What then do you say of them now? Are they changed at all? No. Are you changed then? No. Tell me then what things are indifferent? The things which are independent of the will. Tell me, also, what follows from this. The things which are independent of the will are nothing to me. Tell me also about the Good, what was your opinion? A will such as we ought to have and also such a use of appearances. And the end (purpose), what is it? To follow thee. Do you say this now also? I say the same now also.

Then go in to the great personage boldly and remember these things; and you will see what a youth is who has studied these things when he is among men who have not studied them. I indeed imagine that you will have such thoughts as these: Why do we make so great and so many preparations for nothing? Is this the thing which men name power? Is this the antechamber? this the men of the bedchamber? this the armed guards? Is it for this that I listened to so many discourses? All this is nothing: but I have been preparing myself as for something great.

BOOK II.

THAT CONFIDENCE (COURAGE) IS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH CAUTION.

THE opinion of the philosophers perhaps seems to some to be a paradox; but still let us examine as well as we can, if it is true that it is possible to do every thing both with caution and with confidence. For caution seems to be in a manner contrary to confidence, and contraries are in no way consistent. That which seems to many to be a paradox in the matter under consideration in my opinion is of this kind: if we asserted that we ought to employ caution and confidence in the same things, men might justly accuse us of bringing together things which cannot be united. But now where is the difficulty in what is said? for if these things are true, which have been often said and often proved, that the nature of good is in the use of appearances, and the nature of evil likewise, and that things independent of our will do not admit either the nature of evil nor of good, what paradox do the philosophers assert if they say that where things are not dependent on the will, there you should employ confidence, but where they are dependent on the will, there you should employ caution? For if the bad consists in a bad exercise of the will, caution ought only to be used where things are dependent on the will. But if things independent of the will and not in our power are nothing to us, with respect to these we must employ confidence; and thus we shall both be cautious and confident, and indeed confident because of our caution. For by employing caution towards things which are really bad, it will result that we shall have confidence with respect to things which are not so.

We are then in the condition of deer; when they flee from the huntsmen's feathers in fright, whither do they turn and in what do they seek refuge as safe? They turn to the nets, and thus they perish by confounding things which are objects of fear with things that they ought not to fear. Thus we also act: in what cases do we fear? In things which are independent of the will. In what cases on the contrary do we behave with confidence, as if there were no danger? In things dependent on the will. To be deceived then, or to act rashly, or shamelessly or with base desire to seek something, does not concern us at all, if we only hit the mark in things which are independent of our will. But where there is death, or exile or pain or infamy, there we attempt to run away, there we are struck with terror. Therefore as we may expect it to happen with those who err in the greatest matters, we convert natural confidence (that is, according to nature) into audacity, desperation, rashness, shamelessness; and we convert natural caution and modesty into cowardice and meanness, which are full of fear and confusion. For if a man should transfer caution to those things in which the will may be exercised and the acts of the will, he will immediately by willing to be cautious have also the power of avoiding what

he chooses: but if he transfer it to the things which are not in his power and will, and attempt to avoid the things which are in the power of others, he will of necessity fear, he will be unstable, he will be disturbed. For death or pain is not formidable, but the fear of pain or death. For this reason we commend the poet who said

Not death is evil, but a shameful death.

Confidence (courage) then ought to be employed against death, and caution against the fear of death. But now we do the contrary, and employ against death the attempt to escape; and to our opinion about it we employ carelessness, rashness and indifference. These things Socrates properly used to call tragic masks; for as to children masks appear terrible and fearful from inexperience, we also are affected in like manner by events (the things which happen in life) for no other reason than children are by masks. For what is a child? Ignorance. What is a child? Want of knowledge. For when a child knows these things, he is in no way inferior to us. What is death? A tragic mask. Turn it and examine it. See, it does not bite. The poor body must be separated from the spirit either now or later as it was separated from it before. Why then are you troubled, if it be separated now? for if it is not separated now, it will be separated afterwards. Why? That the period of the universe may be completed, for it has need of the present, and of the future, and of the past. What is pain? A mask. Turn it and examine it. The poor flesh is moved roughly, then on the contrary smoothly. If this does not satisfy (please) you, the door is open: if it does, bear (with things). For the door ought to be open for all occasions; and so we have no trouble.

What then is the fruit of these opinions? It is that which ought to be the most noble and the most becoming to those who are really educated, release from perturbation, release from fear, freedom. For in these matters we must not believe the many, who say that free persons only ought to be educated, but we should rather believe the philosophers who say that the educated only are free. How is this? In this manner. Is freedom any thing else than the power of living as we choose? Nothing else. Tell me then, ye men, do you wish to live in error? We do not. No one then who lives in error is free. Do you wish to live in fear? Do you wish to live in sorrow? Do you wish to live in perturbation? By no means. No one then who is in a state of fear or sorrow or perturbation is free; but whoever is delivered from sorrows and fears and perturbations, he is at the same time also delivered from servitude. How then can we continue to believe you, most dear legislators, when you say, We only allow free persons to be educated? For philosophers say we allow none to be free except the educated; that is, God does not allow it. When then a man has turned round before the praetor his own slave, has he done nothing? He has done something. What? He has turned round his own slave before the praetor. Has he done nothing more? Yes: he is also bound to pay for him the tax called the twentieth. Well then, is not the man who has gone through this ceremony become free? No more than he is become free from perturbations. Have you

who are able to turn round (free) others no master? is not money your master, or a girl or a boy, or some tyrant, or some friend of the tyrant? why do you tremble then when you are going off to any trial (danger) of this kind? It is for this reason that I often say, study and hold in readiness these principles by which you may determine what those things are with reference to which you ought to have confidence (courage), and those things with reference to which you ought to be cautious: courageous in that which does not depend on your will; cautious in that which does depend on it.

Well have I not read to you, and do you not know what I was doing? In what? In my little dissertations. — Show me how you are with respect to desire and aver- sion (ἐκκλίσιν); and show me if you do not fail in getting what you wish, and if you do not fall into the things which you would avoid: but as to these long and labored sentences you will take them and blot them out.

What then did not Socrates write? And who wrote so much? — But how? As he could not always have at hand one to argue against his principles or to be argued against in turn, he used to argue with and examine himself, and he was always treating at least some one subject in a practical way. These are the things which a philosopher writes. But little dissertations and that method, which I speak of, he leaves to others, to the stupid, or to those happy men who being free from perturbations have leisure, or to such as are too foolish to reckon con. sequences.

And will you now, when the opportunity invites, go and display those things which you possess, and recite them, and make an idle show, and say, See how I make dialogues? Do not so, my man; but rather say; See how I am not disappointed of that which I desire: See how I do not fall into that which I would avoid. Set death before me, and you will see. Set before me pain, prison, disgrace and condemnation. This is the proper display of a young man who is come out of the schools. But leave the rest to others, and let no one ever hear you say a word about these things; and if any man commends you for them, do not allow it; but think that you are nobody and know nothing. Only show that you know this, how never to be disappointed in your desire and how never to fall into that which you would avoid. Let others labour at forensic causes, problems and syllogisms: do you labour at thinking about death, chains, the rack, exile; and do all this with confidence and reliance on him who has called you to these sufferings, who has judged you worthy of the place in which being stationed you will show what things the rational governing power can do when it takes its stand against the forces which are not within the power of our will. And thus this paradox will no longer appear either impossible or a paradox, that a man ought to be at the same time cautious and courageous: courageous towards the things which do not depend on the will, and cautious in things which are within the power of the will.

OF TRANQUILLITY (FREEDOM FROM PERTURBATION).

CONSIDER, you who are going into court, what you wish to maintain and what you wish to succeed in. For if you wish to maintain a will conformable to nature, you have every security, every facility, you have no troubles. For if you wish to maintain what is in your own power and is naturally free, and if you are content with these, what else do you care for? For who is the master of such things? Who can take them away? If you choose to be modest and faithful, who shall not allow you to be so? If you choose not to be restrained or compelled, who shall compel you to desire what you think that you ought not to desire? who shall compel you to avoid what you do not think fit to avoid? But what do you say? The judge will determine against you something that appears formidable; but that you should also suffer in trying to avoid it, how can he do that? When then the pursuit of objects and the avoiding of them are in your power, what else do you care for? Let this be your preface, this your narrative, this your confirmation, this your victory, this your peroration, this your applause (or the approbation which you will receive).

Therefore Socrates said to one who was reminding him to prepare for his trial, Do you not think then that I have been preparing for it all my life? By what kind of preparation? I have maintained that which was in my own power. How then? I have never done anything unjust either in my private or in my public life.

But if you wish to maintain externals also, your poor body, your little property and your little estimation, I advise you to make from this moment all possible preparation, and then consider both the nature of your judge and your adversary. If it is necessary to embrace his knees, embrace his knees; if to weep, weep; if to groan, groan. For when you have subjected to externals what is your own, then be a slave and do not resist, and do not sometimes choose to be a slave, and sometimes not choose, but with all your mind be one or the other, either free or a slave, either instructed or uninstructed, either a well bred cock or a mean one, either endure to be beaten until you die or yield at once; and let it not happen to you to receive many stripes and then to yield. But if these things are base, determine immediately. Where is the nature of evil and good? It is where truth is: where truth is and where nature is, there is caution: where truth is, there is courage where nature is.

For what do you think? do you think that, if Socrates had wished to preserve externals, he would have come forward and said: Anytus and Melitus can certainly kill me, but to harm me they are not able? Was he so foolish as not to see that this way leads not to the preservation of life and fortune, but to another end? What is the reason then that he takes no account of his adversaries, and even irritates them? Just in the same way my friend Heraclitus, who had a little suit in Rhodes about a bit of land, and had proved to the judges (δικασταῖς) that his case was just, said when he had come to the peroration of his speech, I will neither intreat you nor do I care what judgment

you will give, and it is you father than I who are on your trial. And thus he ended the business. What need was there of this? Only do not intreat; but do not also say, 'I do not intreat;' unless there is a fit occasion to irritate purposely the judges, as was the case with Socrates. And you, if you are preparing such a peroration, why do you wait, why do you obey the order to submit to trial? For if you wish to be crucified, wait and the cross will come: but if you choose to submit and to plead your cause as well as you can, you must do what is consistent with this object, provided you maintain what is your own (your proper character).

For this reason also it is ridiculous to say, Suggest something to me (tell me what to do). What should I suggest to you? Well, form my mind so as to accommodate itself to any event. Why that is just the same as if a man who is ignorant of letters should say, Tell me what to write when any name is proposed to me. For if I should tell him to write Dion, and then another should come and propose to him not the name of Dion but that of Theon, what will be done? what will he write? But if you have practised writing, you are also prepared to write (or to do) any thing that is required. If you are not, what can I now suggest? For if circumstances require something else, what will you say, or what will you do? Remember then this general precept and you will need no suggestion. But if you gape after externals, you must of necessity ramble up and down in obedience to the will of your master. And who is the master? He who has the power over the things which you seek to gain or try to avoid.

TO THOSE WHO RECOMMEND PERSONS TO PHILOSOPHERS.

DIOGENES said well to one who asked from him letters of recommendation, "That you are a man, he said, he will know as soon as he sees you; and he will know whether you are good or bad, if he is by experience skilful to distinguish the good and the bad; but if he is without experience, he will never know, if I write to him ten thousand times." For it is just the same as if a drachma (a piece of silver money) asked to be recommended to a person to be tested. If he is skilful in testing silver, he will know what you are, for you (the drachma) will recommend yourself. We ought then in life also to have some skill as in the case of silver coin that a man may be able to say like the judge of silver, Bring me any drachma and I will test it. But in the case of syllogisms, I would say, Bring any man that you please, and I will distinguish for you the man who knows how to resolve syllogisms and the man who does not. Why? Because I know how to resolve syllogisms. I have the power, which a man must have who is able to discover those who have the power of resolving syllogisms. But in life how do I act? At one time I call a thing good, and at another time bad. What is the reason? The contrary to that which is in the case of syllogisms, ignorance and inexperience.

AGAINST A PERSON WHO HAD ONCE BEEN DETECTED IN ADULTERY.

As Epictetus was saying that man is formed for fidelity, and that he who subverts fidelity subverts the peculiar characteristic of men, there entered one of those who are considered to be men of letters, who had once been detected in adultery in the city. Then Epictetus continued, But if we lay aside this fidelity for which we are formed and make designs against our neighbour's wife, what are we doing? What else but destroying and overthrowing? Whom, the man of fidelity, the man of modesty, the man of sanctity. Is this all? And are we not overthrowing neighbourhood, and friendship, and the community; and in what place are we putting ourselves? How shall I consider you, man? As a neighbour, as a friend? What kind of one? As a citizen? Wherein shall I trust you? So if you were an utensil so worthless that a man could not use you, you would be pitched out on the dung heaps, and no man would pick you up. But if being a man you are unable to fill any place which befits a man, what shall we do with you? For suppose that you cannot hold the place of a friend, can you hold the place of a slave? And who will trust you? Are you not then content that you also should be pitched somewhere on a dung heap, as a useless utensil, and a bit of dung? Then will you say, no man cares for me, a man of letters? They do not, because you are bad and useless. It is just as if the wasps complained because no man cares for them, but all fly from them, and if a man can, he strikes them and knocks them down. You have such a sting that you throw into trouble and pain any man that you wound with it. What would you have us do with you? You have no place where you can be put.

What then, are not women common by nature? So I say also; for a little pig is common to all the invited guests, but when the portions have been distributed, go, if you think it right, and snatch up the portion of him who reclines next to you, or slyly steal it, or place your hand down by it and lay hold of it, and if you can not tear away a bit of the meat, grease your fingers and lick them. A fine companion over cups, and Socratic guest indeed Well, is not the theatre common to the citizens? When then they have taken their seats, come, if you think proper, and eject one of them. In this way women also are common by nature. When then the legislator, like the master of a feast, has distributed them, will you not also look for your own portion and not filch and handle what belongs to another. But I am a man of letters and understand Archedemus. — Understand Archedemus then, and be an adulterer, and faithless, and instead of a man, be a wolf or an ape: for what is the difference?

HOW MAGNANIMITY IS CONSISTENT WITH CARE.

THINGS themselves (materials) are indifferent; but the use of them is not indifferent. How then shall a man preserve firmness and tranquillity, and at

the same time be careful and neither rash nor negligent? If he imitates those who play at dice. The counters are indifferent; the dice are indifferent. How do I know what the cast will be? But to use carefully and dexterously the cast of the dice, this is my business. Thus then in life also the chief business is this: distinguish and separate things, and say, Externals are not in my power: will is in my power. Where shall I seek the good and the bad? Within, in the things which are my own. But in what does not belong to you call nothing either good or bad, or profit or damage or any thing of the kind.

What then? Should we use such things carelessly? In no way: for this on the other hand is bad for the faculty of the will, and consequently against nature; but we should act carefully because the use is not indifferent, and we should also act with firmness and freedom from perturbations because the material is indifferent. For where the material is not indifferent, there no man can hinder me nor compel me. Where I can be hindered and compelled, the obtaining of those things is not in my power, nor is it good or bad; but the use is either bad or good, and the use is in my power. But it is difficult to mingle and to bring together these two things, the carefulness of him who is affected by the matter (or things about him) and the firmness of him who has no regard for it; but it is not impossible: and if it is, happiness is impossible. But we should act as we do in the case of a voyage. What can I do? I can choose the master of the ship, the sailors, the day, the opportunity. Then comes a storm. What more have I to care for? for my part is done. The business belongs to another, the master. — But the ship is sinking — what then have I to do? I do the only thing that I can, not to be drowned fill of fear, nor screaming nor blaming God, but knowing that what has been produced must also perish: for I am not an immortal being, but a man, a part of the whole, as an hour is a part of the day; I must be present like the hour, and past like the hour. What difference then does it make to me, how I pass away, whether by being suffocated or by a fever, for I must pass through some such means?

This is just what you will see those doing who play at ball skilfully. No one cares about the ball as being good or bad, but about throwing and catching it. In this therefore is the skill, in this the art, the quickness, the judgment, so that even if I spread out my lap I may not be able to catch it, and another, if I throw, may catch the ball. But if with perturbation and fear we receive or throw the ball, what kind of play is it then, and wherein shall a man be steady, and how shall a man see the order in the game? But one will say, Throw; or Do not throw; and another will say, You have thrown once. This is quarrelling, not play.

Socrates then knew how to play at ball. How? By using pleasantry in the court where he was tried. Tell me, he says, Anytus, how do you say that I do not believe in God. The Daemons (δαίμονες), who are they, think you? Are they not sons of Gods, or compounded of gods and men? When Anytus admitted this, Socrates said, Who then, think you, can believe that there are mules (half asses), but not asses; and this he said as if he were playing at ball.

And what was the ball in that case? Life, chains, banishment, a draught of poison, separation from wife and leaving children orphans. These were the things with which he was playing; but still he did play and threw the ball skilfully. So we should do: we must employ all the care of the players, but show the same indifference about the ball. For we ought by all means to apply our art to some external material, not as valuing the material, but, whatever it may be, showing our art in it. Thus too the weaver does not make wool, but exercises his art upon such as he receives. Another gives you food and property and is able to take them away and your poor body also. When then you have received the material, work on it. If then you come out (of the trial) without having suffered any thing, all who meet you will congratulate you on your escape; but he who knows how to look at such things, if he shall see that you have behaved properly in the matter, will commend you and be pleased with you; and if he shall find that you owe your escape to any want of proper behaviour, he will do the contrary. For where rejoicing is reasonable, there also is congratulation reasonable.

How then is it said that some external things are according to nature and others contrary to nature? It is said as it might be said if we were separated from union (or society). for to the foot I shall say that it is according to nature for it to be clean; but if you take it as a foot and as a thing not detached (independent), it will befit it both to step into the mud and tread on thorns, and sometimes to be cut off for the good of the whole body; otherwise it is no longer a foot. We should think in some such way about ourselves also. What are you? A man. If you consider yourself as detached from other men, it is according to nature to live to old age, to be rich, to be healthy. But if you consider yourself as a man and a part of a certain whole, it is for the sake of that whole that at one time you should be sick, at another time take a voyage and run into danger, and at another time be in want, and in some cases die prematurely. Why then are you troubled? Do you not know, that as a foot is no longer a foot if it is detached from the body, so you are no longer a man if you are separated from other men. For what is a man? A part of a state, of that first which consists of Gods and of men; then of that which is called next to it, which is a small image of the universal state. What then must I be brought to trial; *must* another have a fever, another sail on the sea, another die, and another be condemned? Yes, for it is impossible in such a body, in such a universe of things, among so many living together, that such things should not happen, some to one and others to others. It is your duty then since you are come here, to say what you ought, to arrange these things as it is fit. Then some one says, "I shall charge you with doing me wrong." Much good may it do you: I have done my part; but whether you also have done yours, you must look to that; for there is some danger of this too, that it may escape your notice.

OF INDIFFERENCE.

THE hypothetical proposition is indifferent: the judgment about it is not indifferent, but it is either knowledge or opinion or error. Thus life is indifferent: the use is not indifferent. When any man then tells you that these things also are indifferent, do not become negligent; and when a man invites you to be careful (about such things), do not become abject and struck with admiration of material things. And it is good for you to know your own preparation and power, that in those matters where you have not been prepared, you may keep quiet, and not be vexed, if others have the advantage over you. For you too in syllogisms will claim to have the advantage over them; and if others should be vexed at this, you will console them by saying, 'I have learned them, and you have not.' Thus also where there is need of any practice, seek not that which is acquired from the need (of such practice), but yield in that matter to those who have had practice, and be yourself content with firmness of mind.

Go and salute a certain person. How? Not meanly. — But I have been shut out, for I have not learned to make my way through the window; and when I have found the door shut, I must either come back or enter through the window. — But still speak to him. — In what way? Not meanly. But suppose that you have not got what you wanted. Was this your business, and not his? Why then do you claim that which belongs to another? Always remember what is your own, and what belongs to another; and you will not be disturbed. Chrysippus therefore said well, So long as future things are uncertain, I always cling to those which are more adapted to the conservation of that which is according to nature; for God himself has given me the faculty of such choice. But if I knew that it was fated (in the order of things) for me to be sick, I would even move towards it; for the foot also, if it had intelligence, would move to go into the mud. For why are ears of corn produced? Is it not that they may become dry? And do they not become dry that they may be reaped? for they are not separated from communion with other things. If then they had perception, ought they to wish never to be reaped? But this is a curse upon ears of corn, to be never reaped. So we must know that in the case of men too it is a curse not to die, just the same as not to be ripened and not to be reaped. But since we must be reaped, and we also know that we are reaped, we are vexed at it; for we neither know what we are nor have we studied what belongs to man, as those who have studied horses know what belongs to horses. But Cbry- santas when he was going to strike the enemy checked himself when he heard the trumpet sounding a retreat: so it seemed better to him to obey the general's command than to follow his own inclination. But not one of us chooses, even when necessity summons, readily to obey it, but weeping and groaning we suffer what we do suffer, and we call them 'circumstances.' What kind of circumstances, man? If you give the name of circumstances to the things which are around you, all things are

circumstances; but if you call hardships by this name, what hardship is there in the dying of that which has been produced? But that which destroys is either a sword, or a wheel, or the sea, or a tile, or a tyrant. Why do you care about the way of going down to Hades? All ways are equal. But if you will listen to the truth, the way which the tyrant sends you is shorter. A tyrant never killed a man in six months: but a fever is often a year about it. All these things are only sound and the noise of empty names.

I am in danger of my life from Caesar. And am not I in danger who dwell in Nicopolis, where there are so many earthquakes: and when you are crossing the Hadriatic, what hazard do you run? Is it not the hazard of your life? But I am in danger also as to opinion. Do you mean your own? how? For who can compel you to have any opinion which you do not choose? But is it as to another man's opinion? and what kind of danger is yours, if others have false opinions? But I am in danger of being banished. What is it to be banished? To be somewhere else than at Rome? Yes: what then if I should be sent to Gyara? If that suits you, you will go there; but if it does not, you can go to another place instead of Gyara, whither he also will go, who sends you to Gyara, whether he choose or not. Why then do you go up to Rome as if it were something great? It is not worth all this preparation, that an ingenuous youth should say, It was not worth while to have heard so much and to have written so much and to have sat so long by the side of an old man who is not worth much. Only remember that division by which your own and not your own are distinguished: never claim any thing which belongs to others. A tribunal and a prison are each a place, one high and the other low; but the will can be maintained equal, if you choose to maintain it equal in each. And we shall then be imitators of Socrates, when we are able to write paeans in prison. But in our present disposition, consider if we could endure in prison another person saying to us, Would you like me to read Paeans to you? — Why do you trouble me? do you not know the evils which hold me? Can I in such circumstances (listen to paeans)? — What circumstances? — I am going to die. — And will other men be immortal?

HOW WE OUGHT TO USE DIVINATION.

THROUGH an unreasonable regard to divination many of us omit many duties. For what more can the diviner see than death or danger or disease, or generally things of that kind? If then I must expose myself to danger for a friend, and if it is my duty even to die for him, what need have I then for divination? Have I not within me a diviner who has told me the nature of good and of evil, and has explained to me the signs (or marks) of both? What need have I then to consult the viscera of victims or the flight of birds, and why do I submit when he says, It is for your interest? For does he know what is for my interest, does he know what is good; and as he has learned the signs of the viscera, has he also learned the signs of good and evil? For if he knows the

signs of these, he knows the signs both of the beautiful and of the ugly, and of the just and of the unjust. Do you tell me, man, what is the thing which is signified for me: is it life or death, poverty or wealth? But whether these things are for my interest or whether they are not, I do not intend to ask you. Why don't you give your opinion on matters of grammar, and why do you give it here about things on which we are all in error and disputing with one another? The woman therefore, who intended to send by a vessel a month's provisions to Gratilla in her banishment, made a good answer to him who said that Domitian would seize what she sent, I would rather, she replied, that Domitian should seize all than that I should not send it.

What then leads us to frequent use of divination? Cowardice, the dread of what will happen. This is the reason why we flatter the diviners. Pray, master, shall I succeed to the property of my father? Let us see: let us sacrifice on the occasion. — Yes, master, as fortune chooses. — When he has said, You shall succeed to the inheritance, we thank him as if we received the inheritance from him. The consequence is that they play upon us.

What then should we do? We ought to come (to divination) without desire or aversion, as the wayfarer asks of the man whom he meets which of two roads leads (to his journey's end), without any desire for that which leads to the right rather than to the left, for he has no wish to go by any road except the road which leads (to his end). In the same way ought we to come to God also as a guide; as we use our eyes, not asking them to show us rather such things as we wish, but receiving the appearances of things such as the eyes present them to us. But now we trembling take the augur (bird interpreter) by the hand, and while we invoke God we intreat the augur, and say Master have mercy on me; suffer me to come safe out of this difficulty. Wretch, would you have then any thing other than what is best? Is there then any thing better than what pleases God? Why do you, as far as is in your power, corrupt your judge and lead astray your adviser?

WHAT IS THE NATURE (ἡ Οὐσία) OF THE GOOD

GOD is beneficial. But the Good also is beneficial. It is consistent then that where the nature of God is, there also the nature of the good should be. What then is the nature of God? Flesh? Certainly not. An estate in land? By no means. Fame? No. Is it intelligence, knowledge, right reason? Yes. Herein then simply seek the nature of the good; for I suppose that you do not seek it in a plant. No. Do you seek it in an irrational animal? No. If then you seek it in a rational animal, why do you still seek it any where except in the superiority of rational over irrational animals? Now plants have not even the power of using appearances, and for this reason you do not apply the term good to them. The good then requires the use of appearances. Does it require this use only? For if you say that it requires this use only, say that the good, and that happiness and unhappiness are in irrational animals also. But you do

not say this, and you do right; for if they possess even in the highest degree the use of appearances, yet they have not the faculty of understanding the use of appearances; and there is good reason for this, for they exist for the purpose of serving others, and they exercise no superiority. For the ass, I suppose, does not exist for any superiority over others. No; but because we had need of a back which is able to bear something; and in truth we had need also of his being able to walk, and for this reason he received also the faculty of making use of appearances, for other wise he would not have been able to walk. And here then the matter stopped. For if he had also received the faculty of comprehending the use of appearances, it is plain that consistently with reason he would not then have been subjected to us, nor would he have done us these services, but he would have been equal to us and like to us.

Will you not then seek the nature of good in the rational animal? for if it is not there, you will not choose to say that it exists in any other thing (plant or animal). What then? are not plants and animals also the works of God? They are; but they are not superior things, nor yet parts of the Gods. But you are a superior thing; you are a portion separated from the deity; you have in yourself a certain portion of him. Why then are you ignorant of your own noble descent? Why do you not know whence you came? will you not remember when you are eating, who you are who eat and whom you feed? When you are in conjunction with a woman, will you not remember who you are who do this thing? When you are in social intercourse, when you are exercising yourself, when you are engaged in discussion, know you not that you are nourishing a god, that you are exercising a god? Wretch, you are carrying about a god with you, and you know it not. Do you think that I mean some God of silver or of gold, and external? You carry him within yourself, and you perceive not that you are polluting him by impure thoughts and dirty deeds. And if an image of God were present, you would not dare to do any of the things which you are doing: but when God himself is present within and sees all and hears all, you are not ashamed of thinking such things and doing such things, ignorant as you are of your own nature and subject to the anger of God. Then why do we fear when we are sending a young man from the school into active life, lest he should do anything improperly, eat improperly, have improper intercourse with women; and lest the rags in which he is wrapped should debase him, lest fine garments should make him proud? This youth (if he acts thus) does not know his own God: he knows not with whom he sets out (into the world). But can we endure when he says 'I wish I had you (God) with me.' Have you not God with you? and do you seek for any other, when you have him? or will God tell you any thing else than this? If you were a statue of Phidias, either Athena or Zeus, you would think both of yourself and of the artist, and if you had any understanding (power of perception) you would try to do nothing unworthy of him who made you or of yourself, and try not to appear in an unbecoming dress (attitude) to those who look on you. But now because Zeus has made you, for this reason do you care not how you shall

appear? And yet is the artist (in the one case) like the artist in the other? or the work in the one case like the other? And what work of an artist, for instance, has in itself the faculties, which the artist shows in making it? Is it not marble or bronze, or gold or ivory? and the Athena of Phidias when she has once extended the hand and received in it the figure of Victory stands in that attitude for ever. But the works of God have power of motion, they breathe, they have the faculty of using the appearances of things, and the power of examining them. Being the work of such an artist do you dishonour him? And what shall I say, not only that he made you, but also entrusted you to yourself and made you a deposit to your- self? Will you not think of this too, but do you also dis- honour your guardianship? But if God had entrusted an orphan to you, would you thus neglect him? He has delivered yourself to your own care, and says, I had no one fitter to intrust him to than yourself: keep him for me such as he is by nature, modest, faithful, erect, untrier- fled, free from passion and perturbation. And then you do not keep him such. But some will say, whence has this fellow got the arrogance which he displays and these supercilious looks? — I have not yet so much gravity as befits a philosopher; for I do not yet feel confidence in what I have learned and in what I have assented to: I still fear my own weakness. Let me get confidence and then you shall see a countenance such as I ought to have and an attitude such as I ought to have: then I will show to you the statue, when it is perfected, when it is polished. What do you expect? a supercilious coun- tenance? Does the Zeus at Olympia lift up his brow? No, his look is fixed as becomes him who is ready to say

Irrevocable is my word and shall not fail. — *Iliad*, i. 526.

Such will I show myself to you, faithful, modest, noble, free from perturbation — What, and immortal too, exempt from old age, and from sickness? No, but dying as becomes a god, sickening as becomes a god. This power I possess; this I can do. But the rest I do not possess, nor can I do. I will show the nerves (strength) of a philosopher. What Lerves are these? A desire never disappointed, an aversion which never falls on that which it would avoid, a proper pursuit (ὁρμήν), a diligent purpose, an assent which is not rash. These you shall see.

THAT WHEN WE CANNOT FULFIL THAT WHICH THE CHARACTER OF A MAN PROMISES, WE ASSUME THE CHARACTER OF A PHILOSOPHER.

It is no common (easy) thing to do this only, to fulfil the promise of a man's nature. For what is a man? The answer is, a rational and mortal being. Then by the rational faculty from whom are we separated? From wild beasts. And from what others? From sheep and like animals. Take care then to do nothing like a wild beast; but if you do, you have lost the character of a man; you have

not fulfilled your promise. See that you do nothing like a sheep; but if you do, in this case also the man is lost. What then do we do as sheep? When we act gluttonously, when we act lewdly, when we act rashly, filthily, inconsiderately, to what have we declined? To sheep. What have we lost? The rational faculty. When we act contentiously and harmfully and passionately, and violently, to what have we declined? To wild beasts. Consequently some of us are great wild beasts, and others little beasts, of a bad disposition and small, whence we may say, Let me be eaten by a lion. But in all these ways the promise of a man acting as a man is destroyed. For when is a conjunctive (complex) proposition maintained? When it fulfils what its nature promises; so that the preservation of a complex proposition is when it is a conjunction of truths. When is a disjunctive maintained? When it fulfils what it promises. When are flutes, a lyre, a horse, a dog, preserved? (when they severally keep their promise). What is the wonder then if man also in like manner is preserved, and in like manner is lost? Each man is improved and preserved by corresponding acts, the carpenter by acts of carpentry, the grammarian by acts of grammar. But if a man accustoms himself to write ungrammatically, of necessity his art will be corrupted and destroyed. Thus modest actions preserve the modest man, and immodest actions destroy him: and actions of fidelity preserve the faithful man, and the contrary actions destroy him. And on the other hand contrary actions strengthen contrary characters: shamelessness strengthens the shameless man, faithlessness the faithless man, abusive words the abusive man, anger the man of an angry temper, and unequal receiving and giving make the avaricious man more avaricious.

For this reason philosophers admonish us not to be satisfied with learning only, but also to add study, and then practice. For we have long been accustomed to do contrary things, and we put in practice opinions which are contrary to true opinions. If then we shall not also put in practice right opinions, we shall be nothing more than the expositors of the opinions of others. For now who among us is not able to discourse according to the rules of art about good and evil things (in this fashion)? That of things some are good, and some are bad, and some are indifferent: the good then are virtues, and the things which participate in virtues; and the bad are the contrary; and the indifferent are wealth, health, reputation. — Then, if in the midst of our talk there should happen some greater noise than usual, or some of those who are present should laugh at us, we are disturbed. Philosopher, where are the things which you were talking about? Whence did you produce and utter them. From the lips, and thence only. Why then do you corrupt the aids provided by others? Why do you treat the weightiest matters as if you were playing a game of dice? For it is one thing to lay up bread and wine as in a storehouse, and another thing to eat. That which has been eaten, is digested, distributed, and is become sinews, flesh, bones, blood, healthy colour, healthy breath. Whatever is stored up, when you choose you can readily take and show it; but you have no other advantage from it except so far as to appear to

possess it. For what is the difference between explaining these doctrines and those of men who have different opinions? Sit down now and explain according to the rules of art the opinions of Epicurus, and perhaps you will explain his opinions in a more useful manner than Epicurus himself. Why then do you call yourself a Stoic? Why do you deceive the many? Why do you act the part of a Jew, when you are a Greek? Do you not see how (why) each is called a Jew, or a Syrian or an Egyptian? and when we see a man inclining to two sides, we are accustomed to say, This man is not a Jew, but he acts as one. But when he has assumed the affects of one who has been imbued with Jewish doctrine and has adopted that sect, then he is in fact and he is named a Jew. Thus we too being falsely imbued (baptized), are in name Jews, but in fact we are something else. Our affects (feelings) are inconsistent with our words; we are far from practising what we say, and that of which we are proud, as if we knew it. Thus being unable to fulfil even what the character of a man promises, we even add to it the profession of a philosopher, which is as heavy a burden, as if a man who is unable to bear ten pounds should attempt to raise the stone which Ajax lifted.

HOW WE MAY DISCOVER THE DUTIES OF LIFE FROM NAMES.

CONSIDER who you are. In the first place, you are a man and this is one who has nothing superior to the faculty of the will, but all other things subjected to it; and the faculty itself he possesses unenslaved and free from subjection. Consider then from what things you have been separated by reason. You have been separated from wild beasts: you have been separated from domestic animals (προβάτων). Further, you are a citizen of the world, and a part of it, not one of the subservient (serving), but one of the principal (ruling) parts, for you are capable of comprehending the divine administration and of considering the connexion of things. What then does the character of a citizen promise (profess)? To hold nothing as profitable to himself; to deliberate about nothing as if he were detached from the community, but to act as the hand or foot would do, if they had reason and understood the constitution of nature, for they would never put themselves in motion nor desire any thing otherwise than with reference to the whole. Therefore the philosophers say well, that if the good man had foreknowledge of what would happen, he would co-operate towards his own sickness and death and mutilation, since he knows that these things are assigned to him according to the universal arrangement, and that the whole is superior to the part, and the state to the citizen. But now because we do not know the future, it is our duty to stick to the things which are in their nature more suitable for our choice, for we were made among other things for this.

After this remember that you are a son. What does this character promise? To consider that every thing which is the son's belongs to the father, to obey him in all things, never to blame him to another, nor to say or do any thing

which does him injury, to yield to him in all things and give way, co-operating with him as far as you can. After this know that you are a brother also, and that to this character it is due to make concessions; to be easily persuaded, to speak good of your brother, never to claim in opposition to him any of the things which are independent of the will, but readily to give them up, that you may have the larger share in what is dependent on the will. For see what a thing it is, in place of a lettuce, if it should so happen, or a seat, to gain for yourself goodness of disposition. How great is the advantage.

Next to this, if you are a senator of any state, remember that you are a senator: if a youth, that you are a youth: if an old man, that you are an old man; for each of such names, if it comes to be examined, marks out the proper duties. But if you go and blame your brother, I say to you, You have forgotten who you are and what is your name. In the next place, if you were a smith and made a wrong use of the hammer, you would have forgotten the smith; and if you have forgotten the brother and instead of a brother have become an enemy, would you appear not to have changed one thing for another in that case? And if instead of a man, who is a tame animal and social, you are become a mischievous wild beast, treacherous, and biting, have you lost nothing? But, (I suppose) you must lose a bit of money that you may suffer damage? And does the loss of nothing else do a man damage? If you had lost the art of grammar or music, would you think the loss of it a damage? and if you shall lose modesty, moderation (*καταστολήν*) and gentleness, do you think the loss nothing? And yet the things first mentioned are lost by some cause external and independent of the will, and the second by our own fault; and as to the first neither to have them nor to lose them is shameful; but as to the second, not to have them and to lose them is shameful and matter of reproach and a misfortune. What does the pathic lose? He loses the (character of) man. What does he lose who makes the pathic what he is? Many other things; and he also loses the man no less than the other. What does he lose who commits adultery? He loses the (character of the) modest, the temperate, the decent, the citizen, the neighbour. What does he lose who is angry? Something else. What does the coward lose? Something else. No man is bad without suffering some loss and damage. If then you look for the damage in the loss of money only, all these men receive no harm or damage; it may be, they have even profit and gain, when they acquire a bit of money by any of these deeds. But consider that if you refer every thing to a small coin, not even he who loses his nose is in your opinion damaged. Yes, you say, for he is mutilated in his body. Well; but does he who has lost his smell only lose nothing? Is there then no energy of the soul which is an advantage to him who possesses it, and a damage to him who has lost it? — Tell me what sort (of energy) you mean. — Have we not a natural modesty? — We have. — Does he who loses this sustain no damage? is he deprived of nothing, does he part with nothing of the things which belong to him? Have we not naturally fidelity? natural affection, a natural disposition to help others, a natural

disposition to forbearance? The man then who allows himself to be damaged in these matters, can he be free from harm and uninjured? What then? shall I not hurt him, who has hurt me? In the first place consider what hurt (βλάβη) is, and remember what you have heard from the philosophers. For if the good consists in the will (purpose, intention, προαίρεσις), and the evil also in the will, see if what you say is not this: What then, since that man has hurt himself by doing an unjust act to me, shall I not hurt myself by doing some unjust act to him? Why do we not imagine to ourselves (mentally think of) something of this kind? But where there is any detriment to the body or to our possession, there is harm there; and where the same thing happens to the faculty of the will, there is (you suppose) no harm; for he who has been deceived or he who has done an unjust act neither suffers in the head nor in the eye nor in the hip, nor does he lose his estate; and we wish for nothing else than (security to) these things. But whether we shall have the will modest and faithful or shameless and faithless, we care not the least, except only in the school so far as a few words are concerned. Therefore our proficiency is limited to these few words; but beyond them it does not exist even in the slightest degree.

WHAT THE BEGINNING OF PHILOSOPHY IS.

THE beginning of philosophy to him at least who enters on it in the right way and by the door, is a consciousness of his own weakness and inability about necessary things. For we come into the world with no natural notion of a right angled triangle, or of a diesis (a quarter tone), or of a half tone; but we learn each of these things by a certain transmission according to art; and for this reason those who do not know them, do not think that they know them. But as to good and evil, and beautiful and ugly, and becoming and unbecoming, and happiness and misfortune, and proper and improper, and what we ought to do and what we ought not to do, who ever came into the world without having an innate idea of them? Wherefore we all use these names, and we endeavour to fit the preconceptions to the several cases (things) thus: he has done well, he has not done well; he has done as he ought, not as he ought; he has been unfortunate, he has been fortunate; he is unjust, he is just: who does not use these names? who among us defers the use of them till he has learned them, as he defers the use of the words about lines (geometrical figures) or sounds? And the cause of this is that we come into the world already taught as it were by nature some things on this matter (τόπον), and proceeding from these we have added to them self — conceit (οἷσιν). For why, a man says, do I not know the beautiful and the ugly? Have I not the notion of it? You have. Do I not adapt it to particulars? You do. Do I not then adapt it properly? In that lies the whole question; and conceit is added here. For beginning from these things which are admitted men proceed to that which is matter of dispute by means of unsuitable adaptation; for if they possessed this power of adaptation

in addition to those things, what would hinder them from being perfect? But now since you think that you properly adapt the preconceptions to the particulars, tell me whence you derive this (assume that you do so). Because I think so. But it does not seem so to another, and he thinks that he also makes a proper adaptation; or does he not think so? He does think so. Is it possible then that both of you can properly apply the preconceptions to things about which you have contrary opinions? It is not possible. Can you then show us anything better towards adapting the preconceptions beyond your thinking that you do? Does the madman do any other things than the things which seem to him right? Is then this criterion sufficient for him also? It is not sufficient. Come then to something which is superior to seeming (τοῦ δοκεῖν). What is this?

Observe, this is the beginning of philosophy, a perception of the disagreement of men with one another, and an inquiry into the cause of the disagreement, and a condemnation and distrust of that which only 'seems,' and a certain investigation of that which 'seems' whether it 'seems' rightly, and a discovery of some rule (κάνονος), as we have discovered a balance in the determination of weights, and a carpenter's rule (or square) in the case of straight and crooked things. — This is the beginning of philosophy. Must we say that all things are right which seem so to all? And how is it possible that contradictions can be right? — Not all then, but all which seem to us to be right. — How more to you than those which seem right to the Syrians? why more than what seem right to the Egyptians? why more than what seems right to me or to any other man? Not at all more. What then 'seems' to every man is not sufficient for determining what 'is;' for neither in the case of weights or measures are we satisfied with the bare appearance, but in each case we have discovered a certain rule. In this matter then is there no rule superior to what 'seems'? And how is it possible that the most necessary things among men should have no sign (mark), and be incapable of being discovered? There is then some rule. And why then do we not seek the rule and discover it, and afterwards use it without varying from it, not even stretching out the finger without it? For this, I think, is that which when it is discovered cures of their madness those who use mere 'seeming' as a measure, and misuse it; so that for the future proceeding from certain things (principles) known and made clear we may use in the case of particular things the preconceptions which are distinctly fixed.

What is the matter presented to us about which we are inquiring? Pleasure (for example). Subject it to the rule, throw it into the balance. Ought the good to be such a thing that it is fit that we have confidence in it? Yes. And in which we ought to confide? It ought to be. Is it fit to trust to any thing which is insecure? No. Is then pleasure any thing secure? No. Take it Then and throw it out of the scale, and drive it far away from the place of good things. But if you are not sharp-sighted, and one balance is not enough for you, bring another. Is it fit to be elated over what is good? Yes. Is it proper then to be

elated over present pleasure? See that you do not say that it is proper; but if you do, I shall then not think you worthy even of the balance. Thus things are tested and weighed when the rules are ready. And to philosophize is this, to examine and confirm the rules; and then to use them when they are known is the act of a wise and good man.

OF DISPUTATION OR DISCUSSION.

WHAT things a man must learn in order to be able to apply the art of disputation, has been accurately shown by our philosophers (the Stoics); but with respect to the proper use of the things, we are entirely without practice. Only give to any of us, whom you please, an illiterate man to discuss with, and he can not discover how to deal with the man. But when he has moved the man a little, if he answers beside the purpose, he does not know how to treat him, but he then either abuses or ridicules him, and says, He is an illiterate man; it is not possible to do any thing with him. Now a guide, when he has found a man out of the road leads him into the right way: he does not ridicule or abuse him and then leave him. Do you also show the illiterate man the truth, and you will see that he fellows. But so long as you do not show him the truth, do not ridicule him, but rather feel your own incapacity.

How then did Socrates act? He used to compel his adversary in disputation to bear testimony to him, and he wanted no other witness. Therefore he could say, 'I care not for other witnesses, but I am always satisfied with the evidence (testimony) of my adversary, and I do not ask the opinion of others, but only the opinion of him who is disputing with me.' For he used to make the conclusions drawn from natural notions so plain that every man saw the contradiction (if it existed) and withdrew from it (thus): Does the envious man rejoice? By no means, but he is rather pained. Well, Do you think that envy is pain over evils? and what envy is there of evils? Therefore he made his adversary say that envy is pain over good things. Well then, would any man envy those who are nothing to him? By no means. Thus having completed the notion and distinctly fixed it he would go away without saying to his adversary, Define to me envy; and if the adversary had defined envy, he did not say, You have defined it badly, for the terms of the definition do not correspond to the thing defined — These are technical terms, and for this reason disagreeable and hardly intelligible to illiterate men, which terms we (philosophers) cannot lay aside. But that the illiterate man himself, who follows the appearances presented to him, should be able to concede any thing or reject it, we can never by the use of these terms move him to do. Accordingly being conscious of our own inability, we do not attempt the thing; at least such of us as have any caution do not. But the greater part and the rash, when they enter into such disputations, confuse themselves and confuse others; and finally abusing their adversaries and abused by them, they walk away. Now this was the first and chief peculiarity of Socrates, never to

be irritated in argument, never to utter any thing abusive, any thing insulting, but to bear with abusive persons and to put an end to the quarrel. If you would know what great power he had in this way, read the Symposium of Xenophon, and you will see how many quarrels he put an end to. Hence with good reason in the poets also this power is most highly praised,

Quickly with skill he settles great disputes. Hesiod, Theogony, v. 87.

Well then; the matter is not now very safe, and particularly at Rome; for he who attempts to do it, must not do it in a corner, you may be sure, but must go to a man of consular rank, if it so happen, or to a rich man, and ask him, Can you tell me, Sir, to whose care you have entrusted your horses? I can tell you. Have you entrusted them to any person indifferently and to one who has no experience of horses? — By no means. — Well then; can you tell me to whom you entrust your gold or silver things or your vestments? I don't entrust even these to any one indifferently. Well; your own body, have you already considered about entrusting the care of it to any person? — Certainly. — To a man of experience, I suppose, and one acquainted with the aliptic, or with the healing art? — Without doubt. — Are these the best things that you have, or do you also possess something else which is better than all these? — What kind of a thing do you mean? — That I mean which makes use of these things, and tests each of them, and deliberates. — Is it the soul that you mean? — You think right, for it is the soul that I mean. — In truth I do think that the soul is a much better thing than all the others which I possess. — Can you then show us in what way you have taken care of the soul? for it is not likely that you, who are so wise a man and have a reputation in the city, inconsiderately and carelessly allow the most valuable thing that you possess to be neglected and to perish. — Certainly not. — But have you taken care of the soul yourself; and have you learned from another to do this, or have you discovered the means yourself? — Here comes the danger that in the first place he may say, What is this to you, my good man, who are you? Next, if you persist in troubling him, there is danger that he may raise his hands and give you blows. I was once myself also an admirer of this mode of instruction until I fell into these dangers.

ON ANXIETY (SOLICITUDE).

WHEN I see a man anxious, I say, What does this man want? If he did not want some thing which is not in his power, how could he be anxious? For this reason a lute player when he is singing by himself has no anxiety, but when he enters the theatre, he is anxious even if he has a good voice and plays well on the lute; for he not only wishes to sing well, but also to obtain applause: but this is not in his power. Accordingly, where he has skill, there he has confidence. Bring any single person who knows nothing of music, and the musician does not care for him. But in the matter where a man knows nothing and has not been practised, there he is anxious. What matter is this? He knows

not what a crowd is or what the praise of a crowd is. However he has learned to strike the lowest chord and the highest; but what the praise of the many is, and what power it has in life he neither knows nor has he thought about it. Hence he must of necessity tremble and grow pale. I cannot then say that a man is not a lute player when I see him afraid, but I can say something else, and not one thing, but many. And first of all I call him a stranger and say, This man does not know in what part of the world he is, but though he has been here so long, he is ignorant of the laws of the State and the customs, and what is permitted and what is not; and he has never employed any lawyer to tell him and to explain the laws. But a man does not write a will, if he does not know how it ought to be written, or he employs a person who does know; nor does he rashly seal a bond or write a security. But he uses his desire without a lawyer's advice, and aversion, and pursuit (movement), and attempt and purpose. How do you mean without a lawyer? He does not know that he wills what is not allowed, and does not will that which is of necessity; and he does not know either what is his own or what is another man's; but if he did know, he would never be impeded, he would never be hindered, he would not be anxious. How so? — Is any man then afraid about things which are not evils? — No. — Is he afraid about things which are evils, but still so far within his power that they may not happen? — Certainly he is not. — If then the things which are independent of the will are neither good nor bad, and all things which do depend on the will are within our power, and no man can either take them from us or give them to us, if we do not choose, where is room left for anxiety? But we are anxious about our poor body, our little property, about the will of Caesar; but not anxious about things internal. Are we anxious about not forming a false opinion? — No, for this is in my power. — About not exerting our movements contrary to nature? — No, not even about this. — When then you see a man pale, as the physician says, judging from the complexion, this man's spleen is disordered, that man's liver; so also say, this man's desire and aversion are disordered, he is not in the right way, he is in a fever. For nothing else changes the colour, or causes trembling or chattering of the teeth, or causes a man to

Sink in his knees and shift from foot to foot. — *Iliad*, xiii. 281.

For this reason when Zeno was going to meet Antigonus, he was not anxious, for Antigonus had no power over any of the things which Zeno admired; and Zeno did not care for those things over which Antigonus had power. But Antigonus was anxious when he was going to meet Zeno, for he wished to please Zeno; but this was a thing external (out of his power). But Zeno did not want to please Antigonus; for no man who is skilled in any art wishes to please one who has no such skill.

Should I try to please you? Why? I suppose, you know the measure by which one man is estimated by another. Have you taken pains to learn what is a good man and what is a bad man, and how a man becomes one or the other? Why then are you not good yourself? — How, he replies, am I not good? —

Because no good man laments or groans or weeps, no good man is pale and trembles, or says, How will he receive me, how will he listen to me? — Slave, just as it pleases him. Why do you care about what belongs to others? Is it now his fault if he receives badly what proceeds from you? — Certainly. — And is it possible that a fault should be one man's, and the evil in another? — No. — Why then are you anxious about that which belongs to others? — Your question is reasonable; but I am anxious how I shall speak to him. Cannot you then speak to him as you choose? — But I fear that I may be disconcerted? — If you are going to write the name of Dion, are you afraid that you would be disconcerted? — By no means. — Why? is it not because you have practised writing the name? — Certainly. — Well, if you were going to read the name, would you not feel the same? and why? Because every art has a certain strength and confidence in the things which belong to it. — Have you then not practised speaking? and what else did you learn in the school? Syllogisms and sophistical propositions? For what purpose? was it not for the purpose of discoursing skilfully? and is not discoursing skilfully the same as discoursing seasonably and cautiously and with intelligence, and also without making mistakes and without hindrance, and besides all this with confidence? — Yes. — When then you are mounted on a horse and go into a plain, are you anxious at being matched against a man who is on foot, and anxious in a matter in which you are practised, and he is not? — Yes, but that person (to whom I am going to speak) has power to kill me. Speak the truth then, unhappy man, and do not brag, nor claim to be a philosopher, nor refuse to acknowledge your masters, but so long as you present this handle in your body, follow every man who is stronger than yourself. So, crates used to practise speaking, he who talked as he did to the tyrants, to the dicasts (judges), he who talked in his prison. Diogenes had practised speaking, he who spoke as he did to Alexander, to the pirates, to the person who bought him. These men were confident in the things which they practised. But do you walk off to your own affairs and never leave them: go and sit in a corner, and weave syllogisms, and propose them to another. There is not in you the man who can rule a state.

TO NASO.

WHEN a certain Roman entered with his son and listened to one reading, Epictetus said, This is the method of instruction; and he stopped. When the Roman asked him to go on, Epictetus said, Every art when it is taught causes labour to him who is unacquainted with it and is unskilled in it, and indeed the things which proceed from the arts immediately show their use in the purpose for which they were made; and most of them contain something attractive and pleasing. For indeed to be present and to observe how a shoemaker learns is not a pleasant thing; but the shoe is useful and also not disagreeable to look at. And the discipline of a smith when he is learning is very disagreeable to one

who chances to be present and is a stranger to the art: but the work shows the use of the art. But you will see this much more in music; for if you are present while a person is learning, the discipline will appear most disagreeable; and yet the results of music are pleasing and delightful to those who know nothing of music. And here we conceive the work of a philosopher to be something of this kind: he must adapt his wish (βούλησιν) to what is going on, so that neither any of the things which are taking place shall take place contrary to our wish, nor any of the things which do not take place shall not take place when we wish that they should. From this the result is to those who have so arranged the work of philosophy, not to fail in the desire, nor to fall in with that which they would avoid; without uneasiness, without fear, without perturbation to pass through life themselves, together with their associates maintaining the relations both natural and acquired, as the relation of son, of father, of brother, of citizen, of man, of wife, of neighbour, of fellow traveller, of ruler, of ruled. The work of a philosopher we conceive to be something like this. It remains next to inquire how this must be accomplished.

We see then that the carpenter (τέκτων) when he has learned certain things becomes a carpenter; the pilot by learning certain things becomes a pilot. May it not then in philosophy also not be sufficient to wish to be wise and good, and that there is also a necessity to learn certain things? We inquire then what these things are. The philosophers say that we ought first to learn that there is a God and that he provides for all things; also that it is not possible to conceal from him our acts, or even our intentions and thoughts. The next thing is to learn what is the nature of the Gods; for such as they are discovered to be, he, who would please and obey them, must try with all his power to be like them. If the divine is faithful, man also must be faithful; if it is free, man also must be free; if beneficent, man also must be beneficent; if magnanimous, man also must be magnanimous; as being then an imitator of God he must do and say every thing consistently with this fact.

With what then must we begin? If you will enter on the discussion, I will tell you that you must first understand names (words). — So then you say that I do not now understand names. — You do not understand them. — How then do I use them? — Just as the illiterate use written language, as cattle use appearances: for use is one thing, understanding is another. But if you think that you understand them, produce whatever word you please, and let us try whether we understand it. — But it is a disagreeable thing for a man to be confuted who is now old, and, it may be, has now served his three campaigns. — I too know this: for now you are come to me as if you were in want of nothing: and what could you even imagine to be wanting to you? You are rich, you have children and a wife perhaps, and many slaves: Caesar knows you, in Rome you have many friends, you render their dues to all, you know how to requite him who does you a favour, and to repay in the same kind him who does you a wrong. What do you lack? If then I shall shew you that you lack the things most necessary and the chief things for happiness, and that hitherto

you have looked after every thing rather than what you ought, and, to crown all, that you neither know what God is nor what man is, nor what is good nor what is bad; and as to what I have said about your ignorance of other matters, that may perhaps be endured, but if I say that you know nothing about yourself, how is it possible that you should endure me and bear the proof and stay here? It is not possible; but you immediately go off in bad humour. And yet what harm have I done you? unless the mirror also injures the ugly man because it shows him to himself such as he is; unless the physician also is supposed to insult the sick man, when he says to him, Man, do you think that you ail nothing? But you have a fever: go without food to — day; drink water. And no one says, what an insult! But if you say to a man, Your desires are inflamed, your aversions are low, your intentions are inconsistent, your pursuits (movements) are not conformable to nature, your opinions are rash and false, the man immediately goes away and says, He has insulted me.

Our way of dealing is like that of a crowded assembly. Beasts are brought to be sold and oxen; and the greater part of the men come to buy and sell, and there are some few who come to look at the market and to inquire how it is carried on, and why, and who fixes the meeting and for what purpose. So it is here also in this assembly (of life): some like cattle trouble themselves about nothing except their fodder. For to all of you who are busy about possessions and lands and slaves and magisterial offices, these are nothing except fodder. But there are a few who attend the assembly, men who love to look on and consider what is the world, who governs it. Has it no governor? And how is it possible that a city or a family cannot continue to exist, not even the shortest time without an administrator and guardian, and that so great and beautiful a system should be administered with such order and yet without a purpose and by chance? There is then an administrator. What kind of administrator and how does he govern? And who are we, who were produced by him, and for what purpose? Have we some connexion with him and some relation towards him, or none? This is the way in which these few are affected, and then they apply themselves only to this one thing, to examine the meeting and then to go away. What then? They are ridiculed by the many, as the spectators at the fair are by the traders; and if the beasts had any understanding, they would ridicule those who admired anything else than fodder.

TO OR AGAINST THOSE WHO OBSTINATELY PERSIST IN WHAT THEY HAVE DETERMINED.

WHEN some persons have heard these words, that a man ought to be constant (firm), and that [the will is naturally free and not subject to compulsion, but that all other things are subject to hindrance, to slavery, and are in the power of others, they suppose that they ought without deviation to abide by every thing which they have determined. But in the first place that which has been

determined ought to be sound (true). I require tone (sinews) in the body, but such as exists in a healthy body, in an athletic body; but if it is plain to me that you have the tone of a phrensiad man and you boast of it, I shall say to you, man, seek the physician: this is not tone, but atony (deficiency in right tone). In a different way something of the same kind is felt by those who listen to these discourses in a wrong manner; which was the case with one of my companions who for no reason resolved to starve himself to death. I heard of it when it was the third day of his abstinence from food and I went to inquire what had happened. I have resolved, he said. — But still tell me what it was which induced you to resolve; for if you have resolved rightly, we shall sit with you and assist you to depart; but if you have made an unreasonable resolution, change your mind. — We ought to keep to our determinations. — What are you doing, man? We ought to keep not to all our determinations, but to those which are right; for if you are now persuaded that it is right, do not change your mind, if you think fit, but persist and say, we ought to abide by our determinations. Will you not make the beginning and lay the foundation in an inquiry whether the determination is sound or not sound, and so then build on it firmness and security? But if you lay a rotten and ruinous foundation, will not your miserable little building fall down the sooner, the more and the stronger are the materials which you shall lay on it? Without any reason would you withdraw from us out of life a man who is a friend, and a companion, a citizen of the same city, both the great and the small city? Then while you are committing murder and destroying a man who has done no wrong, do you say that you ought to abide by your determinations? And if it ever in any way came into your head to kill me, ought you to abide by your determinations?

Now this man was with difficulty persuaded to change his mind. But it is impossible to convince some persons at present; so that I seem now to know, what I did not know before, the meaning of the common saying, That you can neither persuade nor break a fool. May it never be my lot to have a wise fool for my friend: nothing is more untractable, ‘I am determined,’ the man says. Madmen are also; but the more firmly they form a judgment on things which do not exist, the more elaborate they require. Will you not act like a sick man and call in the physician? — I am sick, master, help me; consider what I must do: it is my duty to obey you. So it is here also: I know not what I ought to do, but I am come to learn. — Not so; but speak to me about other things: upon this I have determined. — What other things? for what is greater and more useful than for you to be persuaded that it is not sufficient to have made your determination and not to change it. This is the tone (energy) of madness, not of health. — I will die, if you compel me to this. — Why, man? What has happened? — I have determined — I have had a lucky escape that you have not determined to kill me — I take no money. Why? — I have determined — Be assured that with the very tone (energy) which you now use in refusing to take, there is nothing to hinder you at some time from inclining without

reason to take money and then saying, I have determined. As in a distempered body, subject to defluxions, the humour inclines sometimes to these parts, and then to those, so too a sickly soul knows not which way to incline: but if to this inclination and movement there is added a tone (obstinate resolution), then the evil becomes past help and cure.

THAT WE DO NOT STRIVE TO USE OUR OPINIONS ABOUT GOOD AND EVIL.

WHERE is the good? In the will. Where is the evil? In the will. Where is neither of them? In those things which are independent of the will. Well then? Does any one among us think of these lessons out of the schools? Does any one meditate (strive) by himself to give an answer to things as in the case of questions? Is it day? — Yes. — Is it night? — No. — Well, is the number of stars even? — I cannot say. — When money is shown (offered) to you, have you studied to make the proper answer, that money is not a good thing? Have you practised yourself in these answers, or only against sophisms? Why do you wonder then if in the cases which you have studied, in those you have improved; but in those which you have not studied, in those you remain the same? When the rhetorician knows that he has written well, that he has committed to memory what he has written, and brings an agreeable voice, why is he still anxious? Because he is not satisfied with having studied. What then does he want? To be praised by the audience? For the purpose then of being able to practise declamation he has been disciplined; but with respect to praise and blame he has not been disciplined. For when did he hear from any one what praise is, what blame is, what the nature of each is, what kind of praise should be sought, or what kind of blame should be shunned? And when did he practise this discipline which follows these words (things)? Why then do you still wonder, if in the matters which a man has learned, there he surpasses others, and in those in which he has not been disciplined, there he is the same with the many. So the lute player knows how to play, sings well, and has a fine dress, and yet he trembles when he enters on the stage; for these matters he understands, but he does not know what a crowd is, nor the shouts of a crowd, nor what ridicule is. Neither does he know what anxiety is, whether it is our work or the work of another, whether it is possible to stop it or not. For this reason if he has been praised, he leaves the theatre puffed up, but if he has been ridiculed, the swollen bladder has been punctured and subsides.

This is the case also with ourselves. What do we admire? Externals. About what things are we busy? Externals. And have we any doubt then why we fear or why we are anxious? What then happens when we think the things, which are coming on us, to be evils? It is not in our power not to be afraid, it is not in our power not to be anxious. Then we say, Lord God, how shall I not be anxious? Fool, have you not hands, did not God make them for you? Sit down

now and pray that your nose may not run. Wipe yourself rather and do not blame him. Well then, has he given to you nothing in the present case? Has he not given to you endurance? has he not given to you magnanimity? has he not given to you manliness? When you have such hands, do you still look for one who shall wipe your nose? But we neither study these things nor care for them. Give me a man who cares how he shall do any thing, not for the obtaining of a thing, but who cares about his own energy. What man, when he is walking about, cares for his own energy? who, when he is deliberating, cares about his own deliberation, and not about obtaining that about which he deliberates? And if he succeeds, he is elated and says, How well we have deliberated; did I not tell you, brother, that it is impossible, when we have thought about any thing, that it should not turn out thus? But if the thing should turn out otherwise, the wretched man is humbled; he knows not even what to say about what has taken place. Who among us for the sake of this matter has consulted a seer? Who among us as to his actions has not slept in indifference? Who? Give (name) to me one that I may see the man whom I have long been looking for, who is truly noble and ingenuous, whether young or old; name him.

Why then are we still surprised, if we are well practised in thinking about matters (any given subject), but in our acts are low, without decency, worthless, cowardly, impatient of labour, altogether bad? For we do not care about these things nor do we study them. But if we had feared not death or banishment, but fear itself, we should have studied not to fall into those things which appear to us evils. Now in the school we are irritable and wordy; and if any little question arises about any of these things, we are able to examine them fully. But drag us to practice, and you will find us miserably shipwrecked. Let some disturbing appearance come on us, and you will know what we have been studying and in what we have been exercising ourselves. Consequently through want of discipline we are always adding something to the appearance and representing things to be greater than what they are. For instance as to myself, when I am on a voyage and look down on the deep sea, or look round on it and see no land, I am out of my mind and imagine that I must drink up all this water if I am wrecked, and it does not occur to me that three pints are enough. What then disturbs me? The sea? No, but my opinion. Again, when an earthquake shall happen, I imagine that the city is going to fall on me; but is not one little stone enough to knock my brains out?

What then are the things which are heavy on us and disturb us? What else than opinions? What else then opinions lies heavy upon him who goes away and leaves his companions and friends and places and habits of life? Now little children, for instance, when they cry on the nurse leaving them for a short time, forget their sorrow if they receive a small cake. Do you choose then that we should compare you to little children? — No, by Zeus, for I do not wish to be pacified by a small cake, but by right opinions. — And what are these? Such as a man ought to study all day, and not to be affected by any

thing that is not his own, neither by companion nor place nor gym-nasia, and not even by his own body, but to remember the law and to have it before his eyes. And what is the divine law? To keep a man's own, not to claim that which belongs to others, but to use what is given, and when it is not given, not to desire it; and when a thing is taken away, to give it up readily and immediately, and to be thankful for the time that a man has had the use of it, if you would not cry for your nurse and mamma. For what matter does it make by what thing a man is subdued, and on what he depends? In what respect are you better than he who cries for a girl, if you grieve for a little gymnasium, and little porticoes and young men and such places of amusement? Another comes and laments that he shall no longer drink the water of Dirce. Is the Marcian water worse than that of Dirce? But I was used to the water of Dirce. And you in turn will be used to the other. Then if you become attached to this also, cry for this too, and try to make a verse like the verse of Euripides,

The hot baths of Nero and the Marcian water.

See how tragedy is made when common things happen to silly men.

When then shall I see Athens again and the Acropolis? Wretch, are you not content with what you see daily? have you any thing better or greater to see than the sun, the moon, the stars, the whole earth, the sea? But if indeed you comprehend him who administers the Whole, and carry him about in yourself, do you still desire small stones, and a beautiful rock? When then you are going to leave the sun itself and the moon, what will you do? will you sit and weep like children? Well, what have you been doing in the school? what did you hear, what did you learn? why did you write yourself a philosopher, when you might have written the truth; as, "I made certain introductions, and I read Chrysippus, but I did not even approach the door of a philosopher." For how should I possess any thing of the kind which Socrates possessed, who died as he did, who lived as he did, or any thing such as Diogenes possessed? Do you think that any one of such men wept or grieved, because he was not going to see a certain man, or a certain woman, nor to be in Athens or in Corinth, but, if it should so happen, in Susa or in Ecbatana? For if a man can quit the banquet when he chooses, and no longer amuse himself, does he still stay and complain, and does he not stay, as at any amusement, only so long as he is pleased? Such a man, I suppose, would endure perpetual exile or to be condemned to death. Will you not be weaned now, like children, and take more solid food, and not cry after mammas and nurses, which are the lamentations of old women? — But if I go away, I shall cause them sorrow. — You cause them sorrow? By no means; but that will cause them sorrow which also causes you sorrow, opinion. What have you to do then? Take away your own opinion, and if these women are wise, they will take away their own: if they do not, they will lament through their own fault.

My man, as the proverb says, make a desperate effort on behalf of tranquillity of mind, freedom and magnanimity. Lift up your head at last as released from slavery. Dare to look up to God and say, Deal with me for the

future as thou wilt; I am of the same mind as thou art; I am thine: I refuse nothing that pleases thee: lead me where thou wilt: clothe me in any dress thou choosest: is it thy will that I should hold the office of a magistrate, that I should be in the condition of a private man, stay here or be an exile, be poor, be rich? I will make thy defence to men in behalf of all these conditions: I will shew the nature of each thing what it is. — You will not do so; but sit in an ox's belly and wait for your mamma till she shall feed you. Who would Hercules have been, if he had sat at home? He would have been Eurystheus and not Hercules. Well, and in his travels through the world how many intimates and how many friends had he? But nothing more dear to him than God. For this reason it was believed that he was the son of God, and he was. In obedience to God then he went about purging away injustice and lawlessness. But you are not Hercules and you are not able to purge away the wickedness of others; nor yet are you Theseus, able to purge away the evil things of Attica. Clear away your own. From yourself, from your thoughts cast away instead of Procrustes and Sciron, sadness, fear, desire, envy, malevolence, avarice, effeminacy, intemperance. But it is not possible to eject these things otherwise than by looking to God only, by fixing your affections on him only, by being consecrated to his commands. But if you choose any thing else, you will with sighs and groans be compelled to follow what is stronger than yourself, always seeking tranquillity and never able to find it; for you seek tranquillity there where it is not, and you neglect to seek it where it is.

HOW WE MUST ADAPT PRECONCEPTIONS TO PARTICULAR CASES.

WHAT is the first business of him who philosophizes? To throw away self-conceit (οἷσις). For it is impossible for a man to begin to learn that which he thinks that he knows. As to things then which ought to be done and ought not to be done, and good and bad, and beautiful and ugly, all of us talking of them at random go to the philosophers; and on these matters we praise, we censure, we accuse, we blame, we judge and determine about principles honourable and dishonourable. But why do we go to the philosophers? Because we wish to learn what we do not think that we know. And what is this? Theorems. For we wish to learn what philosophers say as being something elegant and acute; and some wish to learn that they may get profit from what they learn. It is ridiculous then to think that a person wishes to learn one thing, and will learn another; or further, that a man will make proficiency in that which he does not learn. But the many are deceived by this which deceived also the rhetorician Theopompus, when he blames even Plato for wishing everything to be defined. For what does he say? Did none of us before you use the words Good or Just, or do we utter the sounds in an unmeaning and empty way without understanding what they severally signify? Now who tells you, Theopompus,

that we had not natural notions of each of these things and preconceptions (προλήψεις)? But it is not possible to adapt preconceptions to their correspondent objects if we have not distinguished (analyzed) them, and inquired what object must be subjected to each preconception. You may make the same charge against physicians also. For who among us did not use the words healthy and unhealthy before Hippocrates lived, or did we utter these words as empty sounds? For we have also a certain preconception of health, but we are not able to adapt it. For this reason one says, abstain from food; another says, give food; another says, bleed; and another says, use cupping. What is the reason? is it any other than that a man cannot properly adapt the preconception of health to particulars?

So it is in this matter also, in the things which concern life. Who among us does not speak of good and bad, of useful and not useful; for who among us has not a preconception of each of these things? Is it then a distinct and perfect preconception? Show this. How shall I show this? Adapt the preconception properly to the particular things. Plato, for instance, subjects definitions to the preconception of the useful, but you to the preconception of the useless. Is it possible then that both of you are right? How is it possible? Does not one man adapt the preconception of good to the matter of wealth, and another not to wealth, but to the matter of pleasure and to that of health? For, generally, if all of us who use those words know sufficiently each of them, and need no diligence in resolving (making distinct) the notions of the preconceptions, why do we differ, why do we quarrel, why do we blame one another?

And why do I now allege this contention with one another and speak of it? If you yourself properly adapt your preconceptions, why are you unhappy, why are you hindered? Let us omit at present the second topic about the pursuits (ὄρμας) and the study of the duties which relate to them. Let us omit also the third topic, which relates to the assents (συγκαταθέσεις): I give up to you these two topics. Let us insist upon the first, which presents an almost obvious demonstration that we do not properly adapt the preconceptions. Do you now desire that which is possible and that which is possible to you? Why then are you hindered? why are you unhappy? Do you not now try to avoid the unavoidable? Why then do you fall in with any thing which you would avoid? Why are you unfortunate? Why, when you desire a thing, does it not happen, and, when you do not desire it, does it happen? For this is the greatest proof of unhappiness and misery: I wish for something, and it does not happen. And what is more wretched than I?

It was because she could not endure this that Medea came to murder her children: an act of a noble spirit in this view at least, for she had a just opinion what it is for a thing not to succeed which a person wishes. Then she says, 'Thus I shall be avenged on him (my husband) who has wronged and insulted me; and what shall I gain if he is punished thus? how then shall it be done? I shall kill my children, but I shall punish myself also: and what do I care? This

is the aberration of soul which possesses great energy. For she did not know wherein lies the doing of that which we wish; that you cannot get this from without, nor yet by the alteration and new adaptation of things. Do not desire the man (Jason, Medea's husband), and nothing which you desire will fail to happen: do not obstinately desire that he shall live with you: do not desire to remain in Gerinth; and in a word desire nothing than that which God wills. — And who shall hinder you? who shall compel you? No man shall compel you any more than he shall compel Zeus.

When you have such a guide and your wishes and desires are the same as his, why do you still fear disappointment? Give up your desire to wealth and your aversion to poverty, and you will be disappointed in the one, you will fall into the other. Well give them up to health, and you will be unfortunate: give them up to magistracies, honours, country, friends, children, in a word to any of the things which are not in man's power (and you will be unfortunate). But give them up to Zeus and to the rest of the gods; surrender them to the gods, let the gods govern, let your desire and aversion be ranged on the side of the gods, and wherein will you be any longer unhappy? But if, lazy wretch, you envy, and complain, and are jealous, and fear, and never cease for a single day complaining both of yourself and of the gods, why do you still speak of being educated? What kind of an education, man? Do you mean that you have been employed about sophistical syllogisms (συλλογισμούς μεταπίπτοντας)? Will you not, if it is possible, unlearn all these things and begin from the beginning, and see at the same time that hitherto you have not even touched the matter; and then commencing from this foundation, will you not build up all that comes after, so that nothing may happen which you do not choose, and nothing shall fail to happen which you do choose?

Give me one young man who has come to the school with this intention, who is become a champion for this matter and says, 'I give up every thing else, and it is enough for me if it shall ever be in my power to pass my life free from hindrance and free from trouble, and to stretch out (present) my neck to all things like a free man, and to look up to heaven as a friend of God and fear nothing that can happen.' Let any of you point out such a man that I may say, 'Come, young man, into the possession of that which is your own, for it is your destiny to adorn philosophy: yours are these possessions, yours these books, yours these discourses.' Then when he shall have laboured sufficiently and exercised himself in this part of the matter (τόπον), let him come to me again and say, 'I desire to be free from passion and free from perturbation; and I wish as a pious man and a philosopher and a diligent person to know what is my duty to the gods, what to my parents, what to my brothers, what to my country, what to strangers.' (I say) 'Come also to the second matter (τόπον): this also is yours.'—'But I have now sufficiently studied the second part (τόπον) also, and I would gladly be secure and unshaken, and not only when I am awake, but also when I am asleep, and when I am filled with wine, and when I am melancholy.' Man, you are a god,

you have great designs.

No: but I wish to understand what Chrysippus says in his treatise of the Pseudomenos (the Liar). — Will you not hang yourself, wretch, with such your intention? And what good will it do you? You will read the whole with sorrow, and you will speak to others trembling. Thus you also do. “Do you wish me, brother, to read to you, and you to me”? — You write excellently, my man; and you also excellently in the style of Xenophon, and you in the style of Plato, and you in the style of Antisthenes. Then having told your dreams to one another you return to the same things: your desires are the same, your aversions the same, your pursuits are the same, and your designs and purposes, you wish for the same things and work for the same. In the next place you do not even seek for one to give you advice, but you are vexed if you hear such things (as I say). Then you say, “An ill-natured old fellow: when I was going away, he did not weep nor did he say, Into what danger you are going: if you come off safe, my child, I will burn lights. This is what a good natured man would do.” It will be a great thing for you if you do return safe, and it will be worth while to burn lights for such a person: for you ought to be immortal and exempt from disease.

Casting away then, as I say, this conceit of thinking that we know something useful, we must come to philosophy as we apply to geometry, and to music: but if we do not, we shall not even approach to proficiency though we read all the collections and commentaries of Chrysippus and those of Antipater and Archedemus.

HOW WE SHOULD STRUGGLE AGAINST APPEARANCES.

EVERY habit and faculty is maintained and increased by the corresponding actions: the habit of walking by walking, the habit of running by running. If you would be a good reader, read; if a writer, write. But when you shall not have read for thirty days in succession, but have done something else, you will know the consequence. In the same way, if you shall have lain down ten days, get up and attempt to make a long walk, and you will see how your legs are weakened. Generally then if you would make any thing a habit, do it; if you would not make it a habit, do not do it, but accustom yourself to do something else in place of it.

So it is with respect to the affections of the soul: when you have been angry, you must know that not only has this evil befallen you, but that you have also increased the habit, and in a manner thrown fuel upon fire. When you have been overcome in sexual intercourse with a person, do not reckon this single defeat only, but reckon that you have also nurtured, increased your incontinence. For it is impossible for habits and faculties, some of them not to be produced, when they did not exist before, and others not be increased and strengthened by corresponding acts.

In this manner certainly, as philosophers say, also diseases of the mind

grow up. For when you have once desired money, if reason be applied to lead to a perception of the evil, the desire is stopped, and the ruling faculty of our mind is restored to the original authority. But if you apply no means of cure, it no longer returns to the same state, but being again excited by the corresponding appearance, it is inflamed to desire quicker than before: and when this takes place continually, it is henceforth hardened (made callous), and the disease of the mind confirms the love of money. For he who has had a fever, and has been relieved from it, is not in the same state that he was before, unless he has been completely cured. Something of the kind happens also in diseases of the soul. Certain traces and blisters are left in it, and unless a man shall completely efface them, when he is again lashed on the same places, the lash will produce not blisters (weals) but sores. If then you wish not to be of an angry temper, do not feed the habit: throw nothing on it which will increase it: at first keep quiet, and count the days on which you have not been angry. I used to be in passion every day; now every second day; then every third, then every fourth. But if you have intermitted thirty days, make a sacrifice to God. For the habit at first begins to be weakened, and then is completely destroyed. "I have not been vexed to — day, nor the day after, nor yet on any succeeding day during two or three months; but I took care when some exciting things happened." Be assured that you are in a good way. To — day when I saw a handsome person, I did not say to myself, I wish I could lie with her, and Happy is her husband; for he who says this says, Happy is her adulterer also. Nor do I picture the rest to my mind; the woman present, and stripping herself and lying down by my side. I stroke my head and say, Well done, Epictetus, you have solved a fine little sophism, much finer than that which is called the master sophism. And if even the woman is willing, and gives signs, and sends messages, and if she also fondle me and come close to me, and I should abstain and be victorious, that would be a sophism beyond that which is named the Liar, and the Quiescent. Over such a victory as this a man may justly be proud; not for proposing the master sophism.

How then shall this be done? Be willing at length to be approved by yourself, be willing to appear beautiful to God, desire to be in purity with your own pure self and with God. Then when any such appearance visits you, Plato says, Have recourse to expiations, go a suppliant to the temples of the averting deities. It is even sufficient if you resort to the society of noble and just men, and compare yourself with them, whether you find one who is living or dead. Go to Socrates and see him lying down with Alcibiades, and mocking his beauty: consider what a victory he at last found that he had gained over himself; what an Olympian victory; in what number he stood from Hercules; so that, by the Gods, one may justly salute him, Hail, wondrous man, you who have conquered not these sorry boxers and pancratiasts, nor yet those who are like them, the gladiators. By placing these objects on the other side you will conquer the appearance: you will not be drawn away by it. But in the first place be not hurried away by the rapidity of the appearance, but say,

Appearances, wait for me a little: let me see who you are, and what you are about: let me put you to the test. And then do not allow the appearance to lead you on and draw lively pictures of the things which will follow; for if you do, it will carry you off wherever it pleases. But rather bring in to oppose it some other beautiful and noble appearance and cast out this base appearance. And if you are accustomed to be exercised in this way, you will see what shoulders, what sinews, what strength you have. But now it is only trifling words, and nothing more.

This is the true athlete, the man who exercises himself against such appearances. Stay, wretch, do not be carried away. Great is the combat, divine is the work; it is for kingship, for freedom, for happiness, for freedom from perturbation. Remember God: call on him as a helper and protector, as men at sea call on the Dioscuri in a storm. For what is a greater storm than that which comes from appearances which are violent and drive away the reason? For the storm itself, what else is it but an appearance? For take away the fear of death, and suppose as many thunders and lightnings as you please, and you will know what calm and serenity there is in the ruling faculty. But if you have once been defeated and say that you will conquer hereafter, and then say the same again, be assured that you will at last be in so wretched a condition and so weak that you will not even know afterwards that you are doing wrong, but you will even begin to make apologies (defences) for your wrong doing, and then you will confirm the saying of Hesiod to be true,

With constant ills the dilatory strives.

AGAINST THOSE WHO EMBRACE PHILOSOPHICAL OPINIONS ONLY IN WORDS.

THE argument called the ruling argument (ὁ κυριεύων λόγος) appears to have been proposed from such principles as these: there is in fact a common contradiction between one another in these three propositions, each two being in contradiction to the third. The propositions are, that every thing past must of necessity be true; that an impossibility does not follow a possibility; and that a thing is possible which neither is nor will be true. Diodorus observing this contradiction employed the probative force of the first two for the demonstration of this proposition, That nothing is possible which is not true and never will be. Now another will hold these two: That something is possible which is neither true nor ever will be: and That an impossibility does not follow a possibility. But he will not allow that every thing which is past is necessarily true, as the followers of Cleanthes seem to think, and Antipater copiously defended them. But others maintain the other two propositions, That a thing is possible which is neither true nor will be true: and That everything which is past is necessarily true; but then they will maintain that an impossibility can follow a possibility. But it is impossible to maintain these three propositions, because of their common contradiction.

If then any man should ask me, which of these propositions do you maintain? I will answer him, that I do not know; but I have received this story, that Diodorus maintained one opinion, the followers of Panthoides, I think, and Cleanthes maintained another opinion, and those of Chrysippus a third. What then is your opinion? I was not made for this purpose, to examine the appearances that occur to me, and to compare what others say and to form an opinion of my own on the thing. Therefore I differ not at all from the grammarian. Who was Hector's father? Priam. Who were his brothers? Alexander and Deiphobus. Who was their mother? Hecuba. — I have heard this story. From whom? From Homer. And Hellanicus also, I think, writes about the same things, and perhaps others like him. And what further have I about the ruling argument? Nothing. But, if I am a vain man, especially at a banquet I surprise the guests by enumerating those who have written on these matters. Both Chrysippus has written wonderfully in his first book about Possibilities, and Cleanthes has written specially on the subject, and Archedemus. Antipater also has written not only in his work about Possibilities, but also separately in his work on the ruling argument. Have you not read the work? I have not read it. Read. And what profit will 'a man have from it? he will be more trifling and impertinent than he is now; for what else have you gained by reading it? What opinion have you formed on this subject? none; but you will tell us of Helen and Priam, and the island of Calypso which never was and never will be. And in this matter indeed it is of no great importance if you retain the story, but have formed no opinion of your own. But in matters of morality (Ethic) this happens to us much more than in these things of which we are speaking.

Speak to me about good and evil. Listen:

The wind from Ilium to Ciconian shores Brought me. — *Odyssey*, ix. 39.

Of things some are good, some are bad, and others are indifferent. The good then are the virtues and the things which partake of the virtues: the bad are the vices, and the things which partake of them; and the indifferent are the things which lie between the virtues and the vices, wealth, health, life, death, pleasure, pain. Whence do you know this? Hellanicus says it in his Egyptian history; for what difference does it make to say this, or to say that Diogenes has it in his Ethic, or Chrysippus or Cleanthes? Have you then examined any of these things and formed an opinion of your own? Show how you are used to behave in a storm on shipboard? Do you remember this division (distinction of things), when the sail rattles and a man, who knows nothing of times and seasons, stands by you when you are screaming and says, Tell me, I ask you by the Gods, what you were saying just now, Is it a vice to suffer shipwreck: does it participate in vice? Will you not take up a stick and lay it on his head? What have we to do with you, man? we are perishing and you come to mock us? But if Caesar send for you to answer a charge, do you remember the distinction? If when you are going in pale and trembling, a person should come up to you and say, Why do you tremble, man? what is the

matter about which you are engaged? Does Caesar who sits within give virtue and vice to those who go in to him? You reply, Why do you also mock me and add to my present sorrows? — Still tell me, philosopher, tell me why you tremble? Is it not death of which you run the risk, or a prison, or pain of the body, or banishment, or disgrace? What else is there? Is there any vice or anything which partakes of vice? What then did you use to say of these things?—'What have you to do with me, man? my own evils are enough for me.' And you say right. Your own evils are enough for you, your baseness, your cowardice, your boasting which you showed when you sat in the school. Why did you decorate yourself with what belonged to others? Why did you call yourself a Stoic?

Observe yourselves thus in your actions, and you will find to what sect you belong. You will find that most of you are Epicureans, a few Peripatetics, and those feeble. For wherein will you show that you really consider virtue equal to everything else or even superior? But show me a Stoic, if you can. Where or how? But you can show me an endless number who utter small arguments of the Stoics. For do the same persons repeat the Epicurean opinions any worse? And the Peripatetic, do they not handle them also with equal accuracy? who then is a Stoic? As we call a statue Phidias, which is fashioned according to the art of Phidias; so show me a man who is fashioned according to the doctrines which he utters. Show me a man who is sick and happy, in danger and happy, dying and happy, in exile and happy, in disgrace and happy. Show him: I desire, by the gods, to see a Stoic. You cannot show me one fashioned so; but show me at least one who is forming, who has shown a tendency to be a Stoic. Do me this favour: do not grudge an old man seeing a sight which I have not seen yet. Do you think that you must show me the Zeus of Phidias or the Athena, a work of ivory and gold? Let any of you show me a human soul ready to think as God does, and not to blame either God or man, ready not to be disappointed about any thing, not to consider himself damaged by any thing, not to be angry, not to be envious, not to be jealous; and why should I not say it direct? desirous from a man to become a god, and in this poor mortal body thinking of his fellowship with Zeus. Show me the man. But you cannot. Why then do you delude yourselves and cheat others? and why do you put on a guise which does not belong to you, and walk about being thieves and pilferers of these names and things which do not belong to you?

And now I am your teacher, and you are instructed in my school. And I have this purpose, to make you free from restraint, compulsion, hindrance, to make you free, prosperous, happy, looking to God in everything small and great. And you are here to learn and practise these things. Why then do you not finish the work, if you also have such a purpose as you ought to have, and if I in addition to the purpose also have such qualification as I ought to have? What is that which is wanting? When I see an artificer and material lying by him, I expect the work. Here then is the artificer, here the material; what is it that we want? Is not the thing one that can be taught? It is. Is it not then in our

power? The only thing of all that is in our power. Neither wealth is in our power, nor health, nor reputation, nor in a word any thing else except the right use of appearances. This (right use) is by nature free from restraint, this alone is free from impediment. Why then do you not finish the work? Tell me the reason. For it is either through my fault that you do not finish it, or through your own fault, or through the nature of the thing. The thing itself is possible, and the only thing in our power. It remains then that the fault is either in me or in you, or, what is nearer the truth, in both. Well then, are you willing that we begin at last to bring such a purpose into this school, and to take no notice of the past? Let us only make a beginning. Trust to me, and you will see.

AGAINST THE EPICUREANS AND ACADEMICS.

THE propositions which are true and evident are of necessity used even by those who contradict them: and a man might perhaps consider it to be the greatest proof of a thing being evident that it is found to be necessary even for him who denies it to make use of it at the same time. For instance, if a man should deny that there is anything universally true, it is plain that he must make the contradictory negation, that nothing is universally true. What, wretch, do you not admit even this? For what else is this than to affirm that whatever is universally affirmed is false? Again if a man should come forward and say: Know that there is nothing that can be known, but all things are incapable of sure evidence; or if another say, Believe me and you will be the better for it, that a man ought not to believe any thing; or again, if another should say, Learn from me, man, that it is not possible to learn any thing; I tell you this and will teach you, if you choose. Now in what respect do these differ from those? Whom shall I name? Those who call themselves Academics? ‘Men, agree [with us] that no man agrees [with another]: believe us that no man believes anybody.’

Thus Epicurus also, when he designs to destroy the natural fellowship of mankind, at the same time makes use of that which he destroys. For what does he say? ‘Be not deceived, men, nor be led astray, nor be mistaken: there is no natural fellowship among rational animals; believe me. But those who say otherwise, deceive you and seduce you by false reasons.’ — What is this to you? Permit us to be deceived. Will you fare worse, if all the rest of us are persuaded that there is a natural fellowship among us, and that it ought by all means to be preserved? Nay, it will be much better and safer for you. Man, why do you trouble yourself about us? Why do you keep awake for us? Why do you light your lamp? Why do you rise early? Why do you write so many books, that no one of us may be deceived about the gods and believe that they take care of men; or that no one may suppose the nature of good to be other than pleasure? For if this is so, lie down and sleep, and lead the life of a worm, of which you judged yourself worthy: eat and drink, and enjoy women, and ease yourself, and snore. And what is it to you, how the rest shall think

about these things, whether right or wrong? For what have we to do with you? You take care of sheep because they supply us with wool and milk, and last of all with their flesh. Would it not be a desirable thing if men could be lulled and enchanted by the Stoics, and sleep and present themselves to you and to those like you to be shorn and milked? For this you ought to say to your brother Epicureans: but ought you not to conceal it from others, and particularly before every thing to persuade them, that we are by nature adapted for fellowship, that temperance is a good thing; in order that all things may be secured for you? Or ought we to maintain this fellowship with some and not with others? With whom then ought we to maintain it? With such as on their part also maintain it, or with such as violate this fellowship? And who violate it more than you who establish such doctrines?

What then was it that waked Epicurus from his sleepiness, and compelled him to write what he did write? What else was it than that which is the strongest thing in men, nature, which draws a man to her own will though he be unwilling and complaining? For since, she says, you think that there is no community among mankind, write this opinion and leave it for others, and break your sleep to do this, and by your own practice condemn your own opinions. Shall we then say that Orestes was agitated by the Erinyes (Furies) and roused from his deep sleep, and did not more savage Erinyes and Pains rouse Epicurus from his sleep and not allow him to rest, but compelled him to make known his own evils, as madness and wine did the Galli (the priests of Cybele)? So strong and invincible is man's nature, For how can a vine be moved not in the manner of a vine, but in the manner of an olive tree? or on the other hand how can an olive tree be moved not in the manner of an olive tree, but in the manner of a vine? It is impossible: it cannot be conceived. Neither then is it possible for a man completely to lose the movements (affects) of a man; and even those who are deprived of their genital members are not able to deprive themselves of man's desires. Thus Epicurus also mutilated all the offices of a man, and of a father of a family, and of a citizen and of a friend, but he did not mutilate human desires, for he could not; not more than the lazy Academics can cast away or blind their own senses, though they have tried with all their might to do it. What a shame is this? when a man has received from nature measures and rules for the knowing of truth, and does not strive to add to these measures and rules and to improve them, but just the contrary, endeavours to take away and destroy whatever enables us to discern the truth?

What say you philosopher? piety and sanctity, what do you think that they are? If you like, I will demonstrate that they are good things. Well, demonstrate it that our citizens may be turned and honour the deity and may no longer be negligent about things of the highest value. Have you then the demonstrations? — I have, and I am thankful. — Since then you are well pleased with them, hear the contrary: That there are no Gods, and, if there are, they take no care of men, nor is there any fellowship between us and them;

and that this piety and sanctity which is talked of among most men is the lying of boasters and sophists, or certainly of legislators for the purpose of terrifying and checking wrong doers. — Well done, philosopher, you have done something for our citizens, you have brought back all the young men to contempt of things divine. — What then, does not this satisfy you? Learn now, that justice is nothing, that modesty is folly, that a father is nothing, a son nothing. — Well done, philosopher, persist, persuade the young men, that we may have more with the same opinions as you and who say the same as you. From such principles as these have grown our well constituted states; by these was Sparta founded: Lycurgus fixed these opinions in the Spartans by his laws and education, that neither is the servile condition more base than honourable, nor the condition of free men more honourable than base, and that those who died at Thermopylae died from these opinions; and through what other opinions did the Athenians leave their city? Then those who talk thus, marry and beget children, and employ themselves in public affairs and make themselves priests and interpreters. Of whom? of gods who do not exist: and they consult the Pythian priestess that they may hear lies, and they report the oracles to others. Monstrous impudence and imposture.

Man what are you doing? are you refuting yourself every day; and will you not give up these frigid attempts? When you eat, where do you carry your hand to? to your mouth or to your eye? when you wash yourself, what do you go into? do you ever call a pot a dish, or a ladle a spit? If I were a slave of any of these men, even if I must be flayed by him daily, I would rack him. If he said, 'Boy, throw some olive oil into the bath,' I would take pickle sauce and pour it down on his head. What is this? he would say — An appearance was presented to me, I swear by your genius, which could not be distinguished from oil and was exactly like it — Here give me the barley- drink (tisane), he says — I would fill and carry him a dish of sharp sauce — Did I not ask for the barley drink? Yes, mister: this is the barley drink? Take it and smell; take it and taste. How do you know then if our senses deceive us? — If I had three or four fellow — slaves of the same opinion, I should force him to hang himself through passion or to change his mind. But now they mock us by using all the things which nature gives, and in words destroying them.

Grateful indeed are men and modest, who, if they do nothing else, are daily eating bread and yet are shameless enough to say, we do not know if there is a Demeter or her daughter Persephone or a Pluto; not to mention that they are enjoying the night and the day, the seasons of the year, and the stars, and the sea and the land and the co — operation of mankind, and yet they are not moved in any degree by these things to turn their attention to them; but they only seek to belch out their little problem (matter for discussion), and when they have exercised their stomach to go off to the bath. But what they shall say, and about what things or to what persons, and what their hearers shall learn from this talk, they care not even in the least degree, nor do they care if any generous youth after hearing such talk should suffer any harm from it, nor

after he has suffered harm should lose all the seeds of his generous nature; nor if we should give an adulterer help towards being shameless in his acts; nor if a public peculator should lay hold of some cunning excuse from these doctrines; nor if another who neglects his parents should be confirmed in his audacity by this teaching. — What then in your opinion is good or bad? This or that? — Why then should a man say any more in reply to such persons as these, or give them any reason or listen to any reason from them, or try to convince them? By Zeus one might much sooner expect to make catamites change their mind than those who are become so deaf and blind to their own evils.

OF INCONSISTENCY.

SOME things men readily confess, and other things they do not. No one then will confess that he is a fool or without understanding; but quite the contrary you will hear all men saying, I wish that I had fortune equal to my understanding. But men readily confess that they are timid, and they say: I am rather timid, I confess; but as to other respects you will not find me to be foolish. A man will not readily confess that he is intemperate; and that he is unjust, he will not confess at all. He will by no means confess that he is envious or a busy body. Most men will confess that they are compassionate. What then is the reason? — The chief thing (the ruling thing) is inconsistency and confusion in the things which relate to good and evil. But different men have different reasons; and generally what they imagine to be base, they do not confess at all. But they suppose timidity to be a characteristic of a good disposition, and compassion also; but silliness to be the absolute characteristic of a slave. And they do not at all admit (confess) the things which are offences against society. But in the case of most errors for this reason chiefly they are induced to confess them, because they imagine that there is something involuntary in them as in timidity and compassion; and if a man confess that he is in any respect intemperate, he alleges love (or passion) as an excuse for what is involuntary. But men do not imagine injustice to be at all involuntary. There is also in jealousy, as they suppose, something involuntary; and for this reason they confess to jealousy also.

Living then among such men, who are so confused, so ignorant of what they say, and of the evils which they have or have not, and why they have them, or how they shall be relieved of them, I think it is worth the trouble for a man to watch constantly (and to ask) whether I also am one of them, what imagination I have about myself, how I conduct myself, whether I conduct myself as a prudent man, whether I conduct myself as a temperate man, whether I ever say this, that I have been taught to be prepared for every thing that may happen. Have I the consciousness, which a man who knows nothing ought to have, that I know nothing? Do I go to my teacher as men go to oracles, prepared to obey? or do I like a snivelling boy go to my school to

learn history and understand the books which I did not understand before, and, if it should happen so, to explain them also to others? — Man, you have had a fight in the house with a poor slave, you have turned the family upside down, you have frightened the neighbours, and you come to me as if you were a wise man, and you take your seat and judge how I have explained some word, and how I have babbled whatever came into my head. You come full of envy, and humbled, because you bring nothing from home; and you sit during the discussion thinking of nothing else than how your father is disposed towards you and your brother. ‘What are they saying about me there? now they think that I am improving, and are saying, He will return with all knowledge. I wish I could learn every thing before I return: but much labour is necessary, and no one sends me any thing, and the baths at Nicopolis are dirty; every thing is bad at home, and bad here.’

Then they say, no one gains any profit from the school. — Why, who comes to the school? who comes for the purpose of being improved? who comes to present his opinions to be purified? who comes to learn what he is in want of? Why do you wonder then if you carry back from the school the very things which you bring into it? For you come not to lay aside (your principles) or to correct them or to receive other principles in place of them. By no means, nor any thing like it. You rather look to this, whether you possess already that for which you come. You wish to prattle about theorems? What then? Do you not become greater triflers? Do not your little theorems give you some opportunity of display? You solve sophistical syllogisms. Do you not examine the assumptions of the syllogism named the Liar? Do you not examine hypothetical syllogisms? Why then are you still vexed if you receive the things for which you come to the school? Yes; but if my child die or my brother, or if I must die or be racked, what good will these things do me? — Well, did you come for this? for this do you sit by my side? did you ever for this light your lamp or keep awake? or, when you went out to the walking place, did you ever propose any appearance that had been presented to you instead of a syllogism, and did you and your friends discuss it together? Where and when? Then you say, Theorems are useless. To whom? To such as make a bad use of them. For eye — salves are not useless to those who use them as they ought and when they ought. Fomentations are not useless. Dumbbells are not useless; but they are useless to some, useful to others. If you ask me now if syllogisms are useful, I will tell you that they are useful, and if you choose, I will prove it. — How then will they in any way be useful to me? Man, did you ask if they are useful to you, or did you ask generally? Let him who is suffering from dysentery, ask me if vinegar is useful; I will say that it is useful. — Will it then be useful to me? — I will say, no. Seek first for the discharge to be stopped and the ulcers to be closed. And do you, O men, first cure the ulcers and stop the discharge; be tranquil in your mind, bring it free from distraction into the school, and you will know what power reason has.

ON FRIENDSHIP.

WHAT a man applies himself to earnestly, that he naturally loves. Do men then apply themselves earnestly to the things which are bad? By no means. Well, do they apply themselves to things which in no way concern themselves? not to these either. It remains then that they employ themselves earnestly only about things which are good; and if they are earnestly employed about things, they love such things also. Whoever then understands what is good, can also know how to love: but he who cannot distinguish good from bad, and things which are neither good nor bad from both, how can he possess the power of loving? To love then is only in the power of the wise.

How is this? a man may say; I am foolish, and yet I love my child. — I am surprised indeed that you have begun by making the admission that you are foolish. For what are you deficient in? Can you not make use of your senses? do you not distinguish appearances? do you not use food which is suitable for your body, and clothing and habitation? Why then do you admit that you are foolish? It is in truth because you are often disturbed by appearances and perplexed, and their power of persuasion often conquers you; and sometimes you think these things to be good, and then the same things to be bad, and lastly neither good nor bad; and in short you grieve, fear, envy, are disturbed, you are changed. This is the reason why you confess that you are foolish. And are you not changeable in love? But wealth, and pleasure and in a word things themselves, do you sometimes think them to be good, and sometimes bad? and do you not think the same men at one time to be good, at another time bad? and have you not at one time a friendly feeling towards them, and at another time the feeling of an enemy? and do you not at one time praise them, and at another time blame them? Yes; I have these feelings also. Well then, do you think that he who has been deceived about a man is his friend? Certainly not. And he who has selected a man as his friend and is of a changeable disposition, has he good will towards him? He has not. And he who now abuses a man, and afterwards admires him? This man also has no good will to the other. Well then, did you never see little dogs caressing and playing with one another, so that you might say, there is nothing more friendly? but that you may know what friendship is, throw a bit of flesh among them, and you will learn. Throw between yourself and your son a little estate, and you will know how soon he will wish to bury you and how soon you wish your son to die. Then you will change your tone and say, what a son I have brought up! He has long been wishing to bury me. Throw a smart girl between you; and do you the old man love her, and the young one will love her too. If a little fame intervene or dangers, it will be just the same. You will utter the words of the father of Admetus!

Life gives you pleasure: and why not your father?

Do you think that Admetus did not love his own child when he was little?

that he was not in agony when the child had a fever? that he did not often say, I wish I had the fever instead of the child? then when the test (the thing) came and was near, see what words they utter. Were not Eteocles and Polynices from the same mother and from the same father? Were they not brought up together, had they not lived together, drunk together, slept together, and often kissed one another? So that, if any man, I think, had seen them, he would have ridiculed the philosophers for the paradoxes which they utter about friendship. But when a quarrel rose between them about the royal power, as between dogs about a bit of meat, see what they say

Polynices. Where will you take your station before the towers? *Eteocles.* Why do you ask me this?

Pol. I will place myself opposite and try to kill you.

Et. I also wish to do the same.

Such are the wishes that they utter.

For universally, be not deceived, every animal is attached to nothing so much as to its own interest. Whatever then appears to it an impediment to this interest, whether this be a brother, or a father, or a child, or beloved, or lover, it hates, spurns, curses: for its nature is to love nothing so much as its own interest; this is father, and brother and kinsman, and country, and God. When then the gods appear to us to be an impediment to this, we abuse them and throw down their statues and burn their temples, as Alexander ordered the temples of Aesculapius to be burned when his dear friend died. For this reason if a man put in the same place his interest, sanctity, goodness, and country, and parents, and friends, all these are secured: but if he puts in one place his interest, in another his friends, and his country and his kinsmen and justice itself, all these give way being borne down by the weight of interest. For where the I and the Mine are placed, to that place of necessity the animal inclines: if in the flesh, there is the ruling power: if in the will, it is there: and if it is in externals, it is there. If then I am there where my will is, then only shall I be a friend such as I ought to be, and son, and father; for this will be my interest, to maintain the character of fidelity, of modesty, of patience, of abstinence, of active co — operation, of observing my relations (towards all). But if I put myself in one place, and honesty in another, then the doctrine of Epicurus becomes strong, which asserts either that there is no honesty or it is that which opinion holds to be honest (virtuous).

It was through this ignorance that the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians quarrelled, and the Thebans with both; and the great king quarrelled with Hellas, and the Macedonians with both; and the Romans with the Getae. And still earlier the Trojan war happened for these reasons. Alexander was the guest of Menelaus; and if any man had seen their friendly disposition, he would not have believed any one who said that they were not friends. But there was cast between them (as between dogs) a bit of meat, a handsome woman, and about her war arose. And now when you see brothers to be friends appearing to have one mind, do not conclude from this any thing about

their friendship, not even if they swear it and say that it is impossible for them to be separated from one another. For the ruling principle of a bad man cannot be trusted, it is insecure, has no certain rule by which it is directed, and is overpowered at different times by different appearances. But examine, not what other men examine, if they are born of the same parents and brought up together, and under the same paedagogue; but examine this only, wherein they place their interest, whether in externals or in the will. If in externals, do not name them friends, no more than name them trustworthy or constant, or brave or free: do not name them even men, if you have any judgment. For that is not a principle of human nature which makes them bite one another, and abuse one another, and occupy deserted places or public places, as if they were mountains, and in the courts of justice display the acts of robbers; nor yet that which makes them intemperate and adulterers and corrupters, nor that which makes them do whatever else men do against one another through this one opinion only, that of placing themselves and their interests in the things which are not within the power of their will. But if you hear that in truth these men think the good to be only there, where will is, and where there is a right use of appearances, no longer trouble yourself whether they are father or son, or brothers, or have associated a long time and are companions, but when you have ascertained this only, confidently declare that they are friends, as you declare that they are faithful, that they are just. For where else is friendship than where there is fidelity, and modesty, where there is a communion of honest things and of nothing else?

But you may say, such a one treated me with regard so lung; and did he not love me? How do you know, slave, if he did not regard you in the same way as he wipes his shoes with a sponge, or as he takes care of his beast? How do you know, when you have ceased to be useful as a vessel, he will not throw you away like a broken platter? But this woman is my wife, and we have lived together so long. And how long did Eriphyle live with Amphiaraus, and was the mother of children and of many? But a necklace came between them: and what is a necklace? It is the opinion about such things. That was the bestial principle, that was the thing which broke asunder the friendship between husband and wife, that which did not allow the woman to be a wife nor the mother to be a mother. And let every man among you who has seriously resolved either to be a friend himself or to have another for his friend, cut out these opinions, hate them, drive them from his soul. And thus first of all he will not reproach himself, he will not be at variance with himself, he will not change his mind, he will not torture himself. In the next place, to another also, who is like himself, he will be altogether and completely a friend. But he will bear with the man who is unlike himself, he will be kind to him, gentle, ready to pardon on account of his ignorance, on account of his being mistaken in things of the greatest importance; but he will be harsh to no man, being well convinced of Plato's doctrine that every mind is deprived of truth unwillingly. If you cannot do this, yet you can do in all other respects as friends do, drink

together, and lodge together, and sail together, and you may be born of the same parents; for snakes also are: but neither will they be friends nor you, so long as you retain these bestial and cursed opinions.

ON THE POWER OF SPEAKING.

EVERY man will read a book with more pleasure or even with more ease, if it is written in fairer characters. Therefore every man will also listen more readily to what is spoken, if it is signified by appropriate and becoming words. We must not say then that there is no faculty of expression: for this affirmation is the characteristic of an impious and also of a timid man. Of an impious man, because he undervalues the gifts which come from God, just as if he would take away the commodity of the power of vision, or of hearing, or of seeing. Has then God given you eyes to no purpose? and to no purpose has he infused into them a spirit so strong and of such skilful contrivance as to reach a long way and to fashion the forms of things which are seen? What messenger is so swift and vigilant? And to no purpose has he made the interjacent atmosphere so efficacious and elastic that the vision penetrates through the atmosphere which is in a manner moved? And to no purpose has he made light, without the presence of which there would be no use in any other thing?

Man, be neither ungrateful for these gifts nor yet forget the things which are superior to them. But indeed for the power of seeing and hearing, and indeed for life itself, and for the things which contribute to support it, for the fruits which are dry, and for wine and oil give thanks to God: but remember that he has given you something else better than all these, I mean the power of using them, proving them and estimating the value of each. For what is that whom gives information about each of these powers, what each of them is worth? Is it each faculty itself? Did you ever hear the faculty of vision saying any thing about itself? or the faculty of hearing? or wheat, or barley, or a horse or a dog? No; but they are appointed as ministers and slaves to serve the faculty which has the power of making use of the appearances of things. And if you inquire what is the value of each thing, of whom do you inquire? who answers you? How then can any other faculty be more powerful than this, which uses the rest as ministers and itself proves each and pronounces about them? for which of them knows what itself is, and what is its own value? which of them knows when it ought to employ itself and when not? what faculty is it which opens and closes the eyes, and turns them away from objects to which it ought not to apply them and does apply them to other objects? Is it the faculty of vision? No; but it is the faculty of the will. What is that faculty which closes and opens the ears? what is that by which they are curious and inquisitive, or on the contrary unmoved by what is said? is it the faculty of hearing? It is no other than the faculty of the will. Will this faculty then, seeing that it is amidst all the other faculties which are blind and dumb

and unable to see any thing else except the very acts for which they are appointed in order to minister to this (faculty) and serve it, but this faculty alone sees sharp and sees what is the value of each of the rest; will this faculty declare to us that any thing else is the best, or that itself is? And what else does the eye do when it is opened than see? But whether we ought to look on the wife of a certain person, and in what manner, who tells us? The faculty of the will. And whether we ought to believe what is said or not to believe it, and if we do believe, whether we ought to be moved by it or not, who tells us? Is it not the faculty of the will? But this faculty of speaking and of ornamenting words, if there is indeed any such peculiar faculty, what else does it do, when there happens to be discourse about a thing, than to ornament the words and arrange them as hairdressers do the hair? But whether it is better to speak or to be silent, and better to speak in this way or that way, and whether this is becoming or not becoming, and the season for each and the use, what else tells us than the faculty of the will? Would you have it then to come forward and condemn itself?

What then? it (the will) says, if the fact is so, can that which ministers be superior to that to which it ministers, can the horse be superior to the rider, or the dog to the huntsman, or the instrument to the musician, or the servants to the king? What is that which makes use of the rest? The will. What takes care of all? The will. What destroys the whole man, at one time by hunger, at another time by hanging, and at another time by a precipice? The will. Then is any thing stronger in men than this? and how is it possible that the things which are subject to restraint are stronger than that which is not? What things are naturally formed to hinder the faculty of vision? Both will and things which do not depend on the faculty of the will. It is the same with the faculty of hearing, with the faculty of speaking in like manner. But what has a natural power of hindering the will? Nothing which is independent of the will; but only the will itself, when it is perverted. Therefore this (the will) is alone vice or alone virtue.

Then being so great a faculty and set over all the rest, let it (the will) come forward and tell us that the most excellent of all things is the flesh. Not even if the flesh itself declared that it is the most excellent, would any person bear that it should say this. But what is it, Epicurus, which pronounces this, which wrote about the End (purpose) of our Being, which wrote on the Nature of Things, which wrote about the Canoa (rule of truth), which led you to wear a beard, which wrote when it was dying that it was spending the last and a happy day? Was this the flesh or the will? Then do you admit that you possess any thing superior to this (the will)? and are you not mad? are you in fact so blind and deaf?

What then? does any man despise the other faculties? I hope not. Does any man say that there is no use or excellence in the speaking faculty? I hope not. That would be foolish, impious, ungrateful towards God. But a man renders to each thing its due value. For there is some use even in an ass, but not so much

as in an ox: there is also use in a dog, but not so much as in a slave: there is also some use in a slave, but not so much as in citizens: there is also some use in citizens, but not so much as in magistrates. Not indeed because some things are superior, must we undervalue the use which other things have. There is a certain value in the power of speaking, but it is not so great as the power of the will. When then I speak thus, let no man think that I ask you to neglect the power of speaking, for neither do I ask you to neglect the eyes, nor the ears nor the hands nor the feet, nor clothing nor shoes. But if you ask me what then is the most excellent of all things, what must I say? I cannot say the power of speaking, but the power of the will, when it is right (*ὀρθή*). For it is this which uses the other (the power of speaking), and all the other faculties both small and great. For when this faculty of the will is set right, a man who is not good becomes good: but when it fails, a man becomes bad. It is through this that we are unfortunate, that we are fortunate, that we blame one another, are pleased with one another. In a word, it is this which if we neglect it makes unhappiness, and if we carefully look after it, makes happiness.

But to take away the faculty of speaking and to say that there is no such faculty in reality, is the act not only of an ungrateful man towards those who gave it, but also of a cowardly man: for such a person seems to me to fear, if there is any faculty of this kind, that we shall not be able to despise it. Such also are those who say that there is no difference between beauty and ugliness. Then it would happen that a man would be affected in the same way if he saw Thersites and if he saw Achilles; in the same way, if he saw Helen and any other woman. But these are foolish and clownish notions, and the notions of men who know not the nature of each thing, but are afraid, if a man shall see the difference, that he shall immediately be seized and carried off vanquished. But this is the great matter; to leave to each thing the power (faculty) which it has, and leaving to it this power to see what is the worth of the power, and to learn what is the most excellent of all things, and to pursue this always, to be diligent about this, considering all other things of secondary value compared with this, but yet, as far as we can, not neglecting all those other things. For we must take care of the eyes also, not as if they were the most excellent thing, but we must take care of them on account of the most excellent thing, because it will not be in its true natural condition, if it does not rightly use the other faculties, and prefer some things to others.

What then is usually done? Men generally act as a traveller would do on his way to his own country, when he enters a good inn, and being pleased with it should remain there. Man, you have forgotten your purpose: you were not travelling to this inn, but you were passing through it. — But this is a pleasant inn. — And how many other inns are pleasant? and how many meadows are pleasant? yet only for passing through. But your purpose is this, to return to your country, to relieve your kinsmen of anxiety, to discharge the duties of a citizen, to marry, to beget children, to fill the usual magistracies. For you are not come to select more pleasant places, but to live in these where you were

born and of which you were made a citizen. Something of the kind takes place in the matter which we are considering. Since by the aid of speech and such communication as you receive here you must advance to perfection, and purge your will and correct the faculty which makes use of the appearances of things; and since it is necessary also for the teaching (delivery) of theorems to be effected by a certain mode of expression and with a certain variety and sharpness, some persons captivated by these very things abide in them, one captivated by the expression, another by syllogisms, another again by sophisms, and still another by some other inn (πανδοκείου) of the kind; and there they stay and waste away as if they were among Sirens.

Man, your purpose (business) was to make yourself capable of using conformably to nature the appearances presented to you, in your desires not to be frustrated, in your aversion from things not to fall into that which you would avoid, never to have no luck (as one may say), nor ever to have bad luck, to be free, not hindered, not compelled, conforming yourself to the administration of Zeus, obeying it, well satisfied with this, blaming no one, charging no one with fault, able from your whole soul to utter these verses

Lead me, O Zeus, and thou too Destiny.

Then having this purpose before you, if some little form of expression pleases you, if some theorems please you, do you abide among them and choose to dwell there, forgetting the things at home, and do you say, These things are fine? Who says that they are not fine? but only as being a way home, as inns are. For what hinders you from being an unfortunate man, even if you speak like Demosthenes? and what prevents you, if you can resolve syllogisms like Chrysippus, from being wretched, from sorrowing, from envying, in a word, from being disturbed, from being unhappy? Nothing. You see then that these were inns, worth nothing; and that the purpose before you was something else. When I speak thus to some persons, they think that I am rejecting care about speaking or care about theorems. But I am not rejecting this care, but I am rejecting the abiding about these things incessantly and putting our hopes in them. If a man by this teaching does harm to those who listen to him, reckon me too among those who do this harm: for I am not able, when I see one thing which is most excellent and supreme, to say that another is so, in order to please you.

TO (OR AGAINST) A PERSON WHO WAS ONE OF THOSE WHO WERE NOT VALUED (ESTEEMED) BY HIM.

A CERTAIN person said to him (Epictetus): Frequently I desired to hear you and came to you, and you never gave me any answer: and now, if it is possible, I intreat you to say something to me. Do you think, said Epictetus, that as there is an art in any thing else, so there is also an art in speaking, and

that he who has the art, will speak skilfully, and he who has not, will speak unskilfully? — I do think so. — He then who by speaking receives benefit himself, and is able to benefit others, will speak skilfully: but he who is rather damaged by speaking and does damage to others, will he be unskilled in this art of speaking? And you may find that some are damaged and others benefited by speaking. And are all who hear benefited by what they hear? Or will you find that among them also some are benefited and some damaged? — There are both among these also, he said. — In this case also then those who hear skilfully are benefited, and those who hear unskilfully are damaged? He admitted this. Is there then a skill in hearing also, as there is in speaking? — It seems so. — If you choose, consider the matter in this way also. The practice of music, to whom does it belong? To a musician. And the proper making of a statue, to whom do you think that it belongs? To a statuary. And the looking at a statue skilfully, does this appear to you to require the aid of no art? — This also requires the aid of art. — Then if speaking properly is the business of the skilful man, do you see that to hear also with benefit is the business of the skilful man? Now as to speaking and hearing perfectly, and usefully, let us for the present, if you please, say no more, for both of us are a long way from every thing of the kind. But I think that every man will allow this, that he who is going to hear philosophers requires some amount of practice in hearing. Is it not so?

Tell me then about what I should talk to you: about what matter are you able to listen? — About good and evil. — Good and evil in what? In a horse? No. Well, in an ox? No. What then? In a man? Yes. Do we know then what a man is, what the notion is which we have of him, or have we our ears in any degree practised about this matter? But do you understand what nature is? or can you even in any degree understand me when I say, I shall use demonstration to you? How? Do you understand his very thing, what demonstration is, or how any thing is demonstrated, or by what means; or what things are like demonstration, but are not demonstration? Do you know what is true or what is false? What is consequent on a thing, what is repugnant to a thing, or not consistent, or inconsistent? But must I excite you to philosophy, and how? Shall I show to you the repugnance in the opinions of most men, through which they differ about things good and evil, and about things which are profitable and unprofitable, when you know not this very thing, what repugnance (contradiction) is? Show me then what I shall accomplish by discoursing with you: excite my inclination to do this. As the grass which is suitable, when it is presented to a sheep, moves its inclination to eat, but if you present to it a stone or bread, it will not be moved to eat; so there are in us certain natural inclinations also to speak, when the hearer shall appear to be somebody, when he himself shall excite us: but when he shall sit by us like a stone or like grass, how can he excite a man's desire (to speak)? Does the vine say to the husbandman, Take care of me? No, but the vine by showing in itself that it will be profitable to the husbandman, if he does take

care of it, invites him to exercise care. When children are attractive and lively, whom do they not invite to play with them, and crawl with them, and lisp with them? But who is eager to play with an ass or to bray with it? for though it is small, it is still a little ass.

Why then do you say nothing to me? I can only say this to you, that he who knows not who he is, and for what purpose he exists, and what is this world, and with whom he is associated, and what things are the good and the bad, and the beautiful and the ugly, and who neither understands discourse nor demonstration, nor what is true nor what is false, and who is not able to distinguish them, will neither desire according to nature nor turn away nor move towards, nor intend (to act), nor assent, nor dissent nor suspend his judgment: to say all in a few words, he will go about dumb and blind, thinking that he is somebody, but being nobody. Is this so now for the first time? Is it not the fact that ever since the human race existed, all errors and misfortunes have arisen through this ignorance? Why did Agamemnon and Achilles quarrel with one another? Was it not through not knowing what things are profitable and not profitable? Does not the one say it is profitable to restore Chryseis to her father, and does not the other say that it is not profitable? does not the one say that he ought to take the prize of another, and does not the other say that he ought not? Did they not for these reasons forget, both who they were and for what purpose they had come there? Oh, man, for what purpose did you come? to gain mistresses or to fight? To fight. With whom? the Trojans or the Hellenes? With the Trojans. Do you then leave Hector alone and draw your sword against your own king? And do you, most excellent Sir, neglect the duties of the king, you who are the people's guardian and have such cares; and are you quarrelling about a little girl with the most warlike of your allies, whom you ought by every means to take care of and protect? and do you become worse than (inferior to) a well behaved priest who treats you these fine gladiators with all respect? Do you see what kind of things ignorance of what is profitable does?

But I also am rich. Are you then richer than Agamemnon? But I am also handsome. Are you then more handsome than Achilles? But I have also beautiful hair. But had not Achilles more beautiful hair and gold coloured? and he did not comb it elegantly nor dress it. But I am also strong. Can you then lift so great a stone as Hector or Ajax? But I am also of noble birth. Are you the son of a goddess mother? are you the son of a father sprung from Zeus? What good then do these things do to him, when he sits and weeps for a girl? But I am an orator. And was he not? Do you not see how he handled the most skilful of the Hellenes in oratory, Odysseus and Phoenix? how he stopped their mouths?

This is all that I have to say to you; and I say even this not willingly. Why? Because you have not roused me. For what must I look to in order to be roused, as men who are expert in riding are roused by generous horses? Must I look to your body? You treat it disgracefully. To your dress? That is

luxurious. To your behaviour, to your look? That is the same as nothing. When you would listen to a philosopher, do not say to him, You tell me nothing; but only show yourself worthy of hearing or fit for hearing; and you will see how you will move the speaker.

THAT LOGIC IS NECESSARY.

WHEN one of those who were present said, Persuade me that logic is necessary, he replied, Do you wish me to prove this to you? The answer was — Yes. — Then I must use a demonstrative form of speech. — This was granted. — How then will you know if I am cheating you by my argument? The man was silent. Do you see, said Epictetus, that you yourself are admitting that logic is necessary, if without it you cannot know so much as this, whether logic is necessary or not necessary?

WHAT IS THE PROPERTY OF ERROR.

EVERY error comprehends contradiction: for since he who errs does not wish to err, but to be right, it is plain that he does not do what he wishes. For what does the thief wish to do? That which is for his own interest. If then the theft is not for his interest, he does not do that which he wishes. But every rational soul is by nature offended at contradiction, and so long as it does not understand this contradiction, it is not hindered from doing contradictory things: but when it does understand the contradiction, it must of necessity avoid the contradiction and avoid it as much as a man must dissent from the false when he sees that a thing is false; but so long as this falsehood does not appear to him, he assents to it as to truth.

He then is strong in argument and has the faculty of exhorting and confuting, who is able to show to each man the contradiction through which he errs and clearly to prove how he does not do that which he wishes and does that which he does not wish. For if any one shall show this, a man will himself withdraw from that which he does; but so long as you do not show this, do not be surprised if a man persists in his practice; for having the appearance of doing right, he does what he does. For this reason Socrates also trusting to this power used to say, I am used to call no other witness of what I say, but I am always satisfied with him with whom I am discussing, and I ask him to give his opinion and call him as a witness, and though he is only one, he is sufficient in the place of all. For Socrates knew by what the rational soul is moved, just like a pair of scales, and then it must incline, whether it chooses or not. Show the rational governing faculty a contradiction, and it will withdraw from it; but if you do not show it, rather blame yourself than him who is not persuaded.

BOOK III.

OF FINERY IN DRESS.

A CERTAIN young man a rhetorician came to see Epictetus, with his hair dressed more carefully than was usual and his attire in an ornamental style; whereupon Epictetus said, Tell me if you do not think that some dogs are beautiful and some horses, and so of all other animals. I do think so, the youth replied. Are not then some men also beautiful and others ugly? Certainly. Do we then for the same reason call each of them in the same kind beautiful, or each beautiful for something peculiar? And you will judge of this matter thus. Since we see a dog naturally formed for one thing, and a horse for another, and for another still, as an example, a nightingale, we may generally and not improperly declare each of them to be beautiful then when it is most excellent according to its nature; but since the nature of each is different, each of them seems to me to be beautiful in a different way. Is it not so? He admitted that it was. That then which makes a dog beautiful, makes a horse ugly; and that which makes a horse beautiful, makes a dog ugly, if it is true that their natures are different. It seems to be so. For I think that what makes a Pancratiast beautiful, makes a wrestler to be not good, and a runner to be most ridiculous; and he who is beautiful for the Pentathlon, is very ugly for wrestling. It is so said he. What then makes a man beautiful? Is it that which in its kind makes both a dog and a horse beautiful? It is, he said. What then makes a dog beautiful? The possession of the excellence of a dog. And what makes a horse beautiful? The possession of the excellence of a horse. What then makes a man beautiful? Is it not the possession of the excellence of a man? And do you then, if you wish to be beautiful, young man, labour at this, the acquisition of human excellence. But what is this? Observe whom you yourself praise, when you praise many persons without partiality: do you praise the just or the unjust? The just. Whether do you praise the moderate or the immoderate? The moderate. And the temperate or the intemperate? The temperate. If then you make yourself such a person, you will know that you will make yourself beautiful: but so long as you neglect these things, you must be ugly (αἰσχροπὸν) even though you contrive all you can to appear beautiful. Further I do not know what to say to you: for if I say to you what I think, I shall offend you, and you will perhaps leave the school and not return to it: and if I do not say what I think, see how I shall be acting, if you come to me to be improved, and I shall not improve you at all, and if you come to me as to a philosopher, and I shall say nothing to you as a philosopher. And how cruel it is to you to leave you uncorrected. If at any time afterwards you shall acquire sense, you will with good reason blame me and say, What did Epictetus observe in me that when he saw me in such a plight coming to him in such a scandalous condition, he neglected me and never said a word? did he

so much despair of me? was I not young? was I not able to listen to reason? and how many other young men at this age commit many like errors? I hear that a certain Polemon from being a most dissolute youth underwent such a great change. Well, suppose that he did not think that I should be a Polemon; yet he might have set my hair right, he might have stripped off my decorations, he might have stopped me from plucking the hair out of my body; but when he saw me dressed like — what shall I say? — he kept silent. I do not say like what; but you will say when you come to your senses, and shall know what it is, and what persons use such a dress.

If you bring this charge against me hereafter, what defence shall I make? Why, shall I say that the man will not be persuaded by me? Was Laius persuaded by Apollo? Did he not go away and get drunk and show no care for the oracle? Well then for this reason did Apollo refuse to tell him the truth? I indeed do not know, whether you will be persuaded by me or not; but Apollo knew most certainly that Laius would not be persuaded and yet he spoke. But why did he speak? I say in reply, But why is he Apollo, and why does he deliver oracles, and why has he fixed himself in this place as a prophet and source of truth and for the inhabitants of the world to resort to him? and why are the words Know yourself written in front of the temple, though no person takes any notice of them?

Did Socrates persuade all his hearers to take care of themselves? Not the thousandth part. But however, after he had been placed in this position by the deity, as he himself says, he never left it. But what does he say even to his judges? “If you acquit me on these conditions that I no longer do that which I do now, I will not consent and I will not desist; but I will go up both to young and to old, and, to speak plainly, to every man whom I meet, and I will ask the questions which I ask now; and most particularly will I do this to you my fellow citizens, because you are more nearly related to me.” — *Are* you so curious, Socrates, and such a busy — body? and how does it concern you how we act? and what is it that you say? Being of the same community and of the same kin, you neglect yourself, and show yourself a bad citizen to the state, and a bad kinsman to your kinsmen, and a bad neighbour to your neighbours. Who then are you? — Here it is a great thing to say, “I am he whose duty it is to take care of men; for it is not every little heifer which dares to resist a lion; but if the bull comes up and resists him, say to the bull, if you choose, ‘and who are you, and what business have you here?’” “Man, in every kind there is produced something which excels; in oxen, in dogs, in bees, in horses. Do not then say to that which excels, Who then are you? If you do, it will find a voice in some way and say, I am such a thing as the purple in a garment: do not expect me to be like the others, or blame my nature that it has made me different from the rest of men.

What then? am I such a man? Certainly not. And are you such a man as can listen to the truth? I wish you were. But however since in a manner I have been condemned to wear a white beard and a cloak, and you come to me as to

a philosopher, I will not treat you in a cruel way nor yet as if I despaired of you, but I will say, Young man, whom do you wish to make beautiful? In the first place, know who you are and then adorn yourself appropriately. You are a human being; and this is a mortal animal which has the power of using appearances rationally. But what is meant by 'rationally'? Conformably to nature and completely. What then do you possess which is peculiar? Is it the animal part? No. Is it the condition of mortality? No. Is it the power of using appearances? No. You possess the rational faculty as a peculiar thing: adorn and beautify this; but leave your hair to him who made it as he chose. Come, what other appellations have you? Are you man or woman? Man. Adorn yourself then as man, not as woman. Woman is naturally smooth and delicate; and if she has much hair (on her body), she is a monster and is exhibited at Rome among monsters. And in a man it is monstrous not to have hair; and if he has no hair, he is a monster: 'but if he cuts off his hairs and plucks them out, what shall we do with him? where shall we exhibit him? and under what name shall we show him? I will exhibit to you a man who chooses to be a woman rather than a man. What a terrible sight! There is no man who will not wonder at such a notice. Indeed I think that the men who pluck out their hairs do what they do without knowing what they do. Man what fault have you to find with your nature? That it made you a man? What then was it fit that nature should make all human creatures women? and what advantage in that case would you have had in being adorned? for whom would you have adorned yourself, if all human creatures were women? But you are not pleased with the matter: set to work then upon the whole business. Take away — what is its name? — that which is the cause of the hairs: make yourself a woman in all respects, that we may not be mistaken: do not make one half man, and the other half woman. Whom do you wish to please? The women? Please them as a man. Well; but they like smooth men. Will you not hang yourself? and if women took delight in catamites, would you become one? Is this your business? were you born for this purpose, that dissolute women should delight in you? Shall we make such a one as you a citizen of Corinth and perchance a praefect of the city, or chief of the youth, or general or superintendent of the games? Well, and when you have taken a wife, do you intend to have your hairs plucked out? To please whom and for what purpose? And when you have begotten children, will you introduce them also into the state with the habit of plucking their hairs? A beautiful citizen, and senator and rhetorician. We ought to pray that such young men be born among us and brought up. Do not so, I intreat you by the Gods, young man: but when you have once heard these words, go away and say to yourself, 'Epictetus has not said this to me; for how could he? but some propitious God through him: for it Would never have come into his thoughts to say this, since he is not accustomed to talk thus with any person. Come then let us obey God, that we may not be subject to his anger.' You say, No. But (I say), if a crow by his croaking signifies any thing to you, it is not the crow which signifies, but God

through the crow; and if he signifies any thing through a human voice, will he not cause the man to say this to you, that you may know the power of the divinity, that he signifies to some in this way, and to others in that way, and concerning the greatest things and the chief he signifies through the noblest messenger? What else is it which the poet says:

For we ourselves have warned him, and have sent
Hermes the careful watcher, Argus' slayer,
The husband not to kill nor wed the wife.

Was Hermes going to descend from heaven to say this to him (Aegisthus)? And now the Gods say this to you and send the messenger, the slayer of Argus, to warn you not to pervert that which is well arranged, nor to busy yourself about it, but to allow a man to be a man, and a woman to be a woman, a beautiful man to be as a beautiful man, and an ugly man as an ugly man, for you are not flesh and hair, but you are will (προαίρεσις); and if your will is beautiful, then you will be beautiful. But up to the present time I dare not tell you that you are ugly, for I think that you are readier to hear anything than this. But see what Socrates says to the most beautiful and blooming of men Alcibiades: Try then to be beautiful. What does he say to him? Dress your hair and pluck the hairs from your legs? Nothing of that kind. But adorn your will, take away bad opinions. How with the body? Leave it as it is by nature. Another has looked after these things: intrust them to him. What then, must a man be uncleaned? Certainly not; but what you are and are made by nature, cleanse this. A man should be cleanly as a man, a woman as a woman, a child as a child. You say no: but let us also pluck out the lion's mane, that he may not be uncleaned, and the cock's comb for he also ought to be cleaned. Granted, but as a cock, and the lion as a lion, and the hunting dog as a hunting dog.

IN WHAT A MAN OUGHT TO BE EXERCISED WHO HAS MADE PROFICIENCY; AND THAT WE NEGLECT THE CHIEF THINGS.

THERE are three things (topics, τόποι) in which a man ought to exercise himself who would be wise and good. The first concerns the desires and the aversions, that a man may not fail to get what he desires, and that he may not fall into that which he does not desire. The second concerns the movements (towards an object) and the movements from an object, and generally in doing what a man ought to do, that he may act according to order, to reason, and not carelessly. The third thing concerns freedom from deception and rashness in judgment, and generally it concerns the assents (συγκαταθέσεις). Of these topics the chief and the most urgent is that which relates to the affects (τὰ

πάθη, perturbations); for an affect is produced in no other way than by a failing to obtain that which a man desires or falling into that which a man would wish to avoid. This is that which brings in perturbations, disorders, bad fortune, misfortunes, sorrows, lamentations, and envy; that which makes men envious and jealous; and by these causes we are unable even to listen to the precepts of reason. The second topic concerns the duties of a man; for I ought not to be free from affects (ἀπαθῆ) like a statue, but I ought to maintain the relations (σχέσεις) natural and acquired, as a pious man, as a son, as a father, as a citizen.

The third topic is that which immediately concerns those who are making proficiency, that which concerns the security of the other two, so that not even in sleep any appearance unexamined may surprise us, nor in intoxication, nor in melancholy. This, it may be said, is above our power. But the present philosophers neglecting the first topic and the second (the affects and duties), employ themselves on the third, using sophistical arguments (μεταπίπτοντας), making conclusions from questioning, employing hypotheses, lying. For a man must, as it is said, when employed on these matters, take care that he is not deceived. Who must? The wise and good man. This then is all that is wanting to you. Have you successfully worked out the rest? Are you free from deception in the matter of money? If you see a beautiful girl, do you resist the appearance? If your neighbour obtains an estate by will, are you not vexed? Now is there nothing else wanting to you except unchangeable firmness of mind (ἀμεταπτώσια)? Wretch, you hear these very things with fear and anxiety that some person may despise you, and with inquiries about what any person may say about you. And if a man come and tell you that in a certain conversation in which the question was, Who is the best philosopher, a man who was present said that a certain person was the chief philosopher, your little soul which was only a finger's length stretches out to two cubits. But if another who is present says, You are mistaken; it is not worth while to listen to a certain person, for what does he know? he has only the first principles, and no more? then you are confounded, you grow pale, you cry out immediately, I will show him who I am, that I am a great philosopher. — It is seen by these very things: why do you wish to show it by others? Do you not know that Diogenes pointed out one of the sophists in this way by stretching out his middle finger? And then when the man was wild with rage, This, he said, is the certain person: I have pointed him out to you. For a man is not shown by the finger, as a stone or a piece of wood; but when any person shows the man's principles, then he shows him as a man.

Let us look at your principles also. For is it not plain that you value not at all your own will (προαίρεσις), but you look externally to things which are independent of your will? For instance, what will a certain person say? and what will people think of you? will you be considered a man of learning; have you read Chrysippus or Antipater? for if you have read Archedemus also, you have every thing [that you can desire]. Why are you still uneasy lest you

should not show us who you are? Would you let me tell you what manner of man you have shown us that you are? You have exhibited yourself to us as a mean fellow, querulous, passionate, cowardly, finding fault with every thing, blaming every body, never quiet, vain: this is what you have exhibited to us. Go away now and read Archedemus; then if a mouse should leap down and make a noise, you are a dead man. For such a death awaits you as it did — what was the man's name? — Crinis; and he too was proud, because he understood Archedemus.

Wretch, will you not dismiss these things that do not concern you at all? These things are suitable to those who are able to learn them without perturbation, to those who can say: "I am not subject to anger, to grief, to envy: I am not hindered, I am not restrained. What remains for me? I have leisure, I am tranquil: let us see how we must deal with sophistical arguments; let us see how when a man has accepted an hypothesis he shall not be led away to any thing absurd." To them such things belong. To those who are happy it is appropriate to light a fire, to dine; if they choose, both to sing and to dance. But when the vessel is sinking, you come to me and hoist the sails.

WHAT IS THE MATTER ON WHICH A GOOD MAN SHOULD BE EMPLOYED, AND IN WHAT WE OUGHT CHIEFLY TO PRACTISE OURSELVES.

THE material for the wise and good man is his own ruling faculty: and the body is the material for the physician and the aliptes (the man who oils persons); the land is the matter for the husbandman. The business of the wise and good man is to use appearances conformably to nature: and as it is the nature of every soul to assent to the truth, to dissent from the false, and to remain in suspense as to that which is uncertain; so it is its nature to be moved towards the desire of the good, and to aversion from the evil; and with respect to that which is neither good nor bad it feels indifferent. For as the money-changer (banker) is not allowed to reject Caesar's coin, nor the seller of herbs, but if you show the coin, whether he chooses or not, he must give up what is sold for the coin; so it is also in the matter of the soul. When the good appears, it immediately attracts to itself; the evil repels from itself. But the soul will never reject the manifest appearance of the good, any more than persons will reject Caesar's coin. On this principle depends every movement both of man and God.

For this reason the good is preferred to every intimate relationship (obligation). There is no intimate relationship between me and my father, but there is between me and the good. Are you so hard-hearted? Yes, for such is my nature; and this is the coin which God has given me. For this reason if the good is something different from the beautiful and the just, both father is gone (neglected), and brother and country, and every thing. But shall I overlook my

own good, in order that you may have it, and shall I give it up to you? Why? I am your father. But you are not my good. I am your brother. But you are not my good. But if we place the good in a right determination of the will, the very observance of the relations of life is good, and accordingly he who gives up any external things, obtains that which is good. Your father takes away your property. But he does not injure you. Your brother will have the greater part of the estate in land. Let him have as much as he chooses. Will he then have a greater share of modesty, of fidelity, of brotherly affection? For who will eject you from this possession? Not even Zeus, for neither has he chosen to do so; but he has made this in my own power, and he has given it to me just as he possessed it himself, free from hindrance, compulsion, and impediment. When then the coin which another uses is a different coin, if a man presents this coin, he receives that which is sold for it. Suppose that there comes into the province a thievish proconsul, what coin does he use? Silver coin. Show it to him, and carry off what you please. Suppose one comes who is an adulterer: what coin does he use? Little girls. Take, a man says, the coin, and sell me the small thing. Give, says the seller, and buy [what you want]. Another is eager to possess boys. Give him the coin, and receive what you wish. Another is fond of hunting: give him a fine nag or a dog. Though he groans and laments, he will sell for it that which you want. For another compels him from within, he who has fixed determined) this coin.

Against (or with respect to) this kind of thing chiefly a man should exercise himself. As soon as you go out in the morning, examine every man whom you see, every man whom you hear; answer as to a question, What have you seen? A handsome man or woman? Apply the rule. Is this independent of the will, or dependent? Independent. Take it away. What have you seen? A man lamenting over the death of a child. Apply the rule. Death is a thing independent of the will. Take it away. Has the proconsul met you? Apply the rule. What kind of thing is a proconsul's office? Independent of the will, or dependent on it? Independent. Take this away also: it does not stand examination: cast it away: it is nothing to you.

If we practised this and exercised ourselves in it daily from morning to night, something indeed would be done. But now we are forthwith caught half asleep by every appearance, and it is only, if ever, that in the school we are roused a little. Then when we go out, if we see a man lamenting, we say, He is undone. If we see a consul, we say, He is happy. If we see an exiled man, we say, He is miserable. If we see a poor man, we say, He is wretched: he has nothing to eat.

We ought then to eradicate these bad opinions, and to this end we should direct all our efforts. For what is weeping and lamenting? Opinion. What is bad fortune? Opinion. What is civil sedition, what is divided opinion, what is blame, what is accusation, what is impiety, what is trifling?. All these things are opinions, and nothing more, and opinions about things independent of the will, as if they were good and bad. Let a man transfer these opinions to things

dependent on the will, and I engage for him that he will be firm and constant, whatever may be the state of things around him. Such as is a dish of water, such is the soul. Such as is the ray of light which falls on the water, such are the appearances. When the water is moved, the ray also seems to be moved, yet it is not moved. And when then a man is seized with giddiness, it is not the arts and the virtues which are confounded, but the spirit (the nervous power) on which they are impressed; but if the spirit be restored to its settled state, those things also are restored.

AGAINST A PERSON WHO SHOWED HIS PARTIZANSHIP IN AN UNSEEMLY WAY IN A THEATRE.

THE governor of Epirus having shown his favour to an actor in an unseemly way and being publicly blamed on this account, and afterwards having reported to Epictetus that he was blamed and that he was vexed at those who blamed him, Epictetus said, What harm have they been doing? These men also were acting as partizans, as you were doing. The governor replied, Does then any person show his partizanship in this way? When they see you, said Epictetus, who are their governor, a friend of Caesar and his deputy, showing partizanship in this way, was it not to be expected that they also should show their partizanship in the same way? for if it is not right to show partizanship in this way, do not do so yourself; and if it is right, why are you angry if they followed your example? For whom have the many to imitate except you, who are their superiors? to whose example should they look when they go to the theatre except yours? See how the deputy of Caesar looks on: he has cried out, and I too then will cry out. He springs up from his seat, and I will spring up. His slaves sit in various parts of the theatre and call out. I have no slaves, but I will myself cry out as much as I can and as loud as all of them together. You ought then to know when you enter the theatre that you enter as a rule and example to the rest how they ought to look at the acting. Why then did they blame you? Because every man hates that which is a hindrance to him. They wished one person to be crowned; you wished another. They were a hindrance to you, and you were a hindrance to them. You were found to be the stronger; and they did what they could; they blamed that which hindered them. What then would you have? That you should do what you please, and they should not even say what they please? And what is the wonder? Do not the husbandmen abuse Zeus when they are hindered by him? do not the sailors abuse him? do they ever cease abusing Caesar? What then? does not Zeus know? is not what is said reported to Caesar? What then does he do? he knows that, if he punished all who abuse him, he would have nobody to rule over. What then? when you enter the theatre, you ought to say not, Let Sophron (some actor) be crowned, but you ought to say this, Come let me maintain my will in this

matter so that it shall be conformable to nature: no man is dearer to me than myself. It would be ridiculous then for me to be hurt (injured) in order that another who is an actor may be crowned. Whom then do I wish to gain the prize? Why the actor who does gain the prize; and so he will always gain the prize whom I wish to gain it. — But I wish Sophron to be crowned. — Celebrate as many games as you choose in your own house, Nemean, Pythian, Isthmian, Olympian, and proclaim him victor. But in public do not claim more than your due, nor attempt to appropriate to yourself what belongs to all. If you do not consent to this, bear being abused: for when you do the same as the many, you put yourself on the same level with them.

AGAINST THOSE WHO ON ACCOUNT OF SICKNESS GO AWAY HOME.

I AM sick here, said one of the pupils, and I wish to return home. — At home, I suppose, you were free from sickness. Do you not consider whether you are doing any thing here which may be useful to the exercise of your will, that it may be corrected? For if you are doing nothing towards this end, it was to no purpose that you came. Go away. Look after your affairs at home. For if your ruling power cannot be maintained in a state conformable to nature, it is possible that your land can, that you will be able to increase your money, you will take care of your father in his old age, frequent the public place, hold magisterial office: being bad you will do badly any thing else that you have to do. But if you understand yourself, and know that you are casting away certain bad opinions and adopting others in their place, and if you have changed your state of life from things which are not within your will to things which are within your will, and if you ever say, Alas! you are not saying what you say on account of your father, or your brother, but on account of yourself, do you still allege your sickness? Do you not know that both disease and death must surprise us while we are doing something? the husbandman while he is tilling the ground, the sailor while he is on his voyage? what would you be doing when death surprises you, for you must be surprised when you are doing something? If you can be doing anything better than this when you are surprised, do it. For I wish to be surprised by disease or death when I am looking after nothing else than my own will, that I may be free from perturbation, that I may be free from hindrance, free from compulsion, and in a state of liberty. I wish to be found practising these things that I may be able to say to God, Have I in any respect transgressed thy commands? have I in any respect wrongly used the powers which thou gavest me? have I misused my perceptions or my preconceptions (προλήψεις)? have I ever blamed thee? have I ever found fault with thy administration? I have been sick, because it was thy will, and so have others, but I was content to be sick. I have been poor because it was thy will, but I was content also. I have not filled a magisterial office, because it was not thy pleasure that I should: I have never desired it

Hast thou ever seen me for this reason discontented? have I not always approached thee with a cheerful countenance, ready to do thy commands and to obey thy signals? Is it now thy will that I should depart from the assemblage of men? I depart. I give thee all thanks that thou hast allowed me to join in this thy assemblage of men and to see thy works, and to comprehend this thy administration. May death surprise me while I am thinking of these things, while I am thus writing and reading.

But my mother will not hold my head when I am sick. Go to your mother then; for you are a fit person to have your head held when you are sick. — But at home I used to lie down on a delicious bed. — Go away to your bed: indeed you are fit to lie on such a bed even when you are in health: do not then lose what you can do there (at home).

But what does Socrates say? As one man, he says, is pleased with improving his land, another with improving his horse, so I am daily pleased in observing that I am growing better. Better in what? in using nice little words? Man, do not say that. In little matters of speculation (θεωρήματα)? what are you saying? — And indeed I do not see what else there is on which philosophers employ their time. — Does it seem nothing to you to have never found fault with any person, neither with God nor man? to have blamed nobody? to carry the same face always in going out and coming in? This is what Socrates knew, and yet he never said that he knew any thing or taught any thing. But if any man asked for nice little words or little speculations, he would carry him to Protagoras or to Hippias; and if any man came to ask for potherbs, he would carry him to the gardener. Who then among you ‘has this purpose (motive to action)? for if indeed you had it, you would both be content in sickness, and in hunger, and in death. If any among you has been in love with a charming girl, he knows that I say what is true.

MISCELLANEOUS.

WHEN some person asked him how it happened that since reason has been more cultivated by the men of the present age, the progress made in former times was greater. In what respect, he answered, has it been more cultivated now, and in what respect was the progress greater then? For in that in which it has now been more cultivated, in that also the progress will now be found. At present it has been cultivated for the purpose of resolving syllogisms, and progress is made. But in former times it was cultivated for the purpose of maintaining the governing faculty in a condition conformable to nature, and progress was made. Do not then mix things which are different, and do not expect, when you are labouring at one thing to make progress in another. But see if any man among us when he is intent upon this, the keeping himself in a state conformable to nature and living so always, does not make progress. For you will not find such a man.

The good man is invincible, for he does not enter the contest where he is

not stronger. If you (his adversary) want to have his land and all that is on it, take the land; take his slaves, take his magisterial office, take his poor body. But you will not make his desire fail in that which it seeks, nor his aversion fall into that which he would avoid. The only contest into which he enters is that about things which are within the power of his will; how then will he not be invincible?

Some person having asked him what is Common sense, Epictetus replied, As that may be called a certain Common hearing which only distinguishes vocal sounds, and that which distinguishes musical sounds is not Common, but artificial; so there are certain things which men, who are not altogether perverted, see by the common notions which all possess. Such a constitution of the mind is named Common sense.

It is not easy to exhort weak young men; for neither is it easy to hold (soft) cheese with a hook. But those who have a good natural disposition, even if you try to turn them aside, cling still more to reason. Wherefore Rufus generally attempted to discourage (his pupils), and he used this method as a test of those who had a good natural disposition and those who had not. For it was his habit to say, as a stone, if you cast it upwards, will be brought down to the earth by its own nature, so the man whose mind is naturally good, the more you repel him, the more he turns towards that to which he is naturally inclined.

TO THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE FREE CITIES WHO WAS AN EPICUREAN.

WHEN the administrator came to visit him, and the man was an Epicurean, Epictetus said, It is proper for us who are not philosophers to inquire of you who are philosophers, as those who come to a strange city inquire of the citizens and those who are acquainted with it, what is the best thing in the world, in order that we also after inquiry may go in quest of that which is best and look at it, as strangers do with the things in cities. For that there are three things which relate to man, soul, body, and things external, scarcely any man denies. It remains for you philosophers to answer what is the best. What shall we say to men? Is the flesh the best? and was it for this that Maximus sailed as far as Cassiope in winter (or bad weather) with his son, and accompanied him that he might be gratified in the flesh? When the man said that it was not, and added, Far be that from him. — Is it not fit then, Epictetus said, to be actively employed about the best? It is certainly of all things the most fit. What then do we possess which is better than the flesh? The soul, he replied. And the good things of the best, are they better, or the good things of the worse? The good things of the best. And are the good things of the best within the power of the will or not within the power of the will? They are within the power of the will. Is then the pleasure of the soul a thing within the power of the will? It is, he replied. And on what shall this pleasure depend? On itself?

But that can not be conceived: for there must first exist a certain substance or nature (οὐσία) of good, by obtaining which we shall have pleasure in the soul. He assented to this also. On what then shall we depend for this pleasure of the soul? for if it shall depend on things of the soul, the substance (nature) of the good is discovered; for good can not be one thing, and that at which we are rationally delighted another thing; nor if that which precedes is not good, can that which comes after be good, for in order that the thing which comes after may be good, that which precedes must be good. But you would not affirm this. if you are in your right mind, for you would then say what is inconsistent both with Epicurus and the rest of your doctrines. It remains then that the pleasure of the soul is in the pleasure from things of the body: and again that those bodily things must be the things which precede and the substance (nature) of the good.

For this reason Maximus acted foolishly if he made the voyage for any other reason than for the sake of the flesh, that is, for the sake of the best. And also a man acts foolishly if he abstains from that which belongs to others, when he is a judge (δικαστής) and able to take it. But, if you please, let us consider this only, how this thing may be done secretly, and safely, and so that no man will know it. For not even does Epicurus himself declare stealing to be bad, but he admits that detection is; and because it is impossible to have security against detection, for this reason he says, Do not steal. But I say to you that if stealing is done cleverly and cautiously, we shall not be detected: further also we have powerful friends in Rome both men and women, and the Hellenes (Greeks) are weak, and no man will venture to go up to Rome for the purpose (of complaining). Why do you refrain from your own good? This is senseless, foolish. But even if you tell me that you do refrain, I will not believe you. For as it is impossible to assent to that which appears false, and to turn away from that which is true, so it is impossible to abstain from that which appears good. But wealth is a good thing, and certainly most efficient in producing pleasure. Why will you not acquire wealth? And why should we not corrupt our neighbor's wife, if we can do it without detection? and if the husband foolishly prates about the matter, why not pitch him out of the house? If you would be a philosopher such as you ought to be, if a perfect philosopher, if consistent with your own doctrines, [you must act thus]. If you would not, you will not differ at all from us who are called Stoics; for we also say one thing, but we do another: we talk of the things which are beautiful (good), but we do what is base. But you will be perverse in the contrary way, teaching what is bad, practising what is good.

In the name of God, are you thinking of a city of Epicureans? [One man says], 'I do not marry.'—'Nor I, for a man ought not to marry; nor ought we to beget children, nor engage in public matters.' What then will happen? whence will the citizens come? who will bring them up? who will be governor of the youth, who preside over gymnastic exercises? and in what also will the teacher instruct them? will he teach them what the Lacedaemonians were

taught, or what the Athenians were taught? Come take a young man, bring him up according to your doctrines. The doctrines are bad, subversive of a state, pernicious to families, and not becoming to women. Dismiss them, man. You live in a chief city: it is your duty to be a magistrate, to judge justly, to abstain from that which belongs to others; no woman ought to seem beautiful to you except your own wife, and no youth, no vessel of silver, no vessel of gold (except your own). Seek for doctrines which are consistent with what I say, and by making them your guide you will with pleasure abstain from things which have such persuasive power to lead us and overpower us. But if to the persuasive power of these things, we also devise such a philosophy as this which helps to push us on towards them and strengthens us to this end, what will be the consequence? In a piece of forensic art which is the best part? the silver or the workmanship? The substance of the hand is the flesh; but the work of the hand is the principal part (that which precedes and leads the rest). The duties then are also three: those which are directed towards the existence of a thing; those which are directed towards its existence in a particular kind; and third, the chief or leading things themselves. So also in man we ought not to value the material, the poor flesh, but the principal (leading things, τὰ προηγούμενα). What are these? Engaging in public business, marrying, begetting children, venerating God, taking care of parents, and generally, having desires, aversions (ἐκκλίνειν), pursuits of things and avoidances, in the way in which we ought to do these things, and according to our nature. And how are we constituted by nature? Free, noble, modest: for what other animal blushes? what other is capable of receiving the appearance (the impression) of shame? and we are so constituted by nature as to subject pleasure to these things, as a minister, a servant, in order that it may call forth our activity, in order that it may keep us constant in acts which are conformable to nature.

But I am rich and I want nothing. — Why then do you pretend to be a philosopher? Your golden and your silver vessels are enough for you. What need have you of principles (opinions)? But I am also a judge (κριτής) of the Greeks. — Do you know how to judge? Who taught you to know? Caesar wrote to me a codicil. Let him write and give you a commission to judge of music; and what will be the use of it to you? Still how did you become a judge? whose hand did you kiss? the hand of Symphorus or Numenius? Before whose bed-chamber have you slept? To whom have you sent gifts? Then do you not see that to be a judge is just of the same value as Numenius is? But I can throw into prison any man whom I please. — So you can do with a stone. — But I can beat with sticks whom I please. — So you may an ass. This is not a governing of men. Govern us as rational animals: show us what is profitable to us, and we will follow it: show us what is unprofitable, and we will turn away from it. Make us imitators of yourself, as Socrates made men imitators of himself. For he was like a governor of men, who made them subject to him their desires, their aversion, their movements towards an object

and their turning away from it. — Do this: do not do this: if you do not obey, I will throw you into prison. — This is not governing men like rational animals. But I (say): As Zeus has ordained, so act: if you do not act so, you will feel the penalty, you will be punished. — What will be the punishment? Nothing else than not having done your duty: you will lose the character of fidelity, modesty, propriety. Do not look for greater penalties than these.

HOW WE MUST EXERCISE OURSELVES AGAINST APPEARANCES (ΦΑΝΤΑΣΙΑΣ).

As we exercise ourselves against sophistical questions, so we ought to exercise ourselves daily against appearances; for these appearances also propose questions to us. A certain person's son is dead. Answer; the thing is not within the power of the will': it is not an evil. A father has disinherited a certain son. What do you think of it? It is a thing beyond the power of the will, not an evil. Caesar has condemned a person. It is a thing beyond the power of the will, not an evil. The man is afflicted at this. Affliction is a thing which depends on the will: it is an evil. He has borne the condemnation bravely. That is a thing within the power of the will: it is a good. If we train ourselves in this manner, we shall make progress; for we shall never assent to any thing of which there is not an appearance capable of being comprehended. Your son is dead. What has happened? Your son is dead. Nothing more? Nothing. Your ship is lost. What has happened? Your ship is lost. A man has been led to prison. What has happened? He has been led to prison. But that herein he has fared badly, every man adds from his own opinion. But Zeus, you say, does not do right in these matters. Why? because he has made you capable of endurance? because he has made you magnanimous? because he has taken from that which befalls you the power of being evils? because it is in your power to be happy while you are suffering what you suffer; because he has opened the door to you, when things do not please you? Man, go out and do not complain.

Hear how the Romans feel towards philosophers, if you would like to know. Italicus, who was the most in repute of the philosophers, once when I was present being vexed with his own friends and as if he was suffering something intolerable said, "I cannot bear it, you are killing me: you will make me such as that man is;" pointing to me.

TO A CERTAIN RHETORICIAN WHO WAS GOING UP TO ROME ON A SUIT.

WHEN a certain person came to him, who was going up to Rome on account of a suit which had regard to his rank, Epictetus enquired the reason of his

going to Rome, and the man then asked what he thought about the matter. Epictetus replied, If you ask me what you will do in Rome, whether you will succeed or fail, I have no rule (θεώρημα) about this. But if you ask me how you will fare, I can tell you: if you have right opinions (δόγματα), you will fare well; if they are false, you will fare ill. For to every man the cause of his acting is opinion. For what is the reason why you desired to be elected governor of the Cnossians? Your opinion. What is the reason that you are now going up to Rome? Your opinion. And going in winter, and with danger and expense. — I must go. — What tells you this? Your opinion. Then if opinions are the causes of all actions, and a man has bad opinions, such as the cause may be, such also is the effect. Have we then all sound opinions, both you and your adversary? And how do you differ? But have you sounder opinions than your adversary? Why? You think so. And so does he think that his opinions are better; and so do madmen. This is a bad criterion. But show to me that you have made some inquiry into your opinions and have taken some pains about them. And as now you are sailing to Rome in order to become governor of the Cnossians, and you are not content to stay at home with the honours which you had, but you desire something greater and more conspicuous, so when did you ever make a voyage for the purpose of examining your own opinions, and casting them out, if you have any that are bad? Whom have you approached for this purpose? What time have you fixed for it? What age? Go over the times of your life by yourself, if you are ashamed of me (knowing the fact) when you were a boy, did you examine your own opinions? and did you not then, as you do all things now, do as you did do? and when you were become a youth and attended the rhetoricians, and yourself practised rhetoric, what did you imagine that you were deficient in? And when you were a young man and engaged in public matters, and pleaded causes yourself, and were gaining reputation, who then seemed your equal? And when would you have submitted to any man examining and showing that your opinions are bad? What then do you wish me to say to you? — Help me in this matter. — I have no theorem (rule) for this. Nor have you, if you came to me for this purpose, come to me as a philosopher, but as to a seller of vegetables or a shoemaker. For what purpose then have philosopher' theorems? For this purpose, that whatever may happen, our ruling faculty may be and continue to be conformable to nature. Does this seem to you a small thing? — No; but the greatest. — What then? does it need only a short time? and is it possible to seize it as you pass by? If you can, seize it.

Then you will say, I met with Epictetus as I should meet with a stone or a statue: for you saw me, and nothing snore. But he meets with a man as a man, who learns his opinions, and in his turn shows his own. Learn my opinions: show me yours; and then say that you have visited me. Let us examine one another: if I have any bad opinion, take it away: if you have any, show it. This is the meaning of meeting with a philosopher. — Not so, (you say): but this is only a passing visit, and while we are hiring the vessel, we can also see

Epictetus. Let us see what he says. Then you go away and say: Epictetus was nothing; he used solecisms and spoke in a barbarous way. For of what else do you come as judges? — Well, but a man may say to me, if I attend to such matters (as you do), I shall have no land, as you have none; I shall have no silver cups as you have none, nor fine beasts as you have none. — In answer to this it is perhaps sufficient to say: I have no need of such things: but if you possess many things, you have need of others: whether you choose or not, you are poorer than I am. What then have I need of? Of that which you have not: of firmness, of a mind which is conformable to nature, of being free from perturbation. Whether I have a patron or not, what is that to me? but it is something to you. I am richer than you: I am not anxious what Caesar will think of me: for this reason, I flatter no man. This is what I possess instead of vessels of silver and gold. You have utensils of gold; but your discourse, your opinions, your assents, your movements (pursuits), your desires are of earthen ware. But when I have these things conformable to nature, why should I not employ my studies also upon reason? for I have leisure: my mind is not distracted. What shall I do, since I have no distraction? What more suitable to a man have I than this? When you have nothing to do, you are disturbed, you go to the theatre or you wander about without a purpose. Why should not the philosopher labour to improve his reason? You employ yourself about crystal vessels: I employ myself about the syllogism named the lying: you about myrrhine vessels; I employ myself about the syllogism named the denying (τοῦ ἀποφάσκοντος). To you every thing appears small that you possess: to me all that I have appears great. Your desire is insatiable: mine is satisfied. To (children) who put their hand into a narrow-necked earthen vessel and bring out figs and nuts, this happens; if they fill the hand, they cannot take it out, and then they cry. Drop a few of them and you will draw things out. And do you part with your desires: do not desire many things and you will have what you want.

IN WHAT MANNER WE OUGHT TO BEAR SICKNESS.

WHEN the need of each opinion comes, we ought to have it in readiness: on the occasion of breakfast, such opinions as relate to breakfast; in the bath, those that concern the bath; in bed, those that concern bed.

Let sleep not come upon thy languid eyes
Before each daily action thou hast scann'd;
What's done amiss, what done, what left undone;
From first to last examine all, and then
Blame what is wrong, in what is right rejoice.

And we ought to retain these verses in such way that we may use them, not that we may utter them aloud, as when we exclaim 'Paeon Apollo.' Again in

fever we should have ready such opinions as concern a fever; and we ought not, as soon as the fever begins, to lose and forget all. (A man who has a fever) may say: If I philosophize any longer, may I be hanged: wherever I go, I must take care of the poor body, that a fever may not come. But what is philosophizing? Is it not a preparation against events which may happen? Do you not understand that you are saying something of this kind? "If I shall still prepare myself to bear with patience what happens, may I be hanged." But this is just as if a man after receiving blows should give up the Pancratiun. In the Pancratiun it is in our power to desist and not to receive blows. But in the other matter if we give up philosophy, what shall we gain? What then should a man say on the occasion of each painful thing? It was for' this that I exercised myself, for this I disciplined myself. God says to you, Give me a proof that you have duly practised athletics, that you have eaten what you ought, that you have been exercised, that you have obeyed the aliptes (the oiler and rubber). Then do you show yourself weak when the time for action comes? Now is the time for the fever. Let it be borne well. Now is the time for thirst, bear it well; now is the time for hunger, bear it well. Is it not in your power? who shall hinder you? The physician will hinder you from drinking; but he cannot prevent you from bearing thirst well: and he will hinder you from eating; but he cannot prevent you from bearing hunger well.

But I cannot attend to my philosophical studies. And for what purpose do you follow them? Slave, is it not that you may be happy, that you may be constant, is it not that you may be in a state conformable to nature and live so? What hinders you when you have a fever from having your ruling faculty conformable to nature? Here is the proof of the thing, here is the test of the philosopher. For this also is a part of life, like walking, like sailing, like journeying by land, so also is fever. Do you read when you are walking? No. Nor do you when you have a fever. But if you walk about well, you have all that belongs to a man who walks. If you bear a fever well, you have all that belongs to a man in a fever. What is it to bear a fever well? Not to blame God or man; not to be afflicted at that which happens, to expect death well and nobly, to do what must be done: when the physician comes in, not to be frightened at what he says; nor if he says, 'you are doing well,' to be overjoyed. For what good has he told you? and when you were in health, what good was that to you? And even if he says, 'you are in a bad way,' do not despond. For what is it to be ill? is it that you are near the severance of the soul and the body? what harm is there in this? If you are not near now, will you not afterwards be near? Is the world going to be turned upside down when you are dead? Why then do you flatter the physician? Why do you say if you please, master, I shall be well? Why do you give him an opportunity of raising his eyebrows (being proud; or showing his importance)? Do you not value a physician, as you do a shoemaker when he is measuring your foot, or a carpenter when he is building your house, and so treat the physician as to the body which is not yours, but by nature dead? He who has a fever has an

opportunity of doing this: if he does these things, he has what belongs to him. For it is not the business of a philosopher to look after these externals, neither his wine nor his oil nor his poor body, but his own ruling power. But as to externals how must he act? so far as not to be careless about them. Where then is there reason for fear? where is there then still reason for anger, and of fear about what belongs to others, about things which are of no value? For we ought to have these two principles in readiness, that except the will nothing is good nor bad; and that we ought not to lead events, but to follow them. — My brother ought not to have behaved thus to me. — No; but he will see to that: and, however he may behave, I will conduct myself towards him as I ought. For this is my own business: that belongs to another; no man can prevent this, the other thing can be hindered.

CERTAIN MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

THERE are certain penalties fixed as by law for those who disobey the divine administration. Whoever thinks any other thing to be good except those things which depend on the will, let him envy, let him desire, let him flatter, let him be perturbed: whoever considers any thing else to be evil, let him grieve, let him lament, let him weep, let him be unhappy. And yet, though so severely punished, we cannot desist.

Remember what the poet says about the stranger:

Stranger, I must not, e'en if a worse man come.

This then may be applied even to a father: I must not, even if a worse man than you should come, treat a father unworthily; for all are from paternal Zeus. And (let the same be said) of a brother, for all are from the Zeus who presides over kindred. And so in the other relations of life we shall find Zeus to be an inspector.

ABOUT EXERCISE.

WE ought not to make our exercises consist in means contrary to nature and adapted to cause admiration, for if we do so, we who call ourselves philosophers, shall not differ at all from jugglers. For it is difficult even to walk on a rope; and not only difficult, but it is also dangerous. Ought we for this reason to practise walking on a rope, or setting up a palm tree, or embracing statues? By no means. Every thing which is difficult and dangerous is not suitable for practice; but that is suitable which conduces to the working out of that which is proposed to us. And what is that which is proposed to us as a thing to be worked out? To live with desire and aversion (avoidance of certain things) free from restraint. And what is this? Neither to be disappointed in that which you desire, nor to fall into any thing which you would avoid. Towards this object then exercise (practice) ought to tend. For

since it is not possible to have your desire not disappointed and your aversion free from falling into that which you would avoid, without great and constant practice, you must know that if you allow your desire and aversion to turn to things which are not within the power of the will, you will neither have your desire capable of attaining your object, nor your aversion free from the power of avoiding that which you would avoid. And since strong habit leads (prevails), and we are accustomed to employ desire and aversion only to things which are not within the power of our will, we ought to oppose to this habit a contrary habit, and where there is great slipperiness in the appearances, there to oppose the habit of exercise.

I am rather inclined to pleasure: I will incline to the contrary side above measure for the sake of exercise. I am averse to pain: I will rub and exercise against this the appearances which are presented to me for the purpose of withdrawing my aversion from every such thing. For who is a practitioner in exercise? He who practises not using his desire, and applies his aversion only to things which are within the power of his will, and practises most in the things which are difficult to conquer. For this reason one man must practise himself more against one thing and another against another thing. What then is it to the purpose to set up a palm tree, or to carry about a tent of skins, or a mortar and pestle? Practise, man, if you are irritable, to endure if you are abused, not to be vexed if you are treated with dishonour. Then you will make so much progress that, even if a man strikes you you will say to yourself, Imagine that you have embraced a statue: then also exercise yourself to use wine properly so as not to drink much, for in this also there are men who foolishly practise themselves; but first of all you should abstain from it, and abstain from a young girl and dainty cakes. Then at last, if occasion presents itself, for the purpose of trying yourself at a proper time you will descend into the arena to know if appearances overpower you as they did formerly. But at first fly far from that which is stronger than yourself: the contest is unequal between a charming young girl and a beginner in philosophy. The earthen pitcher, as the saying is, and the rock do not agree.

After the desire and the aversion comes the second topic (matter) of the movements towards action and the withdrawals from it; that you may be obedient to reason, that you do nothing out of season or place, or contrary to any propriety of the kind. The third topic concerns the assents, which is related to the things which are persuasive and attractive. For as Socrates said, we ought not to live a life without examination, so we ought not to accept an appearance without examination, but we should say, Wait, let me see what you are and whence you come; like the watch at night (who says) Show me the pass (the Roman tessera). Have you the signal from nature which the appearance that may be accepted ought to have? And finally whatever means are applied to the body by those who exercise it, if they tend in any way towards desire and aversion, they also may be fit means of exercise; but if they are for display, they are the indications of one who has turned himself

towards something external and who is hunting for something else and who looks for spectators who will say, Oh the great man. For this reason Apollonius said well, When you intend to exercise yourself for your own advantage, and you are thirsty from heat, take in a mouthful of cold water, and spit it out and tell nobody.

WHAT SOLITUDE IS, AND WHAT KIND OF PERSON A SOLITARY MAN IS.

SOLITUDE is a certain condition of a helpless man. For because a man is alone, he is not for that reason also solitary; just as though a man is among numbers, he is not therefore not solitary. When then we have lost either a brother, or a son or a friend on whom we were accustomed to repose, we say that we are left solitary, though we are often in Rome, though such a crowd meet us, though so many live in the same place, and sometimes we have a great number of slaves. For the man who is solitary, as It is conceived, is considered to be a helpless person and exposed to those who wish to harm him. For this reason when we travel, then especially do we say that we are lonely when we fall among robbers, for it is not the sight of a human creature which removes us from solitude, but the sight of one who is faithful and modest and helpful to us. For if being alone is enough to make solitude, you may say that even Zeus is solitary in the conflagration and bewails himself saying, Unhappy that I am who have neither Hera, nor Athena, nor Apollo, nor brother, nor son, nor descendant nor kinsman. This is what some say that he does when he is alone at the conflagration. For they do not understand how a man passes his life when he is alone, because they set out from a certain natural principle, from the natural desire of community and mutual love and from the pleasure of conversation among men. But none the less a man ought to be prepared in a manner for this also (being alone), to be able to be sufficient for himself and to be his own companion. For as Zeus dwells with himself, and is tranquil by himself, and thinks of his own administration and of its nature, and is employed in thoughts suitable to himself; so ought we also to be able to talk with ourselves, not to feel the want of others also, not to be unprovided with the means of passing our time; to observe the divine administration, and the relation of ourselves to every thing else; to consider how we formerly were affected towards things that happen and how at present; what are still the things which give us pain; how these also can be cured and how removed; if any things require improvement, to improve them according to reason.

For you see that Caesar appears to furnish us with great peace, that there are no longer enemies nor battles nor great associations of robbers nor of 'pirates, but we can travel at every hour and sail from east to west. But can Caesar give us security from fever also, can he from ship-wreck, from fire, from earthquake or from lightning? well, I will say, can he give us security

against love? He cannot. From sorrow? He cannot. From envy? He cannot. In a word then he cannot protect us from any of these things. But the doctrine of philosophers promises to give us security (peace) even against these things. And what does it say? Men, if you will attend to me, wherever you are, whatever you are doing, you will not feel sorrow, nor anger, nor compulsion, nor hindrance, but you will pass your time without perturbations and free from every thing. When a man has this peace, not proclaimed by Caesar, (for how should he be able to proclaim it?), but by God through reason, is he not content when he is alone? when he sees and reflects, Now no evil can happen to me; for me there is no robber, no earthquake, every thing is full of peace, full of tranquillity: every way, every city, every meeting, neighbour, companion is harmless. One person whose business it is, supplies me with food; another with raiment; another with perceptions, and preconceptions (προλήψεις). And if he does not supply what is necessary, he (God) gives the signal for retreat, opens the door, and says to you, Go. Go whither? To nothing terrible, but to the place from which you came, to your friends and kins- men, to the elements: what there was in you of fire goes to fire; of earth, to earth; of air (spirit), to air; of water to water: no Hades, nor Acheron, nor Cocytus, nor Pyriphlegethon, but all is full of Gods and Daemons. When a man has such things to think on, and sees the sun, the moon and stars, and enjoys earth and sea, he is not solitary nor even helpless. Well then, if some man should come upon me when I am alone and murder me? Fool, not murder You, but your poor body.

What kind of solitude then remains? what want? why do we make ourselves worse than children? and what do children do when they are left alone? They take up shells and ashes, and they build something, then pull it down, and build something else, and so they never want the means of passing the time. Shall I then, if you sail away, sit down and weep, because I have been left alone and solitary? Shall I then have no shells, no ashes? But children do what they do through want of thought (or deficiency in knowledge), and we through knowledge are unhappy.

Every great power (faculty) is dangerous to beginners. You must then bear such things as you are able, but conformably to nature: but not . . . Practise sometimes a way of living like a person out of health that you may at some time live like a man in health. Abstain from food, drink water, abstain sometimes altogether from desire, in order that you may some time desire consistently with reason; and if consistently with reason, when you have anything good in you, you will desire well. — Not so; but we wish to live like wise men immediately and to be useful to men — Useful how? what are you doing? have you been useful to yourself? But, I suppose, you wish to exhort them? You exhort them! You wish to be useful to them. Show to them in your own example what kind of men philosophy makes, and don't trifle. When you are eating, do good to those who eat with you; when you are drinking, to those who are drinking with you; by yielding to all, giving way, bearing with them,

thus do them good, and do not spit on them your phlegm (bad humours).

CERTAIN MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

As bad tragic actors cannot sing alone, but in company with many: so some persons cannot walk about alone. Man, if you are anything, both walk alone and talk to yourself, and do not hide yourself in the chorus. Examine a little at last, look around, stir yourself up, that you may know who you are.

When a man drinks water, or does anything for the sake of practice (discipline), whenever there is an opportunity he tells it to all: 'I drink water.' Is it for this that you drink water, for the purpose of drinking water? Man, if it is good for you to drink, drink; but if not, you are acting ridiculously. But if it is good for you and you do drink, say nothing about it to those who are displeased with water-drinkers. What then, do you wish to please these very men?

Of things that are done some are done with a final purpose (*προηγούμενως*), some according to occasion, others with a certain reference to circumstances, others for the purpose of complying with others, and some according to a fixed scheme of life.

You must root out of men these two things, arrogance (pride) and distrust. Arrogance then is the opinion that you want nothing (are deficient in nothing): but distrust is the opinion that you cannot be happy when so many circumstances surround you. Arrogance is removed by confutation; and Socrates was the first who practised this. And (to know) that the thing is not impossible inquire and seek. This search will do you no harm; and in a manner this is philosophizing, to seek how it is possible to employ desire and aversion (*ἐκκλίσει*) without impediment.

I am superior to you, for my father is a man of consular rank. Another says, I have been a tribune, but you have not. If we were horses, would you say, My father was swifter? I have much barley and fodder, or elegant neck ornaments. If then while you were saying this, I said, Be it so: let us run then. Well, is there nothing in a man such as running in a horse, by which it will be known which is superior and inferior? Is there not modesty (*αἰδώς*), fidelity, justice? Show yourself superior in these, that you may be superior as a man. If you tell me that you can kick violently, I also will say to you, that you are proud of that which is the act of an ass.

THAT WE OUGHT TO PROCEED WITH CIRCUMSPECTION TO EVERY THING.

IN every act consider what precedes and what follows, and then proceed to the act. If you do not consider, you will at first begin with spirit, since you have not thought at all of the things which follow; but afterwards when some

consequences have shown themselves, you will basely desist (from that which you have begun). — I wish to conquer at the Olympic games. — [And I too, by the gods: for it is a fine thing]. But consider here what precedes and what follows; and then, if it is for your good, undertake the thing. You must act according to rules, follow strict diet, abstain from delicacies, exercise yourself by compulsion at fixed times, in heat, in cold; drink no cold water, nor wine, when there is opportunity of drinking it. In a word you must surrender yourself to the trainer, as you do to a physician. Next in the contest, you must be covered with sand, sometimes dislocate a hand, sprain an ankle, swallow a quantity of dust, be scourged with the whip; and after undergoing all this, you must sometimes be conquered. After reckoning all these things, if you have still an inclination, go to the athletic practice. If you do not reckon them, observe you will behave like children who at one time play as wrestlers, then as gladiators, then blow a trumpet, then act a tragedy, when they have seen and admired such things. So you also do: you are at one time a wrestler (athlete), then a gladiator, then a philosopher, then a rhetorician; but with your whole soul you are nothing: like the ape you imitate all that you see; and always one thing after another pleases you, but that which becomes familiar displeases you. For you have never undertaken any thing after consideration, nor after having explored the whole matter and put it to a strict examination; but you have undertaken it at hazard and with a cold desire. Thus some persons having seen a philosopher and having heard one speak like Euphrates — and yet who can speak like him? — wish to be philosophers themselves.

Man, consider first what the matter is (which you propose to do), then your own nature also, what it is able to bear. If you are a wrestler, look at your shoulders, your thighs, your loins: for different men are naturally formed for different things. Do you think that, if you do (what you are doing daily), you can be a philosopher? Do you think that you can eat as you do now, drink as you do now, and in the same way be angry and out of humour? You must watch, labour, conquer certain desires, you must depart from your kinsmen, be despised by your slave, laughed at by those who meet you, in every thing you must be in an inferior condition, as to magisterial office, in honours, in courts of justice. When you have considered all these things completely, then, if you think proper, approach to philosophy, if you would gain in exchange for these things freedom from perturbations, liberty, tranquillity. If you have not considered these things, do not approach philosophy: do not act like children, at one time a philosopher, then a tax collector, then a rhetorician, then a procurator (officer) of Caesar. These things are not consistent. You must be one man either good or bad: you must either labour at your own ruling faculty or at external things: you must either labour at things within or at external things: that is, you must either occupy the place of a philosopher or that of one of the vulgar.

A person said to Rufus when Galba was murdered, Is the world now governed by Providence? But Rufus replied, Did I ever incidentally form an

argument from Galba that the world is governed by Providence?

THAT WE OUGHT WITH CAUTION TO ENTER INTO FAMILIAR INTERCOURSE WITH MEN.

IF a man has frequent intercourse with others either for talk, or drinking together, or generally for social purposes, he must either become like them, or change them to his own fashion. For if a man places a piece of quenched charcoal close to a piece that is burning, either the quenched charcoal will quench the other, or the burning charcoal will light that which is quenched. Since then the danger is so great, we must cautiously enter into such intimacies with those of the common sort, and remember that it is impossible that a man can keep company with one who is covered with soot without being partaker of the soot himself. For what will you do if a man speaks about gladiators, about horses, about athletes, or what is worse about men? Such a person is bad, such a person is good: this was well done, this was done badly. Further, if he scoff, or ridicule, or show an ill-natured disposition? Is any man among us prepared like a lute-player when he takes a lute, so that as soon as he has touched the strings, he discovers which are discordant, and tunes the instrument? such a power as Socrates had who in all his social intercourse could lead his companions to his own purpose? How should you have this power? It is therefore a necessary consequence that you are carried about by the common kind of people.

Why then are they more powerful than you? Because they utter these useless words from their real opinions: but you utter your elegant words only from your lips; for this reason they are without strength and dead, and it is nauseous to listen to your exhortations and your miserable virtue, which is talked of every where (up and down). In this way the vulgar have the advantage over you: for every opinion (δόγμα) is strong and invincible. Until then the good (κομψαί) sentiments (ὑπολήψεις) are fixed in you, and you shall have acquired a certain power for your security, I advise you to be careful in your association with common persons: if you are not, every day like wax in the sun there will be melted away whatever you inscribe on your minds in the school. Withdraw then yourselves far from the sun so long as you have these waxen sentiments. For this reason also philosophers advise men to leave their native country, because antient habits distract them and do not allow a beginning to be made of a different habit; nor can we tolerate those who meet us and say: See such a one is now a philosopher, who was once so and so. Thus also physicians send those who have lingering diseases to a different country and a different air; and they do right. Do you also introduce other habits than those which you have: fix your opinions and exercise yourselves in them. But you do not so: you go hence to a spectacle, to a show of gladiators, to a place of exercise (ἔγχεστρον), to a circus; then you come back

hither, and again from this place you go to those places, and still the same persons. And there is no pleasing (good) habit, nor attention, nor care about self and observation of this kind, How shall I use the appearances presented to me? according to nature, or contrary to nature? how do I answer to them? as I ought, or as I ought not? Do I say to those things which are independent of the will, that they do not concern me? For if you are not yet in this state, fly from your former habits, fly from the common sort, if you intend ever to begin to be something.

ON PROVIDENCE.

WHEN you make any charge against Providence, consider, and you will learn that the thing has happened according to reason. — Yes, but the unjust man has the advantage. — In what? — In money. — Yes, for he is superior to you in this, that he flatters, is free from shame, and is watchful. What is the wonder? But see if he has the advantage over you in being faithful, in being modest: for you will not find it to be so; but wherein you are superior, there you will find that you have the advantage. And I once said to a man who was vexed because Philostorgus was fortunate: Would you choose to lie with Sura? — May it never happen, he replied, that this day should come? Why then are you vexed, if he receives something in return for that which he sells; or how can you consider him happy who acquires those things by such means as you abominate; or what wrong does Providence, if he gives the better things to the better men? Is it not better to be modest than to be rich? — He admitted this — Why are you vexed then, man, when you possess the better thing? Remember then always and have in readiness the truth, that this is a law of nature, that the superior has an advantage over the inferior in that in which he is superior; and you will never be vexed.

But my wife treats me badly. — Well, if any man asks you what this is, say, my wife treats me badly — Is there then nothing more? Nothing. — My father gives me nothing—[What is this? my father gives me nothing — Is there nothing else then? — Nothing]: but to say that this is an evil is something which must be added to it externally, and falsely added. For this reason we must not get rid of poverty, but of the opinion about poverty, and then we shall be happy.

THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO BE DISTURBED BY ANY NEWS.

WHEN any thing shall be reported to you which is of a nature to disturb, have this principle in readiness, that the news is about nothing which is within the power of your will. Can any man report to you that you have formed a bad opinion, or had a bad desire? By no means. But perhaps he will report that some person is dead. What then is that to you? He may report that some

person speaks ill of you. What then is that to you? Or that your father is planning something or other. Against whom? Against your will (προαίρεσις)? How can he? But is it against your poor body, against your little property? You are quite safe: it is not against you. But the judge declares that you have committed an act of impiety. And did not the judges (δίκασται) make the same declaration against Socrates? Does it concern you that the judge has made this declaration? No. Why then do you trouble yourself any longer about it? Your father has a certain duty, and if he shall not fulfil it, he loses the character of a father, of a man of natural affection, of gentleness. Do not wish him to lose any thing else on this account. For never does a man do wrong in one thing, and suffer in another. On the other side it is your duty to make your defence firmly, modestly, without anger: but if you do not, you also lose the character of a son, of a man of modest behavior, of generous character. Well then, is the judge free from danger? No; but he also is in equal danger. Why then are you still afraid of his decision? What have you to do with that which is another man's evil? It is your own evil to make a bad defence: be on your guard against this only. But to be condemned or not to be condemned, as that is the act of another person, so it is the evil of another person. A certain person threatens you. Me? No. He blames you. Let him see how he manages his own affairs. He is going to condemn you unjustly. He is a wretched man.

WHAT IS THE CONDITION OF A COMMON KIND OF MAN AND OF A PHILOSOPHER.

THE first difference between a common person (ιδιώτης) and a philosopher is this: the common person says, Woe to me for my little child, for my brother, for my father. The philosopher, if he shall ever be compelled to say, Woe to me, stops and says, 'but for myself.' For nothing which is independent of the will can hinder or damage the will, and the will can only hinder or damage itself. If then we ourselves incline in this direction, so as, when we are unlucky, to blame ourselves and to remember that nothing else is the cause of perturbation or loss of tranquillity except our own opinion, I swear to you by all the gods that we have made progress. But in the present state of affairs we have gone another way from the beginning. For example, while we were still children, the nurse, if we ever stumbled through want of care, did not chide us, but would beat the stone. But what did the stone do? Ought the stone to have moved on account of your child's folly? Again, if we find nothing to eat on coming out of the bath, the paedagogue never checks our appetite, but he flogs the cook. Man, did we make you the paedagogue of the cook and not of the child? Correct the child, improve him. In this way even when we are grown up we are like children. For he who is unmusical is a child in music; he who is without letters is a child in learning; he who is untaught, is a child in life.

THAT WE CAN DERIVE ADVANTAGE FROM ALL EXTERNAL THINGS.

IN the case of appearances which are objects of the vision, nearly all have allowed the good and the evil to be in ourselves, and not in externals. No one gives the name of good to the fact that it is day, nor bad to the fact that it is night, nor the name of the greatest evil to the opinion that three are four. But what do men say? They say that knowledge is good, and that error is bad; so that even in respect to falsehood itself there is a good result, the knowledge that it is falsehood. So it ought to be in life also. Is health a good thing, and is sickness a bad thing? No, man. But what is it? To be healthy, and healthy in a right way, is good: to be healthy in a bad way is bad; so that it is possible to gain advantage even from sickness, I declare. For is it not possible to gain advantage even from death, and is it not possible to gain advantage from mutilation? Do you think that Menoeceus gained little by death? Could a man who says so, gain so much as Menoeceus gained? Come, man, did he not maintain the character of being a lover of his country, a man of great mind, faithful, generous? And if he had continued to live, would he not have lost all these things? would he not have gained the opposite? would he not have gained the name of coward, ignoble, a hater of his country, a man who feared death? Well, do you think that he gained little by dying? I suppose not. But did the father of Admetus gain much by prolonging his life so ignobly and miserably? Did he not die afterwards? Cease, I adjure you by the gods, to admire material things. Cease to make yourselves slaves, first of things, then on account of things slaves of those who are able to give them or take them away.

Can advantage then be derived from these things? From all; and from him who abuses you. Wherein does the man who exercises before the combat profit the athlete? Very greatly. This man becomes my exerciser before the combat: he exercises me in endurance, in keeping my temper, in mildness. You say no: but he, who lays hold of my neck and disciplines my loins and shoulders, does me good; and the exercise master (the aliptes, or oiler) does right when he says; Raise him up with both hands, and the heavier he (ἐκείνος) is, so much the more is my advantage. But if a man exercises me in keeping my temper, does he not do me good? — This is not knowing how to gain an advantage from men. Is my neighbour bad? Bad to himself, but good to me: he exercises my good disposition, my moderation. Is my father bad? Bad to himself, but to me good. This is the rod of Hermes: touch with it what you please, as the saying is, and it will be of gold. I say not so: but bring what you please, and I will make it good. Bring disease, bring death, bring poverty, bring abuse, bring trial on capital charges: all these things through the rod of Hermes shall be made profitable. What will you do with death? Why, what else than that it shall do you honour, or that it shall show you by act through it, what a man is who follows the will of nature? What will you do with

disease? I will show its nature, I will be conspicuous in it, I will be firm, I will be happy, I will not flatter the physician, I will not wish to die. What else do you seek? Whatever you shall give me, I will make it happy, fortunate, honoured, a thing which a man shall seek.

You say No: but take care that you do not fall sick: it is a bad thing. This is the same as if you should say, Take care that you never receive the impression (appearance) that three are four: that is bad. Man, how is it bad? If I think about it as I ought, how shall it then do me any damage? and shall it not even do me good? If then I think about poverty as I ought to do, about disease, about not having office, is not that enough for me? will it not be an advantage? How then ought I any longer to look to seek evil and good in externals? What happens? these doctrines are maintained here, but no man carries them away home; but immediately every one is at war with his slave, with his neighbours, with those who have sneered at him, with those who have ridiculed him. Good luck to Lesbius, who daily proves that I know nothing.

AGAINST THOSE WHO READILY COME TO THE PROFESSION OF SOPHISTS.

THEY who have taken up bare theorems (θεωρήματα) immediately wish to vomit them forth, as persons whose stomach is diseased do with food. First digest the thing, then do not vomit it up thus: if you do not digest it, the thing becomes truly an emetic, a crude food and unfit to eat. But after digestion show us some change in your ruling faculty, as athletes show in their shoulders by what they have been exercised and what they have eaten; as those who have taken up certain arts show by what they have learned. The carpenter does not come and say, Hear me talk about the carpenter's art; but having undertaken to build a house, he makes it, and proves that he knows the art. You also ought to do something of the kind; eat like a man, drink like a man, dress, marry, beget children, do the office of a citizen, endure abuse, bear with an unreasonable brother, bear with your father, bear with your son, neighbour, companion. Show us these things that we may see that you have in truth learned something from the philosophers. You say, No; but come and hear me read (philosophical) commentaries. Go away, and seek somebody to vomit them on. (He replies) And indeed I will expound to you the writings of Chrysippus as no other man can: I will explain his text most clearly: I will add also, if I can, the vehemence of Antipater and Archedemus.

Is it then for this that young men shall leave their country and their parents, that they may come to this place, and hear you explain words? Ought they not to return with a capacity to endure, to be active in association with others, free from passions, free from perturbation, with such a provision for the journey of life with which they shall be able to bear well the things that happen and derive honour from them? And how can you give them any of these things which you do not possess? Have you done from the beginning

any thing else than employ yourself about the resolution of Syllogisms, of sophistical arguments (οἱ μεταπίπτοντες), and in those which work by questions? But such a man has a school; why should not I also have a school? These things are not done, man, in a careless way, nor just as it may happen; but there must be a (fit) age and life and God as a guide. You say, No. But no man sails from a port without having sacrificed to the Gods and invoked their help; nor do men sow without having called on Demeter; and shall a man who has undertaken so great a work undertake it safely without the Gods? and shall they who undertake this work come to it with success? What else are you doing, man, than divulging the mysteries? You say, there is a temple at Eleusis, and one here also. There is an Hierophant at Eleusis, and I also will make an Hierophant: there is a herald, and I will establish a herald: there is a torchbearer at Eleusis, and I also will establish a torchbearer; there are torches at Eleusis, and I will have torches here. The words are the same: how do the things done here differ from those done there? — Most impious man, is there no difference? these things are done both in due place and in due time; and when accompanied with sacrifice and prayers, when a man is first purified, and when he is disposed in his mind to the thought that he is going to approach sacred rites and antient rites. In this way the mysteries are useful, in this way we come to the notion that all these things were established by the antients for the instruction and correction of life. But you publish and divulge them out of time, out of place, without sacrifices, without purity; you have not the garments which the hierophant ought to have, nor the hair, nor the headdress, nor the voice, nor the age; nor have you purified yourself as he has: but you have committed to memory the words only, and you say, Sacred are the words by themselves. You ought to approach these matters in another way: the thing is great, it is mystical, not a common thing, nor is it given to every man. But not even wisdom perhaps is enough to enable a man to take care of youths: a man must have also a certain readiness and fitness for this purpose, and a certain quality of body, and above all things he must have God to advise him to occupy this office, as God advised Socrates to occupy the place of one who confutes error, Diogenes the office of royalty and reproof, and the office of teaching precepts. But you open a doctor's shop, though you have nothing except physic: but where and how they should be applied, you know not nor have you taken any trouble about it. See, that man says, I too have salves for the eyes. Have you also the power of using them? Do you know both when and how they will do good, and to whom they will do good? Why then do you act at hazard in things of the greatest importance? why are you careless? why do you undertake a thing that is in no way fit for you? Leave it to those who are able to do it, and to do it well. Do not yourself bring disgrace on philosophy through your own acts, and be not one of those who load it with a bad reputation. But it theorems please you, sit still, and turn them over by yourself; but never say that you are a philosopher, nor allow another to say it; but say: He is mistaken, for neither are my desires different from what they

were before, nor is my activity directed to other objects, nor do I assent to other things, nor in the use of appearances have I altered at all from my former condition. This you must think and say about yourself, if you would think as you ought: if not act at hazard, and do what you are doing; for it becomes you.

ABOUT CYNISM.

WHEN one of his pupils inquired of Epictetus, and he was a person who appeared to be inclined to Cynism, what kind of person a Cynic ought to be and what was the notion (πρόληψις) of the thing, we will inquire, said Epictetus, at leisure: but I have so much to say to you that he who without God attempts so great a matter, is hateful to God, and has no other purpose than to act indecently in public. For in any well-managed house no man comes forward, and says to himself, I ought to be manager of the house. If he does so, the master turns round, and seeing him insolently giving orders, drags him forth and flogs him. So it is also in this great city (the world); for here also there is a master of the house who orders every thing. (He says) You are the sun; you can by going round make the year and seasons, and make the fruits grow and nourish them, and stir the winds and make them remit, and warm the bodies of men properly: go, travel round, and so administer things from the greatest to the least. You are a calf; when a lion shall appear, do your proper business (*i. e.* run away): if you do not, you will suffer. You are a bull: advance and fight, for this is your business, and becomes you, and you can do it. You can lead the army against Ilium; be Agamemnon. You can fight in single combat against Hector: be Achilles. But if Thersites came forward and claimed the command, he would either not have obtained it; or if he did obtain it, he would have disgraced himself before many witnesses.

Do you also think about the matter carefully: it is not what it seems to you. (You say) I wear a cloak now and I shall wear it then: I sleep hard now, and I shall sleep hard then: I will take in addition a little bag now and a staff, and I will go about and begin to beg and to abuse those whom I meet; and if I see any man plucking the hair out of his body, I will rebuke him, or if he has dressed his hair, or if he walks about in purple — If you imagine the thing to be such as this, keep far away from it: do not approach it: it is not at all for you. But if you imagine it to be what it is, and do not think yourself to be unfit for it, consider what a great thing you undertake.

In the first place in the things which relate to yourself, you must not be in any respect like what you do now: you must not blame God or man: you must take away desire altogether, you must transfer avoidance (ἐκκλισις) only to the things which are within the power of the will: you must not feel anger nor resentment nor envy nor pity; a girl must not appear handsome to you, nor must you love a little reputation, nor be pleased with a boy or a cake. For you ought to know that the rest of men throw walls around them and houses and

darkness when they do any such things, and they have many means of concealment. A man shuts the door, he sets somebody before the chamber: if a person comes, say that he is out, he is not at leisure. But the Cynic instead of all these things must use modesty as his protection: if he does not, he will be indecent in his nakedness and under the open sky. This is his house, his door: this is the slave before his bedchamber: this is his darkness. For he ought not to wish to hide any thing that he does: and if he does, he is gone, he has lost the character of a Cynic, of a man who lives under the open sky, of a free man: he has begun to fear some external thing, he has begun to have need of concealment, nor can he get concealment when he chooses. For where shall he hide himself and how? And if by chance this public instructor shall be detected, this paedagogue, what kind of things will he be compelled to suffer? when then a man fears these things, is it possible for him to be bold with his whole soul to superintend men? It cannot be: it is impossible.

In the first place then you must make your ruling faculty pure, and this mode of life also. Now (you should say), to me the matter to work on is my understanding, as wood is to the carpenter, as hides to the shoemaker; and my business is the right use of appearances. But the body is nothing to me: the parts of it are nothing to me. Death? Let it come when it chooses, either death of the whole or of a part. Fly, you say. And whither; can any man eject me out of the world? He cannot. But wherever I go, there is the sun, there is the moon, there are the stars, dreams, omens, and the conversation (ὁμιλία) with Gods.

Then, if he is thus prepared, the true Cynic cannot be satisfied with this; but he must know that he is sent a messenger from Zeus to men about good and bad things, to show them that they have wandered and are seeking the substance of good and evil where it is not, but where it is, they never think; and that he is a spy, as Diogenes was carried off to Philip after the battle of Chaeroneia as a spy. For in fact a Cynic is a spy of the things which are good for men and which are evil, and it is his duty to examine carefully and to come and report truly, and not to be struck with terror so as to point out as enemies those who are not enemies, nor in any other way to be perturbed by appearances nor confounded.

It is his duty then to be able with a loud voice, if the occasion should arise, and appearing on the tragic stage to say like Socrates: Men, whither are you hurrying, what are you doing, wretches? like blind people you are wandering up and down: you are going by another road, and have left the true road: you seek for prosperity and happiness where they are not, and if another shows you where they are, you do not believe him. Why do you seek it without? In the body? It is not there. If you doubt, look at Myro, look at Ophellius. In possessions? It is not there. But if you do not believe me, look at Croesus: look at those who are now rich, with what lamentations their life is filled. In power? It is not there. If it is, those must be happy who have been twice and thrice consuls; but they are not. Whom shall we believe in these matters? You

who from without see their affairs and are dazzled by an appearance, or the men themselves? What do they say? Hear them when they groan, when they grieve, when on account of these very consulships and glory and splendour they think that they are more wretched and in greater danger. Is it in royal power? It is not: if it were, Nero would have been happy, and Sardanapalus. But neither was Agamemnon happy, though he was a better man than Sardanapalus and Nero; but while others are snoring, what is he doing?

Much from his head he tore his rooted hair:

Iliad, x. 15.

and what does he say himself?

‘I am perplexed,’ he says, ‘and
Disturb’d I am,’ and ‘my heart out of my bosom
Is leaping.’

Iliad x. 91.

Wretch, which of your affairs goes badly? Your possessions? No. Your body? No. But you are rich in gold and copper. What then is the matter with you? That part of you, whatever it is, has been neglected by you and is corrupted, the part with which we desire, with which we avoid, with which we move towards and move from things. How neglected? He knows not the nature of good for which he is made by nature and the nature of evil; and what is his own, and what belongs to another; and when any thing that belongs to others goes badly, he says, Wo to me, for the Hellenes are in danger. Wretched is his ruling faculty, and alone neglected and uncared for. The Hellenes are going to die destroyed by the Trojans. And if the Trojans do not kill them, will they not die? Yes; but not all at once. What difference then does it make? For if death is an evil, whether men die altogether, or if they die singly, it is equally an evil. Is any thing else then going to happen than the separation of the soul and the body? Nothing. And if the Hellenes perish, is the door closed, and is it not in your power to die? It is. Why then do you lament (and say) Oh, you who are a king and have the sceptre of Zeus? An unhappy king does not exist more than an unhappy god. What then art thou? In truth a shepherd: for you weep as shepherds do, when a wolf has carried off one of their sheep: and these who are governed by you are sheep. And why did you come hither? Was your desire in any danger? was your aversion (ἔκκλισις)? was your movement (pursuits)? was your avoidance of things? He replies, No; but the wife of my brother was carried off. Was it not then a great gain to be deprived of an adulterous wife? — Shall we be despised then by the Trojans? — What kind of people are the Trojans, wise or foolish? If they are wise, why do you fight with them? If they are fools, why do you care about them?

In what then is the good, since it is not in these things? Tell us, you who are lord, messenger and spy. Where you do not think that it is, nor choose to seek it: for if you chose to seek it, you would have found it to be in yourselves; nor would you be wandering out of the way, nor seeking what

belongs to others as if it were your own. Turn your thoughts into yourselves: observe the preconceptions which you have. What kind of a thing do you imagine the good to be? That which flows easily, that which is happy, that which is not impeded. Come, and do you not naturally imagine it to be great, do you not imagine it to be valuable? do you not imagine it to be free from harm? In what material then ought you to seek for that which flows easily, for that which is not impeded? in that which serves or in that which is free? In that which is free. Do you possess the body then free or is it in servile condition? We do not know. Do you not know that it is the slave of fever, of gout, of ophthalmia, of dysentery, of a tyrant, of fire, of iron, of every thing which is stronger? Yes, it is a slave. How then is it possible that any thing which belongs to the body can be free from hindrance? and how is a thing great or valuable which is naturally dead, or earth, or mud? Well then, do you possess nothing which is free? Perhaps nothing. And who is able to compel you to assent to that which appears false? No man. And who can compel you not to assent to that which appears true? No man. By this then you see that there is something in you naturally free. But to desire or to be averse from, or to move towards an object or to move from it, or to prepare yourself, or to propose to do any thing, which of you can do this, unless he has received an impression of the appearance of that which is profitable or a duty? No man. You have then in these things also something which is not hindered and is free. Wretched men, work out this, take care of this, seek for good here.

And how is it possible that a man who has nothing, who is naked, houseless, without a hearth, squalid, without a slave, without a city, can pass a life that flows easily? See, God has sent you a man to show you that it is possible. Look at me, who am without a city, without a house, without possessions, without a slave; I sleep on the ground; I have no wife, no children, no praetorium, but only the earth and heavens, and one poor cloak. And what do I want? Am I not without sorrow? am I not without fear? Am I not free? When did any of you see me failing in the object of my desire? or ever falling into that which I would avoid? did I ever blame God or man? did I ever accuse any man? did any of you ever see me with sorrowful countenance? And how do I meet with those whom you are afraid of and admire? Do not I treat them like slaves? Who, when he sees me, does not think that he sees his king and master?

This is the language of the Cynics, this their character, this is their purpose. You say No: but their characteristic is the little wallet, and staff, and great jaws: the devouring of all that you give them, or storing it up, or the abusing unseasonably all whom they meet, or displaying their shoulder as a fine thing. — Do you see how you are going to undertake so great a business? First take a mirror: look at your shoulders; observe your loins, your thighs. You are going, my man, to be enrolled as a combatant in the Olympic games, no frigid and miserable contest. In the Olympic games a man is not permitted to be conquered only and to take his departure; but first he must be disgraced

in the sight of all the world, not in the sight of Athenians only, or of Lacedaemonians or of Nicopolitans; next he must be whipped also if he has entered into the contests rashly: and before being whipped, he must suffer thirst and heat, and swallow much dust.

Reflect more carefully, know thyself, consult the divinity, without God attempt nothing; for if he shall advise you (to do this or anything), be assured that he intends you to become great or to receive many blows. For this very amusing quality is conjoined to a Cynic: he must be flogged like an ass, and when he is flogged, he must love those who flog him, as if he were the father of all, and the brother of all. — You say No; but if a man flogs you, stand in the public place and call out, ‘Caesar, what do I suffer in this state of peace under thy protection?’ Let us bring the offender before the proconsul. — But what is Caesar to a Cynic, or what is a proconsul or what is any other except him who sent the Cynic down hither, and whom he serves, namely Zeus? Does he call upon any other than Zeus? Is he not convinced that whatever he suffers, it is Zeus who is exercising him? Hercules when he was exercised by Eurystheus did not think that he was wretched, but without hesitation he attempted to execute all that he had in hand. And is he who is trained to the contest and exercised by Zeus going to call out and to be vexed, he who is worthy to bear the sceptre of Diogenes? Hear what Diogenes says to the passers by when he is in a fever, Miserable wretches, will you not stay? but are you going so long a journey to Olympia to see the destruction or the fight of athletes; and will you not choose to see the combat between a fever and a man? Would such a man accuse God who sent him down as if God were treating him unworthily, a man who gloried in his circumstances, and claimed to be an example to those who were passing by? For what shall he accuse him of? because he maintains a decency of behaviour, because he displays his virtue more conspicuously? Well, and what does he say of poverty, about death, about pain? How did he compare his own happiness with that of the great king (the king of Persia)? or rather he thought that there was no comparison between them. For where there are perturbations, and griefs, and fears, and desires not satisfied, and aversions of things which you cannot avoid, and envies and jealousies, how is there a road to happiness there? But where there are corrupt principles, there these things must of necessity be.

When the young man asked, if when a Cynic has fallen sick, and a friend asks him to come to his house and to be take care of in his sickness, shall the Cynic accept the invitation, he replied, And where shall you find, I ask, a Cynic’s friend? For the man who invites ought to be such another as the Cynic that he may be worthy of being reckoned the Cynic’s friend. He ought to be a partner in the Cynic’s sceptre and his royalty, and a worthy minister, if he intends to be considered worthy of a Cynic’s friendship, as Diogenes was a friend of Antisthenes, as Crates was a friend of Diogenes. Do you think that if a man comes to a Cynic and salutes him, that he is the Cynic’s friend, and that the Cynic will think him worthy of receiving a Cynio into his house? So that

if you please, reflect on this also: rather look round for some convenient dunghill on which you shall bear your fever and which will shelter you from the north wind that you may not be chilled. But you seem to me to wish to go into some man's house and to be well fed there for a time. Why then do you think of attempting so great a thing (as the life of a Cynic)?

But, said the young man, shall marriage and the pro-creation of children as a chief duty be undertaken by the Cynic? If you grant me a community of wise men, Epictetus replies, perhaps no man will readily apply himself to the Cynic practice. For on whose account should he undertake this manner of life? However if we suppose that he does, nothing will prevent him from marrying and begetting children; for his wife will be another like himself, and his father in law another like himself, and his children will be brought up like himself. But in the present state of things which is like that of an army placed in battle order, is it not fit that the Cynic should without any distraction be employed only on the ministration of God, able to go about among men, not tied down to the common duties of mankind, nor entangled in the ordinary relations of life, which if he neglects, he will not maintain the character of an honour-able and good man? and if he observes them he will lose the character of the messenger, and spy and herald of God. For consider that it is his duty to do something towards his father in law, something to the other kinsfolks of his wife, something to his wife also (if he has one). He is also excluded by being a Cynic from looking after the sickness of his own family, and from providing for their support. And to say nothing of the rest, he must have a vessel for heating water for the child that he may wash it in the bath; wool for his wife when she is delivered of a child, oil, a bed, a cup: so the furniture of the house is increased. I say nothing of his other occupations, and of his distraction. Where then now is that king, he who devotes himself to the public interests,

The people's guardian and so full of cares.

Homer, *Iliad* ii. 25

whose duty it is to look after others, the married and those who have children; to see who uses his wife well, who uses her badly; who quarrels; what family is well administered, what is not; going about as a physician does and feels pulses? He says to one, you have a fever, to another you have a head-ache, or the gout: he says to one, abstain from food; to another he says, eat; or do not use the bath; to another, you require the knife, or the cautery. How can he have time for this who is tied to the duties of common life? is it not his duty to supply clothing to his children, and to send them to the school-master with writing tablets, and styles (for writing). Besides must he not supply them with beds? for they cannot be genuine Cynics as soon as they are born. If he does not do this, it would be better to expose the children as soon as they are born than to kill them in this way. Consider what we are bringing the Cynic down to, how we are taking his royalty from him. — Yes, but Crates took a wife. — You are speaking of a circumstance which arose from love and of a woman who was another Crates. But we are inquiring about

ordinary marriages and those which are free from distractions, and making this inquiry we do not find the affair of marriage in this state of the world a thing which is especially suited to the Cynic.

How then shall a man maintain the existence of society? In the name of God, are those men greater benefactors to society who introduce into the world to occupy their own places two or three grunting children, or those who superintend as far as they can all mankind, and see what they do, how they live, what they attend to, what they neglect contrary to their duty? Did they who left little children to the Thebans do them more good than Epaminondas who died childless? And did Priamus who begat fifty worthless sons or Danaus or Aeolus contribute more to the community than Homer? then shall the duty of a general or the business of a writer exclude a man from marriage or the begetting of children, and such a man shall not be judged to have accepted the condition of childlessness for nothing; and shall not the royalty of a Cynic be considered an equivalent for the want of children? Do we not perceive his grandeur and do we not justly contemplate the character of Diogenes; and do we instead of this turn our eyes to the present Cynics who are dogs that wait at tables, and in no respect imitate the Cynics of old except perchance in breaking wind, but in nothing else? For such matters would not have moved us at all nor should we have wondered if a Cynic should not marry or beget children. Man, the Cynic is the father of all men; the men are his sons, the women are his daughters: he so carefully visits all, so well does he care for all. Do you think that it is from idle impertinence that he rebukes those whom he meets? He does it as a father, as a brother, and as the minister of the father of all, the minister of Zeus.

If you please, ask me also if a Cynic shall engage in the administration of the state. Fool, do you seek a greater form of administration than that in which he is engaged? Do you ask if he shall appear among the Athenians and say something about the revenues and the supplies, he who must talk with all men, alike with Athenians, alike with Corinthians, alike with Romans, not about supplies, nor yet about revenues, nor about peace or war, but about happiness and unhappiness, about good fortune and bad fortune, about slavery and freedom? When a man has undertaken the administration of such a state, do you ask me if he shall engage in the administration of a state? ask me also if he shall govern (hold a magisterial office): again I will say to you, Fool, what greater government shall he exercise than that which he exercises now?

It is necessary also for such a man (the Cynic) to have a certain habit of body: for if he appears to be consumptive, thin and pale, his testimony has not then the same weight. For he must not only by showing the qualities of the soul prove to the vulgar that it is in his power independent of the things which they admire to be a good man, but he must also show by his body that his simple and frugal way of living in the open air does not injure even the body. See, he says, I am a proof of this, and my own body also is. So Diogenes used to do, for he used to go about fresh looking, and he attracted the notice of the

many by his personal appearance. But if a Cynic is an object of compassion, he seems to be a beggar: all persons turn away from him, all are offended with him; for neither ought he to appear dirty so that he shall not also in this respect drive away men; but his very roughness ought to be clean and attractive.

There ought also to belong to the Cynic much natural grace and sharpness; and if this is not so, he is a stupid fellow, and nothing else; and he must have these qualities that he may be able readily and fitly to be a match for all circumstances that may happen. So Diogenes replied to one who said, Are you the Diogenes who does not believe that there are gods? And, how, replied Diogenes, can this be when I think that you are odious to the gods? On another occasion in reply to Alexander, who stood by him when he was sleeping, and quoted Homer's line (*Iliad*, ii. 24)

A man a councillor should not sleep all night,
he answered, when he was half asleep,
The people's guardian and so full of cares.

But before all the Cynic's ruling faculty must be purer than the sun; and if it is not, he must necessarily be a cunning knave and a fellow of no principle, since while he himself is entangled in some vice he will reprove others. For see how the matter stands: to these kings and tyrants their guards and arms give the power of reproving some persons, and of being able even to punish those who do wrong though they are themselves bad; but to a Cynic instead of arms and guards it is conscience (*τὸ συνειδός*) which gives this power. When he knows that he has watched and laboured for mankind, and has slept pure, and sleep has left him still purer, and that he thought whatever he has thought as a friend of the gods, as a minister, as a participator of the power of Zeus, and that on all occasions he is ready to say

Lead me, O Zeus, and thou, O Destiny;

and also, If so it pleases the gods, so let it be; why should he not have confidence to speak freely to his own brothers, to his children, in a word to his kinsmen? For this reason he is neither over curious nor a busybody when he is in this state of mind; for he is not a meddler with the affairs of others when he is superintending human affairs, but he is looking after his own affairs. If that is not so, you may also say that the general is a busybody, when he inspects his soldiers, and examines them and watches them and punishes the disorderly. But if while you have a cake under your arm, you rebuke others, I will say to you, Will you not rather go away into a corner and eat that which you have stolen; what have you to do with the affairs of others? For who are you? are you the bull of the herd, or the queen of the bees? Show me the tokens of your supremacy, such as they have from nature. But if you are a drone claiming the sovereignty over the bees, do you not suppose that your fellow citizens will put you down as the bees do the drones?

The Cynic also ought to have such power of endurance as to seem insensible to the common sort and a stone: no man reviles him, no man strikes

him, no man insults him, but he gives his body that any man who chooses may do with it what he likes. For he bears in mind that the inferior must be overpowered by the superior in that in which it is inferior; and the body is inferior to the many, the weaker to the stronger. He never then descends into such a contest in which he can be overpowered; but he immediately withdraws from things which belong to others, he claims not the things which are servile. But where there is will and the use of appearances, there you will see how many eyes he has so that you may say, Argus was blind compared with him. Is his assent ever hasty, his movement (towards an object) rash, does his desire ever fail in its object, does that which he would avoid befall him, is his purpose unaccomplished, does he ever find fault, is he ever humiliated, is he ever envious? To these he directs all his attention and energy; but as to every thing else he snores supine. All is peace; there is no robber who takes away his will, no tyrant. But what say you as to his body? I say there is. And his possessions? I say there is. And as to magistracies and honours? — What does he care for them? — When then any person would frighten him through them, he says to him, Begone, look for children: masks are formidable to them; but I know that they are made of shell, and they have nothing inside.

About such a matter as this you are deliberating. Therefore, if you please, I urge you in God's name, defer the matter, and first consider your preparation for it. For see what Hector says to Andromache, Retire rather, he says, into the house and weave:

War is the work of men

Of all indeed, but specially 'tis mine.

II. vi. 490.

So he was conscious of his own qualification, and knew her weakness.

TO THOSE WHO READ AND DISCUSS FOR THE SAKE OF OSTENTATION.

FIRST say to yourself Who you wish to be: then do accordingly what you are doing; for in nearly all other things we see this to be so. Those who follow athletic exercises first determine what they wish to be, then they do accordingly what follows. If a man is a runner in the long course, there is a certain kind of diet, of walking, rubbing, and exercise: if a man is a runner in the stadium, all these things are different; if he is a Pentathlete, they are still more different. So you will find it also in the arts. If you are a carpenter, you will have such and such things: if a worker in metal, such things. For every thing that we do, if we refer it to no end, we shall do it to no purpose; and if we refer it to the wrong end, we shall miss the mark. Further, there is a general end or purpose, and a particular purpose. First of all, we must act as a

man. What is comprehended in this? We must not be like a sheep, though gentle; nor mischievous, like a wild beast. But the particular end has reference to each person's mode of life and his will. The lute-player acts as a lute-player, the carpenter as a carpenter, the philosopher as a philosopher, the rhetorician as a rhetorician. When then you say, Come and hear me read to you: take care first of all that you are not doing this without a purpose; then if you have discovered that you are doing this with reference to a purpose, consider if it is the right purpose. Do you wish to do good or to be praised? Immediately you hear him saying, To me what is the value of praise from the many? and he says well, for it is of no value to a musician, so far as he is a musician, nor to a geometrician. Do you then wish to be useful? in what? tell us that we may run to your audience room. Now can a man do anything useful to others, who has not received something useful himself? No, for neither can a man do any thing useful in the carpenter's art, unless he is a carpenter; nor in the shoemaker's art, unless he is a shoemaker.

Do you wish to know then if you have received any advantage? Produce your opinions, philosopher. What is the thing which desire promises? Not to fail in the object. What does aversion promise? Not to fall into that which you would avoid. Well; do we fulfill their promise? Tell me the truth; but if you lie, I will tell you. Lately when your hearers came together rather coldly, and did not give you applause, you went away humbled. Lately again when you had been praised, you went about and said to all, What did you think of me? Wonderful, master, I swear by all that is dear to me. But how did I treat of that particular matter? Which? The passage in which I described Pan and the nymphs? Excellently. Then do you tell me that in desire and in aversion you are acting according to nature? Be gone; try to persuade somebody else. Did you not praise a certain person contrary to your opinion? and did you not flatter a certain person who was the son of a senator? Would you wish your own children to be such persons? — I hope not — Why then did you praise and flatter him? He is an ingenuous youth and listens well to discourses — How is this? — He admires me. You have stated your proof. Then what do you think? do not these very people secretly despise you? When then a man who is conscious that he has neither done any good nor ever thinks of it, finds a philosopher who says, You have a great natural talent, and you have a candid and good disposition, what else do you think that he says except this, This man has some need of me? Or tell me what act that indicates a great mind has he shown? Observe; he has been in your company a long time; he has listened to your discourses, he has heard you reading; has he become more modest? has he been turned to reflect on himself? has he perceived in what a bad state he is? has he cast away self-conceit? does he look for a person to teach him? He does. A man who will teach him to live? No, fool, but how to talk; for it is for this that he admires you also. Listen and hear what he says: This man writes with perfect art, much better than Dion. This is altogether another thing. Does he say, This man is modest, faithful, free from

perturbations? and even if he did say it, I should say to him, Since this man is faithful, tell me what this faithful man is. And if he could not tell me, I should add this, First understand what you say, and then speak.

You then, who are in a wretched plight and gaping after applause and counting your auditors, do you intend to be useful to others? — To-day many more attended my discourse. Yes, many; we suppose five hundred. That is nothing; suppose that there were a thousand — Dion never had so many hearers — How could he? — And they understand what is said beautifully. What is fine, master, can move even a stone — See, these are the words of a philosopher. This is the disposition of a man who will do good to others; here is a man who has listened to discourses, who has read what is written about Socrates as Socratic, not as the compositions of Lysias and Isocrates. ‘I have often wondered by what arguments.’ Not so, but ‘by what argument’: this is more exact than that — What, have you read the words at all in a different way from that in which you read little odes? For if you read them as you ought, you would not have been attending to such matters, but you would rather have been looking to these words: “Anytus and Melitus are able to kill me, but they cannot harm me:” “and I am always of such a disposition as to pay regard to nothing of my own except to the reason which on inquiry seems to me the best.” Hence who ever heard Socrates say, “I know something and I teach;” but he used to send different people to different teachers. Therefore they used to come to him and ask to be introduced to philosophers by him; and he would take them and recommend them. — Not so; but as he accompanied them he would say, Hear me to-day discoursing in the house of Quadratus. Why should I hear you? Do you wish to show me that you put words together cleverly? You put them together, man; and what good will it do you? — But only praise me. — What do you mean by praising? — Say to me, admirable, wonderful. — Well, I say so. But if that is praise whatever it is which philosophers mean by the name (κατηγορία) of good, what have I to praise in you? If it is good to speak well, teach me, and I will praise you. — What then? ought a man to listen to such things without pleasure? — I hope not. For my part I do not listen even to a lute-player without pleasure. Must I then for this reason stand and play the lute? Hear what Socrates says, Nor would it be seemly for a man of my age, like a young man composing addresses, to appear before you. Like a young man, he says. For in truth this small art is an elegant thing, to select words, and to put them together, and to come forward and gracefully to read them or to speak, and while he is reading to say, There are not many who can do these things, I swear by all that you value.

Does a philosopher invite people to hear him? As the sun himself draws men to him, or as food does, does not the philosopher also draw to him those who will receive benefit? What physician invites a man to be treated by him? Indeed I now hear that even the physicians in Rome do invite patients, but when I lived there, the physicians were invited. I invite you to come and hear

that things are in a bad way for you, and that you are taking care of every thing except that of which you ought to take care, and that you are ignorant of the good and the bad and are unfortunate and unhappy. A fine kind of invitation: and yet if the words of the philosopher do not produce this effect on you, he is dead, and so is the speaker. Rufus was used to say: If you have leisure to praise me, I am speaking to no purpose. Accordingly he used to speak in such a way that every one of us who were sitting there supposed that some one had accused him before Rufus: he so touched on what was doing, he so placed before the eyes every man's faults.

The philosopher's school, ye men, is a surgery: you ought not to go out of it with pleasure, but with pain. For you are not in sound health when you enter: one has dislocated his shoulder, another has an abscess, a third a fistula, and a fourth a head ache. Then do I sit and utter to you little thoughts and exclamations that you may praise me and go away, one with his shoulder in the same condition in which he entered, another with his head still aching, and a third with his fistula or his abscess just as they were? Is it for this then that young men shall quit home, and leave their parents and their friends and kinsmen and property, that they may say to you, Wonderful! when you are uttering your exclamations. Did Socrates do this, or Zeno, or Cleanthes?

What then? is there not the hortatory style? Who denies it? as there is the style of refutation, and the didactic style. Who then ever reckoned a fourth style with these, the style of display? What is the hortatory style? To be able to show both to one person and to many the struggle in which they are engaged, and that they think more about any thing than about what they really wish. For they wish the things which lead to happiness, but they look for them in the wrong place. In order that this may be done, a thousand seats must be placed and men must be invited to listen, and you must ascend the pulpit in a fine robe or cloak and describe the death of Achilles. Cease, I intreat you by the gods, to spoil good words and good acts as much as you can. Nothing can have more power in exhortation than when the speaker shows to the hearers that he has need of them. But tell me who when he hears you reaching or discoursing is anxious about himself or turns to reflect on himself? or when he has gone out says, The philosopher hit me well: I must no longer do these things. But does he not, even if you have a great reputation, say to some person? He spoke finely about Xerxes; and another says, No, but about the battle of Thermopylae. Is this listening to a philosopher?

THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO BE MOVED BY A DESIRE OF THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE NOT IN OUR POWER.

LET not that which in another is contrary to nature be an evil to you: for you are not formed by nature to be depressed with others nor to be unhappy with

others, but to be happy with them. If a man is unhappy, remember that his unhappiness is his own fault: for God has made all men to be happy, to be free from perturbations. For this purpose he has given means to them, some things to each person as his own, and other things not as his own: some things subject to hindrance and compulsion and deprivation; and these things are not a man's own: but the things which are not subject to hindrances, are his own; and the nature of good and evil, as it was fit to be done by him who takes care of us and protects us like a father, he has made our own. — But you say, I have parted from a certain person, and he is grieved. — Why did he consider as his own that which belongs to another? why, when he looked on you and was rejoiced, did he not also reckon that you are mortal, that it is natural for you to part from him for a foreign country? Therefore he suffers the consequences of his own folly. But why do you or for what purpose bewail yourself? Is it that you also have not thought of these things? but like poor women who are good for nothing, you have enjoyed all things in which you took pleasure, as if you would always enjoy them, both places and men and conversation; and now you sit and weep because you do not see the same persons and do not live in the same places. — Indeed you deserve this, to be more wretched than crows and ravens who have the power of flying where they please and changing their nests for others, and crossing the seas without lamenting or regretting their former condition. — Yes, but this happens to them because they are irrational creatures. — Was reason then given to us by the gods for the purpose of unhappiness and misery, that we may pass our lives in wretchedness and lamentation? Must all persons be immortal and must no man go abroad, and must we ourselves not go abroad, but remain rooted like plants; and if any of our familiar friends goes abroad, must we sit and weep; and on the contrary, when he returns, must we dance and clap our hands like children?

Shall we not now wean ourselves and remember what we have heard from the philosophers? if we did not listen to them as if they were jugglers: they tell us that this world is one city, and the substance out of which it has been formed is one, and that there must be a certain period, and that some things must give way to others, that some must be dissolved, and others come in their place; some to remain in the same place, and others to be moved; and that all things are full of friendship, first of the gods, and then of men who by nature are made to be of one family; and some must be with one another, and others must be separated, rejoicing in those who are with them, and not grieving for those who are removed from them; and man in addition to being by nature of a noble temper and having a contempt of all things which are not in the power of his will, also possesses this property not to be rooted nor to be naturally fixed to the earth, but to go at different times to different places, sometimes from the urgency of certain occasions, and at others merely for the sake of seeing. So it was with Ulysses, who saw

Of many men the states, and learned their ways.

And still earlier it was the fortune of Hercules to visit all the inhabited world

Seeing men's lawless deeds and their good rules of law

casting out and clearing away their lawlessness and introducing in their place good rules of law. And yet how many friends do you think that he had in Thebes, bow many in Argos, how many in Athens? and how many do you think that he gained by going about? And he married also, when it seemed to him a proper occasion, and begot children, and left them without lamenting or regretting or leaving them as orphans; for he knew that no man is an orphan; but it is the father who takes care of all men always and continuously. For it was not as mere report that he had heard that Zeus is the father of men, for he thought that Zeus was his own father, and he called him so, and to him he looked when he was doing what he did. Therefore he was enabled to live happily in all places. And it is never possible for happiness and desire of what is not present to come together. For that which is happy must have all that it desires, must resemble a person who is filled with food, and must have neither thirst nor hunger. — But Ulysses felt a desire for his wife and wept as he sat on a rock. — Do you attend to Homer and his stories in every thing? Or if Ulysses really wept, what was he else than an unhappy man? and what good man is unhappy? In truth the whole is badly administered, if Zeus does not take care of his own citizens that they may be happy like himself. But these things are not lawful nor right to think of: and if Ulysses did weep and lament, he was not a good man. For who is good if he knows not who he is? and who knows what he is, if he forgets that things which have been made are perishable, and that it is not possible for one human being to be with another always? To desire then things which are impossible is to have a slavish character, and is foolish: it is the part of a stranger, of a man who fights against God in the only way that he can, by his opinions.

But my mother laments when she does not see me. — Why has she not learned these principles? and I do not say this, that we should not take care that she may not lament, but I say that we ought not to desire in every way what is not our own. And the sorrow of another is another's sorrow: but my sorrow is my own. I then will stop my own sorrow by every means, for it is in my power: and the sorrow of another I will endeavour to stop as far as I can; but I will not attempt to do it by every means; for if I do, I shall be fighting against God, I shall be opposing Zeus and shall be placing myself against him in the administration of the universe; and the reward (the punishment) of this fighting against God and of this disobedience not only will the children of my children pay, but I also shall myself, both by day and by night, startled by dreams, perturbed, trembling at every piece of news, and having my tranquillity depending on the letters of others. — Some person has arrived from Rome. I only hope that there is no harm. But what harm can happen to you, where you are not? — From Hellas (Greece) some one is come: I hope that there is no harm. — In this way every place may be the cause of

misfortune to you. Is it not enough for you to be unfortunate there where you are, and must you be so even beyond sea, and by the report of letters? Is this the way in which your affairs are in a state of security? — Well then suppose that my friends have died in the places which are far from me. — What else have they suffered than that which is the condition of mortals? Or how are you desirous at the same time to live to old age, and at the same time not to see the death of any person whom you love? Know you not that in the course of a long time many and various kinds of things must happen; that a fever shall overpower one, a robber another, and a third a tyrant? Such is the condition of things around us, such are those who live with us in the world: cold and heat, and unsuitable ways of living, and journeys by land, and voyages by sea, and winds, and various circumstances which surround us, destroy one man, and banish another, and throw one upon an embassy and another into an army. Sit down then in a flutter at all these things, lamenting, unhappy, unfortunate, dependent on another, and dependent not on one or two, but on ten thousands upon ten thousands.

Did you hear this when you were with the philosophers? did you learn this? do you not know that human life is a warfare? that one must keep watch, another must go out as a spy, and a third must fight? and it is not possible that all should be in one place, nor is it better that it should be so. But you neglecting to do the commands of the general complain when any thing more hard than usual is imposed on you, and you do not observe what you make the army become as far as it is in your power; that if all imitate you, no man will dig a trench, no man will put a rampart round, nor keep watch, nor expose himself to danger, but will appear to be useless for the purposes of an army. Again, in a vessel if you go as a sailor, keep to one place and stick to it. And if you are ordered to climb the mast, refuse; if to run to the head of the ship, refuse; and what master of a ship will endure you? and will he not pitch you overboard as a useless thing, an impediment only and bad example to the other sailors? And so it is here also: every man's life is a kind of warfare, and it is long and diversified. You must observe the duty of a soldier and do every thing at the nod of the general; if it is possible, divining what his wishes are: for there is no resemblance between that general and this, neither in strength nor in superiority of character. You are placed in a great office of command and not in any mean place; but you are always a senator. Do you not know that such a man must give little time to the affairs of his household, but be often away from home, either as a governor or one who is governed, or discharging some office, or serving in war or acting as a judge? Then do you tell me that you wish, as a plant, to be fixed to the same places and to be rooted? — Yes, for it is pleasant. — Who says that it is not? but a soup is pleasant, and a handsome woman is pleasant. What else do those say who make pleasure their end? Do you not see of what men you have uttered the language? that it is the language of Epicureans and catamites? Next while you are doing what they do and holding their opinions, do you speak to us the

words of Zeno and of Socrates? Will you not throw away as far as you can the things belonging to others with which you decorate yourself, though they do not fit you at all? For what else do they desire than to sleep without hindrance and free from compulsion, and when they have risen to yawn at their leisure, and to wash the face, then write and read what they choose, and then talk about some trifling matter being praised by their friends whatever they may say, then to go forth for a walk, and having walked about a little to bathe, and then eat and sleep, such sleep as is the fashion of such men? why need we say how? for one can easily conjecture. Come, do you also tell your own way of passing the time which you desire, you who are an admirer of truth and of Socrates and Diogenes. What do you wish to do in Athens? the same (that others do), or something else? Why then do you call yourself a Stoic? Well, but they who falsely call themselves Roman citizens, are severely punished; and should those, who falsely claim so great and reverend a thing and name, get off unpunished? or is this not possible, but the law divine and strong and inevitable is this, which exacts the severest punishments from those who commit the greatest crimes? For what does this law say? Let him who pretends to things which do not belong to him be a boaster, a vain-glorious man: let him who disobeys the divine administration be base, and a slave; let him suffer grief, let him be envious, let him pity; and in a word let him be unhappy and lament.

Well then; do you wish me to pay court to a certain person? to go to his doors? — If reason requires this to be done for the sake of country, for the sake of kinsmen, for the sake of mankind, why should you not go? You are not ashamed to go to the doors of a shoemaker, when you are in want of shoes, nor to the door of a gardener, when you want lettuces; and are you ashamed to go to the doors of the rich when you want any thing? — Yes, for I have no awe of a shoemaker — Don't feel any awe of the rich — Nor will I flatter the gardener — And do not flatter the rich — How then shall I get what I want? — Do I say to you, go as if you were certain to get what you want? And do not I only tell you, that you may do what is becoming to yourself? Why then should I still go? That you may have gone, that you may have discharged the duty of a citizen, of a brother, of a friend. And further remember that you have gone to the shoemaker, to the seller of vegetables, who have no power in any thing great or noble, though he may sell dear. You go to buy lettuces: they cost an obolus (penny), but not a talent. So it is here also. The matter is worth going for to the rich man's door — Well, I will go — It is worth talking about — Let it be so; I will talk with him — But you must also kiss his hand and flatter him with praise — Away with that, it is a talent's worth: it is not profitable to me, nor to the state nor to my friends, to have done that which spoils a good citizen and a friend. — But you will seem not to have been eager about the matter, if you do not succeed. Have you again forgotten why you went? Know you not that a good man does nothing for the sake of appearance, but for the sake of doing right? — What advantage is it

then to him to have done right? — And what advantage is it to a man who writes the name of Dion to write it as he ought? — The advantage is to have written it. — Is there no reward then? — Do you seek a reward for a good man greater than doing what is good and just? At Olympia you wish for nothing more, but it seems to you enough to be crowned at the games. Does it seem to you so small and worthless a thing to be good and happy? For these purposes being introduced by the gods into this city (the world), and it being now your duty to undertake the work of a man, do you still want nurses also and a mamma, and do foolish women by their weeping move you and make you effeminate? Will you thus never cease to be a foolish child? know you not that he who does the acts of a child, the older he is, the more ridiculous he is?

In Athens did you see no one by going to his house? — I visited any man that I pleased — Here also be ready to see, and you will see whom you please: only let it be without meanness, neither with desire nor with aversion, and your affairs will be well managed. But this result does not depend on going nor on standing at the doors, but it depends on what is within, on your opinions. When you have learned not to value things which are external and not dependent on the will, and to consider that not one of them is your own, but that these things only are your own, to exercise the judgment well, to form opinions, to move towards an object, to desire, to turn from a thing, ‘where is there any longer room for flattery, where for meanness? why do you still long for the quiet there (at Athens), and for the places to which you are accustomed? Wait a little and you will again find these places familiar: then, if you are of so ignoble a nature, again if you leave these also, weep and lament.

How then shall I become of an affectionate temper? By being of a noble disposition, and happy. For it is not reasonable to be mean-spirited nor to lament yourself, nor to depend on another, nor ever to blame God or man. I entreat you, become an affectionate person in this way, by observing these rules. But if through this affection, as you name it, you are going to be a slave and wretched, there is no profit in being affectionate. And what prevents you from loving another as a person subject to mortality, as one who may go away from you. Did not Socrates love his own children? He did; but it was as a free man, as one who remembered that he must first be a friend to the gods. For this reason he violated nothing which was becoming to a good man, neither in making his defence nor by fixing a penalty on himself, nor even in the former part of his life when he was a senator or when he was a soldier. But we are fully supplied with every pretext for being of ignoble temper, some for the sake of a child, some for a mother, and others for brethren’s sake. But it is not fit for us to be unhappy on account of any person, but to be happy on account of all, but chiefly on account of God who has made us for this end. Well, did Diogenes love nobody, who was so kind and so much a lover of all that for mankind in general he willingly undertook so much labour and bodily sufferings? He did love mankind, but how? As became a minister of God, at the same time caring for men, and being also subject to God. For this reason

all the earth was his country, and no particular place; and when he was taken prisoner he did not regret Athens nor his associates and friends there, but even he became familiar with the pirates and tried to improve them; and being sold afterwards he lived in Corinth as before at Athens; and he would have behaved the same, if he had gone to the country of the Perrhaebi. Thus is freedom acquired. For this reason he used to say, Ever since Antisthenes made me free, I have not been a slave. How did Antisthenes make him free? Hear what he says: Antisthenes taught me what is my own, and what is not my own; possessions are not my own, nor kinsmen, domestics, friends, nor reputation, nor places familiar, nor mode of life; all these belong to others. What then is your own? The use of appearances. This he showed to me, that I possess it free from hindrance, and from compulsion, no person can put an obstacle in my way, no person can force me to use appearances otherwise than I wish. Who then has any power over me? Philip or Alexander, or Perdiccas or the great king? How have they this power? For if a man is going to be overpowered by a man, he must long before be overpowered by things. If then pleasure is not able to subdue a man, nor pain, nor fame, nor wealth, but he is able, when he chooses, to spit out all his poor body in a man's face and depart from life, whose slave can he still be? But if he dwelt with pleasure in Athens, and was overpowered by this manner of life, his affairs would have been at every man's command; the stronger would have had the power of grieving him. How do you think that Diogenes would have flattered the pirates that they might sell him to some Athenian, that some time he might see that beautiful Piraeus, and the Long Walls and the Acropolis? In what condition would you see them? As a captive, a slave and mean: and what would be the use of it for you? — Not so: but I should see them as a free man — Show me, how you would be free. Observe, some person has caught you, who leads you away from your accustomed place of abode and says, You are my slave, for it is in my power to hinder you from living as you please, it is in my power to treat you gently, and to humble you: when I choose, on the contrary you are cheerful and go elated to Athens. What do you say to him who treats you as a slave? What means have you of finding one who will rescue you from slavery? Or cannot you even look him in the face, but without saying more do you intreat to be set free? Man, you ought to go gladly to prison, hastening, going before those who lead you there. Then, I ask you, are you unwilling to live in Rome and desire to live in Hellas (Greece)? And when you must die, will you then also fill us with your lamentations, because you will not see Athens nor walk about in the Lyceion? Have you gone abroad for this? was it for this reason you have sought to find some person from whom you might receive benefit? What benefit? That you may solve syllogisms more readily, or handle hypothetical arguments? and for this reason did you leave brother, country, friends, your family, that you might return when you had learned these things? So you did not go abroad to obtain constancy of mind, nor freedom from perturbation, nor in order that being secure from harm you may

never complain of any person, accuse no person, and no man may wrong you, and thus you may maintain your relative position without impediment? This is a fine traffic that you have gone abroad for in syllogisms and sophistical arguments and hypothetical: if you like, take your place in the agora (market or public place) and proclaim them for sale like dealers in physic. Will you not deny even all that you have learned that you may not bring a bad name on your theorems as useless? What harm has philosophy done you? Wherein has Chrysippus injured you that you should prove by your acts that his labours are useless? Were the evils that you had there (at home) not enough, those which were the cause of your pain and lamentation, even if you had not gone abroad? Have you added more to the list? And if you again have other acquaintances and friends, you will have more causes for lamentation; and the same also if you take an affection for another country. Why then do you live to surround yourself with other sorrows upon sorrows through which you are unhappy? Then, I ask you, do you call this affection? What affection, man! If it is a good thing, it is the cause of no evil: if it is bad, I have nothing to do with it. I am formed by nature for my own good: I am. not formed for my own evil.

What then is the discipline for this purpose? First of all the highest and the principal, and that which stands as it were at the entrance, is this; when you are delighted with anything, be delighted as with a thing which is not one of those which cannot be taken away, but as with something of such a kind, as an earthen pot is, or a glass cup, that when it has been broken, you may remember what it was, and may not be troubled. So in this matter also: if you kiss your own child, or your brother or friend, never give full license to the appearance (*φαντασίαν*), and allow not your pleasure to go as far as it chooses; but check it, and curb it as those who stand behind men in their triumphs and remind them that they are mortal. Do you also remind yourself in like manner, that he whom you love is mortal, and that what you love is nothing of your own: it has been given to you for the present, not that it should not be taken from you, nor has it been given to you for all time, but as a fig is given to you or a bunch of grapes at the appointed season of the year. But if you wish for these things in winter, you are a fool. So if you wish for your son or friend when it is not allowed to you, you must know that you are wishing for a fig in winter. For such as winter is to a fig, such is every event which happens from the universe to the things which are taken away according to its nature. And further, at the times when you are delighted with a thing, place before yourself the contrary appearances. What harm is it while you are kissing your child to say with a lisping voice, To-morrow you will die; and to a friend also, To-morrow you will go away or I shall, and never shall we see one another again? — But these are words of bad omen — And some incantations also are of bad omen; but because they are useful, I don't care for this; only let them be useful. But do you call things to be of bad omen except those which are significant of some evil? Cowardice is a word of bad omen,

and meanness of spirit, and sorrow, and grief and shamelessness. These words are of bad omen: and yet we ought not to hesitate to utter them in order to protect ourselves against the things. Do you tell me that a name which is significant of any natural thing is of evil omen? say that even for the ears of corn to be reaped is of bad omen, for it signifies the destruction of the ears, but not of the world. Say that the falling of the leaves also is of bad omen, and for the dried fig to take the place of the green fig, and for raisins to be made from the grapes. For all these things are changes from a former state into other states; not a destruction, but a certain fixed economy and administration. Such is going away from home and a small change: such is death, a greater change, not from the state which now is to that which is not, but to that which is not now. — Shall I then no longer exist? — You will not exist, but you will be something else, of which the world now has need: for you also came into existence not when you chose, but when the world had need of you.

Wherefore the wise and good man, remembering who he is and whence he came, and by whom he was produced, is attentive only to this, how he may fill his place with due regularity, and obediently to God. Dost thou still wish me to exist (live)? I will continue to exist as free, as noble in nature, as thou hast wished me to exist: for thou hast made me free from hindrance in that which is my own. But hast thou no further need of me? I thank thee; and so far I have remained for thy sake, and for the sake of no other person, and now in obedience to thee I depart. How dost thou depart? Again, I say, as thou hast pleased, as free, as thy servant, as one who has known thy commands and thy prohibitions. And so long as I shall stay in thy service, whom dost thou will me to be? A prince or a private man, a senator or a common person, a soldier or a general, a teacher or a master of a family? whatever place and position thou mayest assign to me, as Socrates says, I will die ten thousand times rather than desert them. And where dost thou will me to be? in Rome or Athens, or Thebes or Gyara. Only remember me there where I am. If thou sendest me to a place where there are no means for men living according to nature, I shall not depart (from life) in disobedience to thee, but as if thou wast giving me the signal to retreat: I do not leave thee, let this be far from my intention, but I perceive that thou hast no need of me. If means of living according to nature be allowed to me, I will seek no other place than that in which I am, or other men than those among whom I am.

Let these thoughts be ready to hand by night and by day: these you should write, these you should read: about these you should talk to yourself, and to others. Ask a man, Can you help me at all for this purpose? and further, go to another and to another. Then if any thing that is said be contrary to your wish, this reflection first will immediately relieve you, that it is not unexpected. For it is a great thing in all cases to say, I knew that I begot a son who is mortal. For so you also will say, I knew that I am mortal, I knew that I may leave my home, I knew that I may be ejected from it, I knew that I may be led to prison. Then if you turn round and look to yourself, and seek the place from

which comes that which has happened, you will forthwith recollect that it comes from the place of things which are out of the power of the will, and of things which are not my own. What then is it to me? Then, you will ask, and this is the chief thing: And who is it that sent it? The leader, or the general, the state, the law of the state. Give it me then, for I must always obey the law in every thing. Then, when the appearance (of things) pains you, for it is not in your power to prevent this, contend against it by the aid of reason, conquer it: do not allow it to gain strength nor to lead you to the consequences by raising images such as it pleases and as it pleases. If you be in Gyara, do not imagine the mode of living at Rome, and how many pleasures there were for him who lived there and how many there would be for him who returned to Rome: but fix your mind on this matter, how a man who lives in Gyara ought to live in Gyara like a man of courage. And if you be in Rome, do not imagine what the life in Athens is, but think only of the life in Rome.

Then in the place of all other delights substitute this, that of being conscious that you are obeying God, that not in word, but in deed you are performing the acts of a wise and good man. For what a thing it is for a man to be able to say to himself, Now whatever the rest may say in solemn manner in the schools and may be judged to be saying in a way contrary to common opinion (or in a strange way), this I am doing; and they are sitting and are discoursing of my virtues and inquiring about me and praising me; and of this Zeus has willed that I shall receive from myself a demonstration, and shall myself know if he has a soldier such as he ought to have, a citizen such as he ought to have, and if he has chosen to produce me to the rest of mankind as a witness of the things which are independent of the will: See that you fear without reason, that you foolishly desire what you do desire: seek not the good in things external; seek it in yourselves: if you do not, you will not find it. For this purpose he leads me at one time hither, at another time sends me thither, shows me to men as poor, without authority, and sick; sends me to Gyara, leads me into prison, not because he hates me, far from him be such a meaning, for who hates the best of his servants? nor yet because he cares not for me, for he does not neglect any even of the smallest things; but he does this for the purpose of exercising me and making use of me as a witness to others. Being appointed to such a service, do I still care about the place in which I am, or with whom I am, or what men say about me? and do I not entirely direct my thoughts to God and to his instructions and commands?

Having these things (or thoughts) always in hand, and exercising them by yourself, and keeping them in readiness, you will never be in want of one to comfort you and strengthen you. For it is not shameful to be without something to eat, but not to have reason sufficient for keeping away fear and sorrow. But if once you have gained exemption from sorrow and fear, will there any longer be a tyrant for you, or a tyrant's guard, or attendants on Caesar? Or shall any appointment to offices at court cause you pain, or shall those who sacrifice in the Capitol on the occasion of being named to certain

functions, cause pain to you who have received so great authority from Zeus? Only do not make a proud display of it, nor boast of it; but shew it by your acts; and if no man perceives it, be satisfied that you are yourself in a healthy state and happy.

TO THOSE WHO FALL OFF (DESIST) FROM THEIR PURPOSE.

CONSIDER as to the things which you proposed to yourself at first, which you have secured, and which you have not; and how you are pleased when you recall to memory the one, and are pained about the other; and if it is possible, recover the things wherein you failed. For we must not shrink when we are engaged in the greatest combat, but we must even take blows. For the combat before us is not in wrestling and the Pancration, in which both the successful and the unsuccessful may have the greatest merit, or may have little, and in truth may be very fortunate or very unfortunate; but the combat is for good fortune and happiness themselves. Well then, even if we have renounced the contest in this matter (for good fortune and happiness), no man hinders us from renewing the combat again, and we are not compelled to wait for another four years that the games at Olympia may come again; but as soon as you have recovered and restored yourself, and employ the same zeal, you may renew the combat again; and if again you renounce it, you may again renew it; and if you once gain the victory, you are like him who has never renounced the combat. Only do not through a habit of doing the same thing (renouncing the combat) begin to do it with pleasure, and then like a bad athlete go about after being conquered in all the circuit of the games like quails who have run away.

The sight of a beautiful young girl overpowers me. Well, have I not been overpowered before? An inclination arises in me to find fault with a person; for have I not found fault with him before? You speak to us as if you had come off (from these things) free from harm, just as if a man should say to his physician who forbids him to bathe, Have I not bathed before? If then the physician can say to him, Well, and what then happened to you after the bath? Had you not a fever, had you not a headache? And when you found fault with a person lately, did you not do the act of a malignant person, of a trifling babbler; did you not cherish this habit in you by adding to it the corresponding acts? And when you were overpowered by the young girl, did you come off unharmed? Why then do you talk of what you did before? You ought, I think, remembering what you did, as slaves remember the blows which they have received, to abstain from the same faults. But the one case is not like the other; for in the case of slaves the pain causes the remembrance: but in the case of your faults, what is the pain, what is the punishment; for when have you been accustomed to fly from evil acts? Sufferings then of the trying character are useful to us, whether we choose or not.

TO THOSE WHO FEAR WANT.

ARE you not ashamed at being more cowardly and more mean than fugitive slaves? How do they when they run away leave their masters? on what estates do they depend, and what domestics do they rely on? Do they not after stealing a little which is enough for the first days, then afterwards move on through land or through sea, contriving one method after another for maintaining their lives? And what fugitive slave ever died of hunger? But you are afraid lest necessary things should fail you, and are sleepless by night. Wretch, are you so blind, and don't you see the road to which the want of necessaries leads? — Well, where does it lead? — To the same place to which a fever leads, or a stone that falls on you, to death. Have you not often said this yourself to your companions? have you not read much of this kind, and written much? and how often have you boasted that you were easy as to death?

Yes: but my wife and children also suffer hunger. — Well then, does their hunger lead to any other place? Is there not the same descent to some place for them also? Is not there the same state below for them? Do you not choose then to look to that place full of boldness against every want and deficiency, to that place to which both the richest and those who have held the highest offices, and kings themselves and tyrants must descend? or to which you will descend hungry, if it should so happen, but they burst by indigestion and drunkenness. What beggar did you hardly ever see who was not an old man, and even of extreme old age? But chilled with cold day and night, and lying on the ground, and eating only what is absolutely necessary they approach near to the impossibility of dying. Cannot you write? Cannot you teach (take care of) children? Cannot you be a watchman at another person's door? — But it is shameful to come to such a necessity. — Learn then first what are the things which are shameful, and then tell us that you are a philosopher: but at present do not, even if any other man call you so, allow it.

Is that shameful to you which is not your own act, that of which you are not the cause, that which has come to you by accident, as a headache, as a fever? If your parents were poor, and left their property to others, and if while they live, they do not help you at all, is this shameful to you? Is this what you learned with the philosophers? Did you never hear that the thing which is shameful ought to be blamed, and that which is blameable is worthy of blame? Whom do you blame for an act which is not his own, which he did not do himself? Did you then make your father such as he is, or is it in your power to improve him? Is this power given to you? Well then, ought you to wish the things which are not given to you, or to be ashamed if you do not obtain them? And have you also been accustomed awhile you were studying philosophy to look to others and to hope for nothing from yourself? Lament then and groan and eat with fear that you may not have food to-morrow. Tremble about your poor slaves lest they steal, lest they run away, lest they

die. So live, and continue to live, you who in name only have approached philosophy, and have disgraced its theorems as far as you can by showing them to be useless and unprofitable to those who take them up; you who have never sought constancy, freedom from perturbation, and from passions: you who have not sought any person for the sake of this object, but many for the sake of syllogisms; you who have never thoroughly examined any of these appearances by yourself, Am I able to bear, or am I not able to bear? What remains for me to do? But as if all your affairs were well and secure, you have been resting on the third topic, that of things being unchanged, in order that you may possess unchanged — what? cowardice, mean spirit, the admiration of the rich, desire without attaining any end, and avoidance (ἔκκλισιν) which fails in the attempt? About security in these things you have been anxious.

Ought you not to have gained something in addition from reason, and then to have protected this with security? And whom did you ever see building a battlement all round and not encircling it with a wall? And what door-keeper is placed with no door to watch? But you practise in order to be able to prove — what? You practise that you may not be tossed as on the sea through sophisms, and tossed about from what? Shew me first what you hold, what you measure, or what you weigh; and shew me the scales or the medimnus (the measure); or how long will you go on measuring the dust? Ought you not to demonstrate those things which make men happy, which make things go on for them in the way as they wish, and why we ought to blame no man, accuse no man, and acquiesce in the administration of the universe? Shew me these. ‘See, I shew them: I will resolve syllogisms for you.’ — This is the measure, slave; but it is not the thing measured. Therefore you are now paying the penalty for what you neglected, philosophy: you tremble, you lie awake, you advise with all persons; and if your deliberations are not likely to please all, you think that you have deliberated ill. Then you fear hunger, as you suppose: but it is not hunger that you fear, but you are afraid that you will not have a cook, that you will not have another to purchase provisions for the table, a third to take off your shoes, a fourth to dress you, others to rub you, and to follow you, in order that in the bath, when you have taken off your clothes and stretched yourself out like those who are crucified you may be rubbed on this side and on that, and then the aliptes (rubber) may say (to the slave), Change his position, present the side, take hold of his head, shew the shoulder; and then when you have left the bath and gone home, you may call out, Does no one bring something to eat? And then, Take away the tables, sponge them: you are afraid of this, that you may not be able to lead the life of a sick man. But learn the life of those who are in health, how slaves live, how labourers, how those live who are genuine philosophers; how Socrates lived, who had a wife and children; how Diogenes lived, and how Cleanthes who attended to the school and drew water. If you choose to have these things, you will have them every where, and you will live in full confidence. Confiding in what? In that alone in which a man can confide, in that which is secure, in that which is

not subject to hindrance, in that which cannot be taken away, that is, in your own will. And why have you made yourself so useless and good for nothing that no man will choose to receive you into his house, no man to take care of you?: but if a utensil entire and useful were cast abroad, every man who found it, would take it up and think it a gain; but no man will take you up, and every man will consider you a loss. So cannot you discharge the office even of a dog, or of a cock? Why then do you choose to live any longer, when you are what you are?

Does any good man fear that he shall fail to have food? To the blind it does not fail, to the lame it does not: shall it fail to a good man? And to a good soldier there does not fail to be one who gives him pay, nor to a labourer, nor to a shoemaker: and to the good man shall there be wanting such a person? Does God thus neglect the things that he has established, his ministers, his witnesses, whom alone he employs as examples to the uninstructed, both that he exists, and administers well the whole, and does not neglect human affairs, and that to a good man there is no evil either when he is living or when he is dead? What then when he does not supply him with food? What else does he do than like a good general he has given me the signal to retreat? I obey, I follow, assenting to the words of the commander, praising his acts: for I came when it pleased him, and I will also go away when it pleases him; and while I lived, it was my duty to praise God both by myself, and to each person severally and to many. He does not supply me with many things, nor with abundance, he does not will me to live luxuriously; for neither did he supply Hercules who was his own son; but another (Eurystheus) was king of Argos and Mycenae, and Hercules obeyed orders, and laboured, and was exercised. And Eurystheus was what he was, neither king of Argos nor of Mycenae, for he was not even king of himself; but Hercules was ruler and leader of the whole earth and sea, who purged away lawlessness, and introduced justice and holiness; and he did these things both naked and alone. And when Ulysses was cast out shipwrecked, did want humiliate him, did it break his spirit? but how did he go off to the virgins to ask for necessities, to beg which is considered most shameful?

As a lion bred in the mountains trusting in his strength. — *Od.* vi. 130.

Relying on what? Not on reputation nor on wealth nor on the power of a magistrate, but on his own strength, that is, on his opinions about the things which are in our power and those which are not. For these are the only things which make men free, which make them escape from hindrance, which raise the head (neck) of those who are depressed, which make them look with steady eyes on the rich and on tyrants. And this was (is) the gift given to the philosopher. But you will not come forth bold, but trembling about your trifling garments and silver vessels. Unhappy man, have you thus wasted your time till now?

What then, if I shall be sick? You will be sick in such a way as you ought to be. — Who will take care of me? — God; your friends — I shall lie down

on a hard bed — But you will lie down like a man — I shall not have a convenient chamber — You will be sick in an inconvenient chamber — Who will provide for me the necessary food? — Those who provide for others also. You will be sick like Manes. — And what also will be the end of the sickness? Any other than death? — Do you then consider that this the chief of all evils to man and the chief mark of mean spirit and of cowardice is not death, but rather the fear of death? Against this fear then I advise you to exercise yourself: to this let all your reasoning tend, your exercises, and reading; and you will know that thus only are men made free.

BOOK IV.

ABOUT FREEDOM.

HE is free who lives as he wishes to live; who is neither subject to compulsion nor to hindrance, nor to force; whose movements to action (ὀρμαί) are not impeded, whose desires attain their purpose, and who does not fall into that which he would avoid (ἐκκλίσεις ἀπερίπτωτοι). Who then chooses to live in error? No man. Who chooses to live deceived, liable to mistake, unjust, unrestrained, discontented, mean? No man. Not one then of the bad lives as he wishes; nor is he then free. And who chooses to live in sorrow, fear, envy, pity, desiring and failing in his desires, attempting to avoid something and falling into it? Not one. Do we then find any of the bad free from sorrow, free from fear, who does not fall into that which he would avoid, and does not obtain that which he wishes? Not one; nor then do we find any bad man free.

If then a man who has been twice consul should hear this, if you add, But you are a wise man; this is nothing to you: he will pardon you. But if you tell him the truth, and say, You differ not at all from those who have been thrice sold as to being yourself not a slave, what else ought you to expect than blows? For he says, What, I a slave, I whose father was free, whose mother was free I whom no man can purchase: I am also of senatorial rank, and a friend of Caesar, and I have been a consul, and I own many slaves. — In the first place, most excellent senatorial man, perhaps your father also was a slave in the same kind of servitude, and your mother, and your grandfather and all your ancestors in an ascending series. But even if they were as free as it is possible, what is this to you? What if they were of a noble nature, and you of a mean nature; if they were fearless, and you a coward; if they had the power of self-restraint, and you are not able to exercise it.

And what, you may say, has this to do with being a slave? Does it seem to you to be nothing to do a thing unwillingly, with compulsion, with groans, has this nothing to do with being a slave? It is something, you say: but who is able to compel me, except the lord of all, Caesar? Then even you yourself have admitted that you have one master. But that he is the common master of all, as you say, let not this console you at all: but know that you are a slave in a great family. So also the people of Nicopolis are used to exclaim, By the fortune of Caesar, we are free.

However, if you please, let us not speak of Caesar at present. But tell me this: did you never love any person, a young girl, or slave, or free? What then is this with respect to being a slave or free? Were you never commanded by the person beloved to do something which you did not wish to do? have you never flattered your little slave? have you never kissed her feet? And yet if any man compelled you to kiss Caesar's feet, you would think it an insult and excessive tyranny. What else then is slavery? Did you never go oat by night to

some place whither you did not wish to go, did you not expend that you did not wish to expend, did you not utter words with sighs and groans, did you not submit to abuse and to be excluded? But if you are ashamed to confess your own acts, see what Thrasonides says and does, who having seen so much military service as perhaps not even you have, first of all went out by night, when Geta (a slave) does not venture out, but if he were compelled by his master, would have cried out much and would have gone out lamenting his bitter slavery. Next, what does Thrasonides say? A worthless girl has enslaved me, me whom no enemy ever did. Unhappy man, who are the slave even of a girl, and a worthless girl. Why then do you still call yourself free? and why do you talk of your service in the army? Then he calls for a sword and is angry with him who out of kindness refuses it; and he sends presents to her who hates him, and intreats and weeps, and on the other hand having had a little success he is elated. But even then how? was he free enough neither to desire nor to fear?

Now consider in the case of animals, how we employ the notion of liberty. Men keep tame lions shut up, and feed them, and some take them about; and who will say that this lion is free? Is it not the fact that the more he lives at his ease, so much the more he is in a slavish condition? and who if he had perception and reason would wish to be one of these lions? Well, these birds when they are caught and are kept shut up, how much do they suffer in their attempts to escape? and some of them die of hunger rather than submit to such a kind of life. And as many of them as live, hardly live and with suffering pine away; and if they ever find any opening, they make their escape. So much do they desire their natural liberty, and to be independent and free from hindrance. And what harm is there to you in this? What do you say? I am formed by nature to fly where I choose, to live in the open air, to sing when I choose: you deprive me of all this, and say, what harm is it to you? For this reason we shall say that those animals only are free, which cannot endure capture, but as soon as they are caught. escape from captivity by death. So Diogenes also somewhere says that there is only one way to freedom, and that is to die content: and he writes to the Persian king. You cannot enslave the Athenian state any more than you can enslave fishes. How is that? cannot I catch them? If you catch them, says Diogenes, they will immediately leave you, as fishes do; for if you catch a fish, it dies; and if these men that are caught shall die, of what use to you is the preparation for war? These are the words of a free man who had carefully examined the thing, and, as was natural, had discovered it. But if you look for it in a different place from where it is, what wonder if you never find it?

The slave wishes to be set free immediately. Why? Do you think that he wishes to pay money to the collectors of twentieths? No; but because he imagines that hitherto through not having obtained this, he is hindered and unfortunate. If I shall be set free, immediately it is all happiness, I care for no man, I speak to all as an equal and like to them, I go where I choose, I come

from any place I choose, and go where I choose. Then he is set free; and forthwith having no place where he can eat, he looks for some man to flatter, some one with whom he shall sup: then he either works with his body and endures the most dreadful things; and if he can obtain a manger, he falls into a slavery much worse than his former slavery; or even if he is become rich, being a man without any knowledge of what is good, he loves some little girl, and in his unhappiness laments and desires to be a slave again. He says, what evil did I suffer in my state of slavery? Another clothed me, another supplied me with shoes, another fed me, another looked after me in sickness; and I did only a few services for him. But now a wretched man, what things I suffer, being a slave to many instead of to one. But however, he says, if I shall acquire rings then I shall live most prosperously and happily. First, in order to acquire these rings, he submits to that which he is worthy of; then when he has acquired them, it is again all the same. Then he says, If I shall be engaged in military service, I am free from all evils. He obtains military service. He suffers as much as a flogged slave, and nevertheless he asks for a second service and a third. After this, when he has put the finishing stroke (the colophon) to his career, and is become a senator, then he becomes a slave by entering into the assembly, then he serves the finer and most splendid slavery — not to be a fool, but to learn what Socrates taught, what is the nature of each thing that exists, and that a man should not rashly adapt preconceptions (προλήψεις) to the several things which are. For this is the cause to men of all their evils, the not being able to adapt the general preconceptions to the several things. But we have different opinions (about the cause of our evils). One man thinks that he is sick: not so however, but the fact is that he does not adapt his preconceptions right. Another thinks that he is poor; another that he has a severe father or mother; and another again that Caesar is not favourable to him. But all this is one and only one thing, the not knowing how to adapt the preconceptions. For who has not a preconception of that which is bad, that it is hurtful, that it ought to be avoided, that it ought in every way to be guarded against? One preconception is not repugnant to another, only where it comes to the matter of adaptation. What then is this evil, which is both hurtful, and a thing to be avoided? He answers not to be Caesar's friend. — He is gone far from the mark, he has missed the adaptation, he is embarrassed, he seeks the things which are not at all pertinent to the matter; for when he has succeeded in being Caesar's friend, never the less he has failed in finding what he sought. For what is that which every man seeks? To live secure, to be happy, to do every thing as he wishes, not to be hindered, nor compelled. When then he is become the friend of Caesar, is he free from hindrance? free from compulsion, is he tranquil, is he happy? Of whom shall we inquire? What more trustworthy witness have we than this very man who is become Caesar's friend? Come forward and tell us when did you sleep more quietly, now or before you became Caesar's friend? Immediately you hear the answer, Stop, I intreat you, and do not mock me: you know not what miseries I suffer,

and sleep does not come to me; but one comes and says, Caesar is already awake, he is now going forth: then come troubles and cares — Well, when did you sup with more pleasure, now or before? Hear what he says about this also. He says that if he is not invited, he is pained: and if he is invited, he sups like a slave with his master, all the while being anxious that he does not say or do any thing foolish. And what do you suppose that he is afraid of; lest he should be lashed like a slave? How can he expect any thing so good? No, but as befits so great a man, Caesar's friend, he is afraid that he may lose his head. And when did you bathe more free from trouble, and take your gymnastic exercise more quietly? In fine, which kind of life did you prefer? your present or your former life? I can swear that no man is so stupid or so ignorant of truth as not to bewail his own misfortunes the nearer he is in friendship to Caesar. Since then neither those who are called kings live as they choose, nor the friends of kings, who finally are those who are free? Seek, and you will find; for you have aids from nature for the discovery of truth. But if you are not able yourself by going along these ways only to discover that which follows, listen to those who have made the inquiry. What do they say? Does freedom seem to you a good thing? The greatest good. Is it possible then that he who obtains the greatest good can be unhappy or fare badly? No. Whomsoever then you shall see unhappy, unfortunate, lamenting, confidently declare that they are not free. I do declare it. We have now then got away from buying and selling and from such arrangements about matters of property: for if you have rightly assented to these matters, if the great king (the Persian king) is unhappy, he cannot be free, nor can a little king, nor a man of consular rank, nor one who has been twice consul. — Be it so.

Further then answer me this question also, does freedom seem to you to be something great and noble and valuable? — How should it not seem so? Is it possible then when a man obtains anything so great and valuable and noble to be mean? — It is not possible — When then you see any man subject to another or flattering him contrary to his own opinion, confidently affirm that this man also is not free; and not only if he do this for a bit of supper, but also if he does it for a government (province) or a consulship: and call these men little slaves who for the sake of little matters do these things, and those who do so for the sake of great things call great slaves, as they deserve to be. — This is admitted also — Do you think that freedom is a thing independent and self governing? — Certainly — Whomsoever then it is in the power of another to hinder and compel, declare that he is not free. And do not look, I intreat you, after his grandfathers and great grandfathers, or inquire about his being bought or sold; but if you hear him saying from his heart and with feeling, 'Master,' even if the twelve fasces precede him (as consul), call him a slave. And if you hear him say, 'Wretch that I am, how much I suffer,' call him a slave. If finally you see him lamenting, complaining, unhappy, call him a slave though he wears a praetexta. If then he is doing nothing of this kind, do not yet say that he is free, but learn his opinions, whether they are subject

to compulsion, or may produce hindrance, or to bad fortune; and if you find him such, call him a slave who has a holiday in the Saturnalia: say that his master is from home: he will return soon, and you will know what he suffers. Who will return? Whoever has in himself the power over anything which is desired by the man, either to give it to him or to take it away? Thus then have we many masters? We have: for we have circumstances as masters prior to our present masters; and these circumstances are many. Therefore it must of necessity be that those who have the power over any of these circumstances must be our masters. For no man fears Caesar himself, but he fears death, banishment, deprivation of his property, prison, and disgrace. Nor does any man love Caesar, unless Caesar is a person of great merit, but he loves wealth, the office of tribune, praetor or consul. When we love, and hate and fear these things, it must be that those who have the power over them must be our masters. Therefore we adore them even as gods; for we think that what possesses the power of conferring the greatest advantage on us is divine. Then we wrongly assume (ὕποτάσσομεν) that a certain person has the power of conferring the greatest advantages; therefore he is something divine. For if we wrongly assume that a certain person has the power of conferring the greatest advantages, it is a necessary consequence that the conclusion from these premises must be false.

What then is that which makes a man free from hindrance and makes him his own master? For wealth does not do it, nor consulship, nor provincial government, nor royal power; but something else must be discovered. What then is that which when we write makes us free from hindrance and unimpeded? The knowledge of the art of writing. What then is it in playing the lute? The science of playing the lute. Therefore in life also it is the science of life. You have then heard in a general way: but examine the thing also in the several parts. Is it possible that he who desires any of the things which depend on others can be free from hindrance? No — Is it possible for him to be unimpeded? No — Therefore he cannot be free. Consider then: whether we have nothing which is in our own power only, or whether we have all things, or whether some things are in our own power, and others in the power of others. — What do you mean? — When you wish the body to be entire (sound), is it in your power or not? — It is not in my power — When you wish it to be healthy? — Neither is this in my power. — When you wish it to be handsome? — Nor is this — Life or death? — Neither is this in my power. — Your body then is another's, subject to every man who is stronger than yourself — It is — But your estate, is it in your power to have it when you please, and as long as you please, and such as you please? — No — And your slaves? — No — And your clothes? — No — And your house? — No — And your horses? — Not one of these things — And if you wish by all means your children to live, or your wife, or your brother, or your friends, is it in your power? — This also is not in my power.

Whether then have you nothing which is in your own power, which

depends on yourself only and cannot be taken from you, or have you any thing of the kind? — I know not — Look at the thing then thus, and examine it. Is any man able to make you assent to that which is false — No man — In the matter of assent then you are free from hindrance and obstruction. — Granted — Well; and can a man force you to desire to move towards that to which you do not choose? — He can, for when he threatens me with death or bonds, he compels me to desire to move towards it. If then, you despise death and bonds, do you still pay any regard to him? — No — Is then the despising of death an act of your own or is it not yours? — It is my act — It is your own act then also to desire to move towards a thing: or is it not so? — It is my own act — But to desire to move away from a thing, whose act is that? This also is your act — What then if I have attempted to walk, suppose another should hinder me — What part of you does he hinder? does he hinder the faculty of assent? — No: but my poor body — Yes, as he would do with a stone — Granted; but I no longer walk — And who told you that walking is your own act free from hindrance? for I said that this only was free from hindrance, to desire to move: but where there is need of body and its co-operation, you have heard long ago that nothing is your own. — Granted this also — And who can compel you to desire what you do not wish? — No man — And to propose or intend, or in short to make use of the appearances which present themselves, can any man compel you? — He cannot do this: but he will hinder me when I desire from obtaining what I desire. — If you desire any thing which is your own, and one of the things which cannot be hindered, how will he hinder you? — He cannot in any way — Who then tells you that he who desires the things that belong to another is free from hindrance?

Must I then not desire health? By no means, nor any thing else that belongs to another: for what is not in your power to acquire or to keep when you please, this belongs to another. Keep then far from it not only your hands, but more than that, even your desires. If you do not, you have surrendered yourself as a slave; you have subjected your neck, if you admire any thing not your own, to every thing that is dependent on the power of others and perishable, to which you have conceived a liking. — Is not my hand my own? — It is a part of your own body; but it is by nature earth, subject to hindrance, compulsion, and the slave of every thing which is stronger. And why do I say your hand? You ought to possess your whole body as a poor ass loaded, as long as it is possible, as long as you are allowed. But if there be a press, and a soldier should lay hold of it, let it go, do not resist, nor murmur; if you do, you will receive blows, and never the less you will also lose the ass. But when you ought to feel thus with respect to the body, consider what remains to be done about all the rest, which is provided for the sake of the body. When the body is an ass, all the other things are bits belonging to the ass, pack-saddles, shoes, barley, fodder. Let these also go: get rid of them quicker and more readily than of the ass.

When you have made this preparation, and have practised this discipline, to

distinguish that which belongs to another from that which is your own, the things which are subject to hindrance from those which are not, to consider the things free from hindrance to concern yourself, and those which are not free not to concern yourself, to keep your desire steadily fixed to the things which do concern yourself, and turned from the things which do not concern yourself; do you still fear any man? No one. For about what will you be afraid? about the things which are your own, in which consists the nature of good and evil? and who has power over these things? who can take them away? who can impede them? No man can, no more than he can impede God. But will you be afraid about your body and your possessions, about things which are not yours, about things which in no way concern you? and what else have you been studying from the beginning than to distinguish between your own and not your own, the things which are in your power and not in your power, the things subject to hindrance and not subject? and why have you come to the philosophers? was it that you may never the less be unfortunate and unhappy? You will then in this way, as I have supposed you to have done, be without fear and disturbance. And what is grief to you? for fear comes from what you expect, but grief from that which is present. But what further will you desire? For of the things which are within the power of the will, as being good and present, you have a proper and regulated desire: but of the things which are not in the power of the will you do not desire any one, and so you do not allow any place to that which is irrational, and impatient, and above measure hasty.

When then you are thus affected towards things, what man can any longer be formidable to you? For what has a man which is formidable to another, either when you see him or speak to him or finally are conversant with him? Not more than one horse has with respect to another, or one dog to another, or one bee to another bee. Things indeed are formidable to every man; and when any man is able to confer these things on another or to take them away, then he too becomes formidable. How then is an acropolis (a stronghold or fortress, the seat of tyranny) demolished? Not by the sword, not by fire, but by opinion. For if we abolish the acropolis which is in the city, can we abolish also that of fever, and that of beautiful women? Can we in a word abolish the acropolis which is in us and cast out the tyrants within us, whom we have daily over us, sometimes the same tyrants, at other times different tyrants? But with this we must begin, and with this we must demolish the acropolis and eject the tyrants, by giving up the body, the parts of it, the faculties of it, the possessions, the reputation, magisterial offices, honours, children, brothers, friends, by considering all these things as belonging to others. And if tyrants have been ejected from us, why do I still shut in the acropolis by a wall of circumvallation, at least on my account; for if it still stands, what does it do to me? why do I still eject (the tyrant's) guards? For where do I perceive them? against others they have their fasces, and their spears and their swords. But I have never been hindered in my will, nor compelled when I did not will. And

how is this possible? I have placed my movements towards action (ὁρμήν) in obedience to God. Is it his will that I shall have fever? It is my will also. Is it his will that I should move towards any thing? It is my will also. Is it his will that I should obtain any thing? It is my wish also. Does he not will? I do not wish. Is it his will that I die, is it his will that I be put to the rack? It is my will then to die: it is my will then to be put to the rack. Who then is still able to hinder me contrary to my own judgment, or to compel me? No more than he can hinder or compel Zeus.

Thus the more cautious of travellers also act. A traveller has heard that the road is infested by robbers; he does not venture to enter on it alone, but he waits for the companionship on the road either of an ambassador, or of a quaestor, or of a proconsul, and when he has attached himself to such persons he goes along the road safely. So in the world the wise man acts. There are many companies of robbers, tyrants, storms, difficulties, losses of that which is dearest. Where is there any place of refuge? how shall he pass along without being attacked by robbers? what company shall he wait for that he may pass along in safety? to whom shall he attach himself? To what person generally? to the rich man, to the man of consular rank? and what is the use of that to me? Such a man is stripped himself, groans and laments. But what if the fellow companion himself turns against me and becomes my robber, what shall I do? I will be a friend of Caesar: when I am Caesar's companion no man will wrong me. In the first place, that I may become illustrious, what things must I endure and suffer? how often and by how many must I be robbed? Then, if I become Caesar's friend, he also is mortal. And if Caesar from any circumstance becomes my enemy, where is it best for me to retire? Into a desert? Well, does fever not come there? What shall be done then? Is it not possible to find a safe fellow traveller, a faithful one, strong, secure against all surprises? Thus he considers and perceives that if he attaches himself to God, he will make his journey in safety.

How do you understand 'attaching yourself to God? In this sense, that whatever God wills, a man also shall will; and what God does not will, a man also shall not will. How then shall this be done? In what other way than by examining the movements (ὁρμάς, the acts) of God and his administration? What has he given to me as my own and in my own power? what has he reserved to himself? He has given to me the things which are in the power of the will (τὰ προαιρετικά): he has put them in my power free from impediment and hindrance. How was he able to make the earthy body free from hindrance? [He could not], and accordingly he has subjected to the revolution of the whole (τῇ τῶν ὅλων περιόδῳ) possessions, household things, house, children, wife. Why then do I fight against God? why do I will what does not depend on the will? why do I will to have absolutely what is not granted to me? But how ought I to will to have things? In the way in which they are given and as long as they are given. But he who has given takes away. Why then do I resist? I do not say that I shall be a fool if I use force to one who is

stronger, but I shall first be unjust. For whence had I things when I came into the world? — My father gave them to me — And who gave them to him? and who made the sun? and who made the fruits of the earth? and who the seasons? and who made the connection of men with one another and their fellowship?

Then after receiving everything from another and even yourself, are you angry and do you blame the giver if he takes any thing from you? Who are you, and for what purpose did you come into the world? Did not he (God) introduce you here, did he not show you the light, did he not give you fellow workers, and perceptions and reason? and as whom did he introduce you here? did he not introduce you as subject to death, and as one to live on the earth with a little flesh, and to observe his administration, and to join with him in the spectacle and the festival for a short time? Will you not then, as long as you have been permitted, after seeing the spectacle and the solemnity, when he leads you out, go with adoration of him and thanks for what you have heard and seen? — No; but I would still enjoy the feast. — The initiated too would wish to be longer in the initiation: and perhaps also those at Olympia to see other athletes; but the solemnity is ended: go away like a grateful and modest man; make room for others: others also must be born, as you were, and being born they must have a place, and houses and necessary things. And if the first do not retire, what remains? Why are you insatiable? Why are you not content? why do you contract the world? — Yes, but I would have my little children with me and my wife — What, are they yours? do they not belong to the giver, and to him who made you? then will you not give up what belongs to others? will you not give way to him who is superior? — Why then did he introduce me into the world on these conditions? — And if the conditions do not suit you, depart. He has no need of a spectator who is not satisfied. He wants those who join in the festival, those who take part in the chorus, that they may rather applaud, admire, and celebrate with hymns the solemnity. But those who can bear no trouble, and the cowardly he will not unwillingly see absent from the great assembly (πανήγυρις); for they did not when they were present behave as they ought to do at a festival nor fill up their place properly, but they lamented, found fault with the deity, fortune, their companions; not seeing both what they had, and their own powers, which they received for contrary purposes, the powers of magnanimity, of a generous mind, manly spirit, and what we are now inquiring about, freedom. — For what purpose then have I received these things? — To use them — How long? — So long as he who has lent them chooses. — What if they are necessary to me? — Do not attach yourself to them and they will not be necessary: do not say to yourself that they are necessary, and then they are not necessary.

This study you ought to practise from morning to evening, beginning with the smallest things and those most liable to damage, with an earthen pot, with a cup. Then proceed in this way to a tunic, to a little dog, to a horse, to a small

estate in land: then to yourself, to your body, to the parts of your body, to your children, to your wife, to your brothers. Look all round and throw these things from you (which are not yours). Purge your opinions, so that nothing cleave to you of the things which are not your own, that nothing grow to you, that nothing give you pain when it is torn from you; and say, while you are daily exercising yourself as you do there (in the school), not that you are philosophizing, for this is an arrogant (offensive) expression, but that you are presenting an asserter of freedom: for this is really freedom. To this freedom Diogenes was called by Antisthenes, and he said that he could no longer be enslaved by any man. For this reason when he was taken prisoner, how did he behave to the pirates? Did he call any of them master? and I do not speak of the name, for I am not afraid of the word, but of the state of mind, by which the word is produced. How did he reprove them for feeding badly their captives? How was he sold? Did he seek a master? no; but a slave. And when he was sold how did he behave to his master? Immediately he disputed with him and said to his master that he ought not to be dressed as he was, nor shaved in such a manner; and about the children he told them how he ought to bring them up. And what was strange in this? for if his master had bought an exercise master, would he have employed him in the exercises of the palaestra as a servant or as a master? and so if he had bought a physician or an architect. And so in every matter, it is absolutely necessary that he who has skill must be the superior of him who has not. Whoever then generally possesses the science of life, what else must he be than master? For who is master in a ship? The man who governs the helm? Why? Because he who will not obey him suffers for it. But a master can give me stripes. Can he do it then without suffering for it? So I also used to think. But because he cannot do it without suffering for it, for this reason it is not in his power: and no man can do what is unjust without suffering for it. And what is the penalty for him who puts his own slave in chains? what do you think that is? The fact of putting the slave in chains: — and you also will admit this, if you choose to maintain the truth, that man is not a wild beast, but a tame animal. For when is a vine doing badly? When it is in a condition contrary to its nature. When is a cock? Just the same. Therefore a man also is so. What then is a man's nature? To bite, to kick, and to throw into prison and to behead? No; but to do good, to co-operate with others, to wish them well. At that time then he is in a bad condition, whether you chose to admit it or not, when he is acting foolishly.

Socrates then did not fare badly? — No; but his judges and his accusers did. — Nor did Helvidius at Rome fare badly? — No; but his murderer did. How do you mean? — The same as you do when you say that a cock has not fared badly when he has gained the victory and been severely wounded; but that the cock has fared badly when he has been defeated and is unhurt: nor do you call a dog fortunate, who neither pursues game nor labours, but when you see him sweating, when you see him in pain and panting violently after running. What paradox (unusual thing) do we utter if we say that the evil in

every thing is that which is contrary to the nature of the thing? Is this a paradox? for do you not say this in the case of all other things? Why then in the case of man only do you think differently? But because we say that the nature of man is tame (gentle) and social and faithful, you will not say that this is a paradox? It is not — What then is it a paradox to say that a man is not hurt when he is whipped, or put in chains, or beheaded? does he not, if he suffers nobly, come off even with increased advantage and profit? But is he not hurt, who suffers in a most pitiful and disgraceful way, who in place of a man becomes a wolf, or viper or wasp?

Well then let us recapitulate the things which have been agreed on. The man who is not under restraint is free, to whom things are exactly in that state in which he wishes them to be; but he who can be restrained or compelled or hindered, or thrown into any circumstances against his will, is a slave. But who is free from restraint? He who desires nothing that belongs to (is in the power of) others. And what are the things which belong to others? Those which are not in our power either to have or not to have, or to have of a certain kind or in a certain manner. Therefore the body belongs to another, the parts of the body belong to another, possession (property) belongs to another. If then you are attached to any of these things as your own, you will pay the penalty which it is proper for him to pay who desires what belongs to another. This road leads to freedom, this is the only way of escaping from slavery, to be able to say at last with all your soul

Lead me, O Zeus, and thou O destiny,
The way that I am bid by you to go.

But what do you say, philosopher? The tyrant summons you to say something which does not become you. Do you say it or do you not? Answer me — Let me consider — Will you consider now? But when you were in the school, what was it which you used to consider? Did you not study what are the things that are good and what are bad, and what things are neither one nor the other? — I did. — What then was our opinion? — That just and honourable acts were good; and that unjust and disgraceful (foul) acts were bad. — Is life a good thing? — No. — Is death a bad thing? — No. — Is prison? — No. — But what did we think about mean and faithless words and betrayal of a friend and flattery of a tyrant? — That they are bad. — Well then, you are not considering, nor have you considered nor deliberated. For what is the matter for consideration, is it whether it is becoming for me, when I have it in my power, to secure for myself the greatest of good things, and not to secure for myself (that is, not to avoid) the greatest evils? A fine inquiry indeed, and necessary, and one that demands much deliberation. Man, why do you mock us? Such an inquiry is never made. If you really imagined that base things were bad and honourable things were good, and that all other things were neither good nor bad, you would not even have approached this enquiry, nor have come near it; but immediately you would have been able to

distinguish them by the understanding as you would do (in other cases) by the vision. For when do you inquire if black things are white, if heavy things are light, and do not comprehend the manifest evidence of the senses? How then do you now say that you are considering whether things which are neither good nor bad ought to be avoided more than things which are bad? But you do not possess these opinions; and neither do these things seem to you to be neither good nor bad, but you think that they are the greatest evils; nor do you think those other things (mean and faithless words, etc.) to be evils, but matters which do not concern us at all. For thus from the beginning you have accustomed yourself. Where am I? In the schools: and are any listening to me? I am discoursing among philosophers. But I have gone out of the school. Away with this talk of scholars and fools. Thus a friend is overpowered by the testimony of a philosopher: thus a philosopher becomes a parasite; thus he lets himself for hire for money: thus in the senate a man does not say what he thinks; in private (in the school) he proclaims his opinions. You are a cold and miserable little opinion, suspended from idle words as from a hair. But keep yourself strong and fit for the uses of life and initiated by being exercised in action. How do you hear (the report)? — I do not say, that your child is dead — for how could you bear that? — but that your oil is spilled, your wine drunk up. Do you act in such a way that one standing by you while you are making a great noise, may say this only, Philosopher, you say something different in the school. Why do you deceive us? Why, when you are only a worm, do you say that you are a man? I should like to be present when some of the philosophers is lying with a woman, that I might see how he is exerting himself, and what words he is uttering, and whether he remembers his title of philosopher, and the words which he hears or says or reads.

And what is this to liberty? Nothing else than this, whether you who are rich choose or not. — And who is your evidence for this? — who else than yourselves? who have a powerful master (Caesar), and who live in obedience to his nod and motion, and who faint if he only looks at you with a scowling countenance; you who court old women and old men, and say, I cannot do this: it is not in my power. Why is it not in your power? Did you not lately contend with me and say that you are free? But Aprulla has hindered me? Tell the truth then, slave, and do not run away from your masters, nor deny, nor venture to produce any one to assert your freedom (*καρπιστήν*), when you have so many evidences of your slavery. And indeed when a man is compelled by love to do something contrary to his opinion (judgment), and at the same time sees the better, but has not the strength to follow it, one might consider him still more worthy of excuse as being held by a certain violent and in a manner a divine power. But who could endure you who are in love with old women and old men, and wipe the old women's noses, and wash them and give them presents, and also wait on them like a slave when they are sick, and at the same time wish them dead, and question the physicians whether they are sick unto death? And again, when in order to obtain these

great and much admired magistracies and honours, you kiss the hands of these slaves of others, and so you are not the slave even of free men. Then you walk about before me in stately fashion a praetor or a consul. Do I not know how you became a praetor, by what means you got your consulship, who gave it to you? I would not even choose to live, if I must live by help of Felicion and endure his arrogance and servile insolence: for I know what a slave is, who is fortunate, as he thinks, and puffed up by pride.

You then, a man may say, are you free? I wish, by the Gods, and pray to be free; but I am not yet able to face my masters, I still value my poor body, I value greatly the preservation of it entire, though I do not possess it entire. But I can point out to you a free man, that you may no longer seek an example. Diogenes was free. How was he free? — not because he was born of free parents, but because he was himself free, because he had cast off all the handles of slavery, and it was not possible for any man to approach him, nor had any man the means of laying hold of him to enslave him. He had everything easily loosed, everything only hanging to him. If you laid hold of his property, he would have rather let it go and be yours, than he would have followed you for it: if you had laid hold of his leg, he would have let go his leg; if of all his body, all his poor body; his intimates, friends, country, just the same. For he knew from whence he had them, and from whom, and on what conditions. His true parents indeed, the Gods, and his real country he would never have deserted, nor would he have yielded to any man in obedience to them and to their orders, nor would any man have died for his country more readily. For he was not used to inquire when he should be considered to have done anything on behalf of the whole of things (the universe, or all the world), but he remembered that every thing which is done comes from thence and is done on behalf of that country and is commanded by him who administers it. Therefore see what Diogenes himself says and writes:—"For this reason, he says, Diogenes, it is in your power to speak both with the King of the Persians and with Archidamus the king of the Lacedaemonians, as you please." Was it because he was born of free parents? I suppose all the Athenians and all the Lacedaemonians because they were born of slaves, could not talk with them (these kings) as they wished, but feared and paid court to them. Why then does he say that it is in his power? Because I do not consider the poor body to be my own, because I want nothing, because law is every thing to me, and nothing else is. These were the things which permitted him to be free.

And that you may not think that I show you the example of a man who is a solitary person, who has neither wife nor children, nor country, nor friends nor kinsmen, by whom he could be bent and drawn in various directions, take Socrates and observe that he had a wife and children, but he did not consider them as his own; that he had a country, so long as it was fit to have one, and in such a manner as was fit; friends and kinsmen also, but he held all in subjection to law and to the obedience due to it. For this reason he was the first to go out as a soldier, when it was necessary, and in war he exposed

himself to danger most unsparingly; and when he was sent by the tyrants to seize Leon, he did not even deliberate about the matter, because he thought that it was a base action, and he knew that he must die (for his refusal), if it so happened. And what difference did that make to him? for he intended to preserve something else, not his poor flesh, but his fidelity, his honourable character. These are things which could not be assailed nor brought into subjection. Then when he was obliged to speak in defence of his life, did he behave like a man who had children, who had a wife? No, but he behaved like a man who has neither. And what did he do when he was (ordered) to drink the poison, and when he had the power of escaping from prison, and when Crito said to him, Escape for the sake of your children, what did Socrates say? did he consider the power of escape as an unexpected gain? By no means: he considered what was fit and proper; but the rest he did not even look at or take into the reckoning. For he did not choose, he said, to save his poor body, but to save that which is increased and saved by doing what is just, and is impaired and destroyed by doing what is unjust. Socrates will not save his life by a base act; he who would not put the Athenians to the vote when they clamoured that he should do so, he who refused to obey the tyrants, he who discoursed in such a manner about virtue and right behaviour. It is not possible to save such a man's life by base acts, but he is saved by dying, not by running away. For the good actor also preserves his character by stopping when he ought to stop, better than when he goes on acting beyond the proper time. What then shall the children of Socrates do? "If," said Socrates, "I had gone off to Thessaly, would you have taken care of them; and if I depart to the world below, will there be no man to take care of them?" See how he gives to death a gentle name and mocks it. But if you and I had been in his place, we should have immediately answered as philosophers that those who act unjustly must be repaid in the same way, and we should have added, "I shall be useful to many, if my life is saved, and if I die, I shall be useful to no man." For, if it had been necessary, we should have made our escape by slipping through a small hole. And how in that case should we have been useful to any man? for where would they have been then staying? or if we were useful to men while we were alive, should we not have been much more useful to them by dying when we ought to die, and as we ought? And now Socrates being dead, no less useful to men, and even more useful, is the remembrance of that which he did or said when he was alive.

Think of these things, these opinions, these words: look to these examples, if you would be free, if you desire the thing according to its worth. And what is the wonder if you buy so great a thing at the price of things so many and so great? For the sake of this which is called liberty, some hang themselves, others throw themselves down precipices, and sometimes even whole cities have perished: and will you not for the sake of the true and unassailable and secure liberty give back to God when he demands them the things which he has given? Will you not, as Plato says, study not to die only, but also to endure

torture, and exile, and scourging and in a word to give up all which is not your own? If you will not, you will be a slave among slaves, even if you be ten thousand times a consul; and if you make your way up to the Palace (Caesar's residence), you will no less be a slave; and you will feel, that perhaps philosophers utter words which are contrary to common opinion (paradoxes), as Cleanthes also said, but not words contrary to reason. For you will know by experience that the words are true, and that there is no profit from the things which are valued and eagerly sought to those who have obtained them; and to those who have not yet obtained them there is an imagination (φαντασία), that when these things are come, all that is good will come with them; then, when they are come, the feverish feeling is the same, the tossing to and fro is the same, the satiety, the desire of things which are not present; for freedom is acquired not by the full possession of the things which are desired, but by removing the desire. And that you may know that this is true, as you have laboured for those things, so transfer your labour to these; be vigilant for the purpose of acquiring an opinion which will make you free; pay court to a philosopher instead of to a rich old man: be seen about a philosopher's doors: you will not disgrace yourself by being seen; you will not go away empty nor without profit, if you go to the philosopher as you ought, and if not (if you do not succeed), try at least: the trial (attempt) is not disgraceful.

ON FAMILIAR INTIMACY.

To this matter before all you must attend, that you be never so closely connected with any of your former intimates or friends as to come down to the same acts as he does. If you do not observe this rule, you will ruin yourself. But if the thought arises in your mind, "I shall seem disobliging to him and he will not have the same feeling towards me," remember that nothing is done without cost, nor is it possible for a man if he does not do the same things to be the same man that he was. Choose then which of the two you will have, to be equally loved by those by whom you were formerly loved, being the same with your former self; or being superior, not to obtain from your friends the same that you did before. For if this is better, immediately turn away to it, and let not other considerations draw you in a different direction. For no man is able to make progress (improvement), when he is wavering between opposite things; but if you have preferred this (one thing) to all things, if you choose to attend to this only, to work out this only, give up every thing else. But if you will not do this, your wavering will produce both these results: you will neither improve as you ought, nor will you obtain what you formerly obtained. For before by plainly desiring the things which were worth nothing, you pleased your associates. But you cannot excel in both kinds, and it is necessary that so far as you share in the one, you must fall short in the other. You cannot, when you do not drink with those with whom you used to drink, be agreeable to them as you were before. Choose then whether you will be a

hard drinker and pleasant to your former associates or a sober man and disagreeable to them. You cannot, when you do not sing with those with whom you used to sing, be equally loved by them. Choose then in this matter also which of the two you will have. For if it is better to be modest and orderly than for a man to say, He is a jolly fellow, give up the rest, renounce it, turn away from it, have nothing to do with such men. But if this behaviour shall not please you, turn altogether to the opposite: become a catamite, an adulterer, and act accordingly, and you will get what you wish. And jump up in the theatre and bawl out in praise of the dancer. But characters so different cannot be mingled: you cannot act both Thersites and Agamemnon. If you intend to be Thersites, you must be humpbacked and bald: if Agamemnon, you must be tall and handsome, and love those who are placed in obedience to you.

WHAT THINGS WE SHOULD EXCHANGE FOR OTHER THINGS.

KEEP this thought in readiness, when you lose any thing external, what you acquire in place of it; and if it be worth more, never say, I have had a loss; neither if you have got a horse in place of an ass, or an ox in place of a sheep, nor a good action in place of a bit of money, nor in place of idle talk such tranquillity as befits a man, nor in place of lewd talk if you have acquired modesty. If you remember this, you will always maintain your character such as it ought to be. But if you do not, consider that the times of opportunity are perishing, and that whatever pains you take about yourself, you are going to waste them all and overturn them. And it needs only a few things for the loss and overturning of all, namely a small deviation from reason. For the steerer of a ship to upset it, he has no need of the same means as he has need of for saving it: but if he turns it a little to the wind, it is lost; and if he does not do this purposely, but has been neglecting his duty a little, the ship is lost. Something of the kind happens in this case also: if you only fall a nodding a little, all that you have up to this time collected is gone. Attend therefore to the appearances of things, and watch over them; for that which you have to preserve is no small matter, but it is modesty and fidelity and constancy, freedom from the affects, a state of mind undisturbed, freedom from fear, tranquillity, in a word liberty. For what will you sell these things? See what is the value of the things which you will obtain in exchange for these. — But shall I not obtain any such thing for it? — See, and if you do in return get that, see what you receive in place of it. I possess decency, he possesses a tribuneship: he possesses a praetorship, I possess modesty. But I do not make acclamations where it is not becoming: I will not stand up where I ought not; for I am free, and a friend of God, and so I obey him willingly. But I must not claim (seek) any thing else, neither body nor possession, nor magistracy, nor good report, nor in fact any thing. For he (God) does not allow me to claim (seek) them: for if he had chosen, he would have made them good for me; but

he has not done so, and for this reason I cannot transgress his commands. Preserve that which is your own good in every thing; and as to every other thing, as it is permitted, and so far as to behave consistently with reason in respect to them, content with this only. If you do not, you will be unfortunate, you will fail in all things, you will be hindered, you will be impeded. These are the laws which have been sent from thence (from God); these are the orders. Of these laws a man ought to be an expositor, to these he ought to submit, not to those of Masurius and Cassius.

TO THOSE WHO ARE DESIROUS OF PASSING LIFE IN TRANQUILLITY.

REMEMBER that not only the desire of power and of riches makes us mean and subject to others, but even the desire of tranquillity, and of leisure, and of travelling abroad, and of learning. For to speak plainly, whatever the external thing may be, the value which we set upon it places us in subjection to others. What then is the difference between desiring to be a senator or not desiring to be one; what is the difference between desiring power or being content with a private station; what is the difference between saying, I am unhappy, I have nothing to do, but I am bound to my books as a corpse; or saying, I am unhappy, I have no leisure for reading? For as salutations and power are things external and independent of the will, so is a book. For what purpose do you choose to read? Tell me. For if you only direct your purpose to being amused or learning something, you are a silly fellow and incapable of enduring labour. But if you refer reading to the proper end, what else is this than a tranquil and happy life (εὖσθια)? But if reading does not secure for you a happy and tranquil life, what is the use of it? But it does secure this, the man replies, and for this reason I am vexed that I am deprived of it. — And what is this tranquil and happy life, which any man can impede, I do not say Caesar or Caesar's friend, but a crow, a piper, a fever, and thirty thousand other things? But a tranquil and happy life contains nothing so sure as continuity and freedom from obstacle. Now I am called to do something: I will go then with the purpose of observing the measures (rules) which I must keep, of acting with modesty, steadiness, without desire and aversion to things external; and then that I may attend to men, what they say, how they are moved; and this not with any bad disposition, or that I may have something to blame or to ridicule; but I turn to myself, and ask if I also commit the same faults. How then shall I cease to commit them? Formerly I also acted wrong, but now I do not: thanks to God.

Come, when you have done these things and have attended to them, have you done a worse act than when you have read a thousand verses or written as many? For when you eat, are you grieved because you are not reading? are you not satisfied with eating according to what you have learned by reading, and so with bathing and with exercise? Why then do you not act consistently

in all things, both when you approach Caesar, and when you approach any person? If you maintain yourself free from perturbation, free from alarm, and steady; if you look rather at the things which are done and happen than are looked at yourself; if you do not envy those who are referred before you; if surrounding circumstances (ὕλαι) do not strike you with fear or admiration, what do you want? Books? How or for what purpose? for is not this (the reading of books) a preparation for life? and is not life itself (living) made up of certain other things than this? This is just as if an athlete should weep when he enters the stadium, because he is not being exercised outside of it. It was for this purpose that you used to practise exercise; for this purpose were used the halteres (weights), the dust, the young men as antagonists; and do you seek for those things now when it is the time of action? This is just as if in the topic (matter) of assent when appearances present themselves, some of which can be comprehended, and some cannot be comprehended, we should not choose to distinguish them but should choose to read what has been written about comprehension (κατάληψις).

What then is the reason of this? The reason is that we have never read for this purpose, we have never written for this purpose, so that we may in our actions use in away conformable to nature the appearances presented to us; but we terminate in this, in learning what is said, and in being able to expound it to another, in resolving a syllogism, and in handling the hypothetical syllogism. For this reason where our study (purpose) is, there alone is the impediment. Would you have by all means the things which are not in your power? Be prevented then, be hindered, fail in your purpose. But if we read what is written about action (efforts, ὁρμή), not that we may see what is said about action, but that we may act well: if we read what is said about desire and aversion (avoiding things), in order that we may neither fail in our desires, nor fall into that which we try to avoid; if we read what is said about duty (officium), in order that remembering the relations (of things to one another) we may do nothing irrationally nor contrary to these relations; we should not be vexed in being hindered as to our readings, but we should be satisfied with doing the acts which are conformable (to the relations), and we should be reckoning not what so far we have been accustomed to reckon: To-day I have read so many verses, I have written so many; but (we should say), To-day I have employed my action as it is taught by the philosophers; I have not employed my desire; I have used avoidance (ἐκκλίσει) only with respect to things which are within the power of my will; I have not been afraid of such a person, I have not been prevailed upon by the entreaties of another; I have exercised my patience, my abstinence, my co-operation with others; and so we should thank God for what we ought to thank him.

But now we do not know that we also in another way are like the many. Another man is afraid that he shall not have power: you are afraid that you will. Do not do so, my man; but as you ridicule him who is afraid that he shall not have power, so ridicule yourself also. For it makes no difference whether

you are thirsty like a man who has a fever, or have a dread of water like a man who is mad. Or how will you still be able to say as Socrates did, If so it pleases God, so let it be? Do you think that Socrates if he had been eager to pass his leisure in the Lyceum or in the Academy and to discourse daily with the young men, would have readily served in military expeditions so often as he did; and would he not have lamented and groaned, Wretch that I am; I must now be miserable here, when I might be sunning myself in the Lyceum? Why, was this your business, to sun yourself? And is it not your business to be happy, to be free from hindrance, free from impediment? And could he still have been Socrates, if he had lamented in this way: how would he still have been able to write Paeans in his prison?

In short remember this, that what you shall prize which is beyond your will, so far you have destroyed your will. But these things are out of the power of the will, not only power (authority), but also a private condition: not only occupation (business), but also leisure. — Now then must I live in this tumult? — Why do you say tumult? — I mean among many men. — Well what is the hardship? Suppose that you are at Olympia: imagine it to be a panegyris (public assembly), where one is calling out one thing, another is doing another thing, and a third is pushing another person: in the baths there is a crowd: and who of us is not pleased with this assembly, and leaves it unwillingly? Be not difficult to please nor fastidious about what happens. — Vinegar is disagreeable, for it is sharp; honey is disagreeable, for it disturbs my habit of body. I do not like vegetables. So also I do not like leisure it is a desert: I do not like a crowd; it is confusion. — But if circumstances make it necessary for you to live alone or with a few, call it quiet, and use the thing as you ought: talk with yourself, exercise the appearances (presented to you), work up your preconceptions. If you fall into a crowd, call it a celebration of games, a panegyris, a festival: try to enjoy the festival with other men. For what is a more pleasant sight to him who loves mankind than a number of men? We see with pleasure herds of horses or oxen: we are delighted when we see many ships: who is pained when he sees many men? — But they deafen me with their cries. — Then your hearing is impeded. What then is this to you? Is then the power of making use of appearances hindered? And who prevents you from using according to nature inclination to a thing and aversion from it; and movement towards a thing and movement from it? What tumult (confusion) is able to do this?

Do you only bear in mind the general rules: what is mine, what is not mine; what is given (permitted) to me; what does God will that I should do now? what does he not will? A little before he willed you to be at leisure, to talk with yourself, to write about these things, to read, to hear, to prepare yourself. You had sufficient time for this. Now he says to you: Come now to the contest, show us what you have learned, how you have practised the athletic art. How long will you be exercised alone? Now is the opportunity for you to learn whether you are an athlete worthy of victory, or one of those who go

about the world and are defeated. Why then are you vexed? No contest is without confusion. There must be many who exercise themselves for the contest, many who call out to those who exercise themselves, many masters, many spectators. — But my wish is to live quietly. — Lament then and groan as you deserve to do. For what other is a greater punishment than this to the untaught man and to him who disobeys the divine commands, to be grieved, to lament, to envy, in a word to be disappointed and to be unhappy? Would you not release yourself from these things? — And how shall I release myself? — Have you not often heard, that you ought to remove entirely desire, apply aversion (turning away) to those things only which are within your power, that you ought to give up every thing, body, property, fame, books, tumult, power, private station? for whatever way you turn, you are a slave, you are subjected, you are hindered, you are compelled, you are entirely in the power of others. But keep the words of Cleanthes in readiness.

Lead me, O Zeus, and thou necessity.

Is it your will that I should go to Rome? I will go to Rome. To Gyara? I will go to Gyara. To Athens? I will go to Athens. To prison? I will go to prison. If you should once say, When shall a man go to Athens? you are undone. It is a necessary consequence that this desire, if it is not accomplished, must make you unhappy; and if it is accomplished, it must make you vain, since you are elated at things at which you ought not to be elated; and on the other hand, if you are impeded, it must make you wretched because you fall into that which you would not fall into. Give up then all these things. — Athens is a good place. — But happiness is much better; and to be free from passions, free from disturbance, for your affairs not to depend on any man. There is tumult at Rome and visits of salutation. But happiness is an equivalent for all troublesome things. If then the time comes for these things, why do you not take away the wish to avoid them? what necessity is there to carry a burden like an ass, and to be beaten with a stick? But if you do not so, consider that you must always be a slave to him who has it in his power to effect your release, and also to impede you, and you must serve him as an evil genius.

There is only one way to happiness, and let this rule be ready both in the morning and during the day and by night: the rule is not to look towards things which are out of the power of our will, to think that nothing is our own, to give up all things to the Divinity, to Fortune; to make them the superintendents of these things, whom Zeus also has made so; for a man to observe that only which is his own, that which cannot be hindered; and when we read, to refer our reading to this only, and our writing and our listening. For this reason I cannot call the man industrious, if I hear this only, that he reads and writes; and even if a man adds that he reads all night, I cannot say so, if he knows not to what he should refer his reading. For neither do you say that a man is industrious if he keeps awake for a girl; nor do I. But if he does

it (reads and writes) for reputation, I say that he is a lover of reputation. And if he does it for money, I say that he is a lover of money, not a lover of labour; and if he does it through love of learning, I say that he is a lover of learning, But if he refers his labour to his own ruling power (ἡγεμονικόν), that he may keep it in a state conformable to nature and pass his life in that state, then only do I say that he is industrious. For never commend a man on account of these things which are common to all, but on account of his opinions (principles); for these are the things which belong to each man, which make his actions bad or good. Remembering these rules, rejoice in that which is present, and be content with the things which come in season. If you see any thing which you have learned and inquired about occurring to you in your course of life (or opportunely applied by you to the acts of life), be delighted at it. If you have laid aside or have lessened bad disposition and a habit of reviling; if you have done so with rash temper, obscene words, hastiness, sluggishness; if you are not moved by what you formerly were, and not in the same way as you once were, you can celebrate a festival daily, to-day because you have behaved well in one act, and to-morrow because you have behaved well in another. How much greater is this a reason for making sacrifices than a consulship or the government of a province? These things come to you from yourself and from the gods. Remember this, who gives these things and to whom, and for what purpose. If you cherish yourself in these thoughts, do you still think that it makes any difference where you shall be happy, where you shall please God? Are not the gods equally distant from all places? Do they not see from all places alike that which is going on?

AGAINST THE QUARRELSOME AND FEROCIOUS.

THE wise and good man neither himself fights with any person, nor does he allow another, so far as he can prevent it. And an example of this as well as of all other things is proposed to us in the life of Socrates, who not only himself on all occasions avoided fights (quarrels), but would not allow even others to quarrel. See in Xenophon's Symposium how many quarrels he settled, how further he endured Thrasymachus and Polus and Callicles; how he tolerated his wife, and how he tolerated his son who attempted to confute him and to cavil with him. For he remembered well that no man has in his power another man's ruling principle. He wished therefore for nothing else than that which was his own. And what is this? Not that this or that man may act according to nature; for that is a thing which belongs to another; but that while others are doing their own acts, as they choose, he may never the less be in a condition conformable to nature and live in it, only doing what is his own to the end that others also may be in a state conformable to nature. For this is the object always set before him by the wise and good man. Is it to be commander (a praetor) of an army? No: but if it is permitted him, his object is in this matter to maintain his own ruling principle. Is it to marry? No; but if marriage is

allowed to him, in this matter his object is to maintain himself in a condition conformable to nature. But if he would have his son not to do wrong or his wife, he would have what belongs to another not to belong to another: and to be instructed is this, to learn what things are a man's own and what belongs to another. How then is there left any place for fighting (quarrel- ling) to a man who has this opinion (which he ought to have)? Is he surprised at any thing which happens, and does it appear new to him? Does he not expect that which comes from the bad to be worse and more grievous than what actually befalls him? And does he not reckon as pure gain whatever they (the bad) may do which falls short of extreme wickedness? Such a person has reviled you. Great thanks to him for not having struck you. But he has struck me also. Great thanks that he did not wound you. But he wounded me also. Great thanks that he did not kill you. For when did he learn or in what school that man is a tame animal, that men love one another, that an act of injustice is a great harm to him who does it. Since then he has not learned this and is not convinced of it, why shall he not follow that which seems to be for his own interest? Your neighbour has thrown stones. Have you then done any thing wrong? But the things in the house have been broken. Are you then a utensil? No; but a free power of will. What then is given to you (to do) in answer to this? If you are like a wolf, you must bite in return, and throw more stones. But if you consider what is proper for a man, examine your storehouse, see with what faculties you came into the world. Have you the disposition of a wild beast, have you the disposition of revenge for an injury? When is a horse wretched? When he is deprived of his natural faculties, not when he cannot crow like a cock, but when he cannot run. When is a dog wretched? Not when he cannot fly, but when he cannot track his game. Is then a man also unhappy in this way, not because he cannot strangle lions or embrace statues, for he did not come into the world in the possession of certain powers from nature for this purpose, but because he has lost his probity and his fidelity? People ought to meet and lament such a man for the misfortunes into which he has fallen; not indeed to lament because a man has been born or has died, but because it has happened to him in his life time to have lost the things which are his own, not that which he received from his father, not his land and house, and his inn, and his slaves; for not one of these things is a man's own, but all belong to others, are servile, and subject to account (ὕπερβουνα), at different times given to different persons by those who have them in their power: but I mean the things which belong to him as a man, the marks (stamps) in his mind with which he came into the world, such as we seek also on coins, and if we find them, we approve of the coins, and if we do not find the marks, we reject them. What is the stamp on this Sestertius? The stamp of Trajan. Present it. It is the stamp of Nero. Throw it away: it cannot be accepted, it is counterfeit. So also in this case: What is the stamp of his opinions? It is gentleness, a sociable disposition, a tolerant temper, a disposition to mutual affection. Produce these qualities. I accept them: I consider this man a citizen, I accept

him as a neighbour, a companion in my voyages. Only see that he has not Nero's stamp. Is he passionate, is he full of resentment, is he fault-finding? If the whim seizes him, does he break the heads of those who come in his way? (If so), why then did you say that he is a man? Is every thing judged (determined) by the bare form? If that is so, say that the form in wax is an apple and has the smell and the taste of an apple. But the external figure is not enough: neither then is the nose enough and the eyes to make the man, but he must have the opinions of a man. Here is a man who does not listen to reason, who does not know when he is refuted: he is an ass: in another man the sense of shame is become dead: he is good for nothing, he is any thing rather than a man. This man seeks whom he may meet and kick or bite, so that he is not even a sheep or an ass, but a kind of wild beast.

What then? would you have me to be despised? — By whom? by those who know you? and how shall those who know you despise a man who is gentle and modest? Perhaps you mean by those who do not know you? What is that to you? For no other artisan cares for the opinion of those who know not his art. — But they will be more hostile to me for this reason. — Why do you say 'me'? Can any man injure your will, or prevent you from using in a natural way the appearances which are presented to you? In no way can he. Why then are you still disturbed and why do you choose to show yourself afraid? And why do you not come forth and proclaim that you are at peace with all men whatever they may do, and laugh at those chiefly who think that they can harm you? These slaves, you can say, know not either who I am, nor where lies my good or my evil, because they have no access to the things which are mine.

In this way also those who occupy a strong city mock the besiegers, (and say): What trouble these men are now taking for nothing: our wall is secure, we have food for a very long time, and all other resources. These are the things which make a city strong and impregnable: but nothing else than his opinions makes a man's soul impregnable. For what wall is so strong, or what body is so hard, or what possession is so safe, or what honour (rank, character) so free from assault (as a man's opinions)? All (other) things everywhere are perishable, easily taken by assault, and if any man in any way is attached to them, he must be disturbed, expect what is bad, he must fear, lament, find his desires disappointed, and fall into things which he would avoid. Then do we not choose to make secure the only means of safety which are offered to us, and do we not choose to withdraw ourselves from that which is perishable and servile and to labour at the things which are imperishable and by nature free; and do we not remember that no man either hurts another or does good to another, but that a man's opinion about each thing, is that which hurts him, is that which overturns him; this is fighting, this is civil discord, this is war? That which made Eteocles and Polynices enemies was nothing else than this opinion which they had about royal power, their opinion about exile, that the one is the extreme of evils, the other the greatest good.

Now this is the nature of every man to seek the good, to avoid the bad; to consider him who deprives us of the one and involves us in the other an enemy and treacherous, even if he be a brother, or a son or a father. For nothing is more akin to us than the good: therefore if these things (externals) are good and evil, neither is a father a friend to sons, nor a brother to a brother, but all the world is every where full of enemies, treacherous men, and sycophants. But if the will (προαίρεσις, the purpose, the intention) being what it ought to be, is the only good; and if the will being such as it ought not to be, is the only evil, where is there any strife, where is there reviling? about what? about the things which do not concern us? and strife with whom? with the ignorant, the unhappy, with those who are deceived about the chief things?

Remembering this Socrates managed his own house and endured a very ill tempered wife and a foolish (ungrateful?) son. For in what did she show her bad temper? In pouring water on his head as much as she liked, and in trampling on the cake (sent to Socrates). And what is this to me, if I think that these things are nothing to me? But this is my business; and neither tyrant shall check my will nor a master; nor shall the many check me who am only one, nor shall the stronger check me who am the weaker; for this power of being free from check (hindrance) is given by God to every man. For these opinions make love in a house (family), concord in a state, among nations peace, and gratitude to God; they make a man in all things cheerful (confident) in externals as about things which belong to others, as about things which are of no value. We indeed are able to write and to read these things, and to praise them when they are read, but we do not even come near to being convinced of them. Therefore what is said of the Lacedaemonians, "Lions at home, but in Ephesus foxes," will fit in our case also, "Lions in the school, but out of it foxes."

AGAINST THOSE WHO LAMENT OVER BEING PITIED.

I am grieved, a man says, at being pitied. Whether then is the fact of your being pitied a thing which concerns you or those who pity you? Well, is it in your power to stop this pity? — It is in my power, if I show them that I do not require pity. — And whether then are you in the condition of not deserving (requiring) pity, or are you not in that condition? — I think that I am not: but these persons do not pity me, for the things for which, if they ought to pity me, it would be proper, I mean, for my faults; but they pity me for my poverty, for not possessing honourable offices, for diseases and deaths and other such things — Whether then are you prepared to convince the many, that not one of these things is an evil, but that it is possible for a man who is poor and has no office (ἀνάρχοντι) and enjoys no honour to be happy; or to shew yourself to them as rich and in power? For the second of these things belong to a man who is boastful, silly and good for nothing. And consider by what means the pretence must be supported. It will be necessary for you to hire slaves and I to

possess a few silver vessels, and to exhibit them in public, if it is possible, though they are often the same, and to attempt to conceal the fact that they are the same, and to have splendid garments, and all other things for display, and to show that you are a man honoured by the great, and to try to sup at their houses, or to be supposed to sup there, and as to your person to employ some mean arts, that you may appear to be more handsome and nobler than you are. These things you must contrive, if you choose to go by the second path in order not to be pitied. But the first way is both impracticable and long, to attempt the very thing which Zeus has not been able to do, to convince all men what things are good and bad. Is this power given to you? This only is given to you, to convince yourself; and you have not convinced yourself. Then I ask you, do you attempt to persuade other men? and who has lived so long with you as you with yourself? and who has so much power of convincing you as you have of convincing yourself; and who is better disposed and nearer to you than you are to yourself? How then have you not yet convinced yourself in order to learn? At present are not things upside down? Is this what you have been earnest about doing, to learn to be free from grief and free from disturbance, and not to be humbled (abject), and to be free? Have you not heard then that there is only one way which leads to this end, to give up (dismiss) the things which do not depend on the will, to withdraw from them, and to admit that they belong to others? For another man then to have an opinion about you, of what kind is it? — It is a thing independent of the will — Then is it nothing to you? — It is nothing- When then you are still vexed at this and disturbed, do you think that you are convinced about good and evil?

Will you not then letting others alone be to yourself both scholar and teacher? — The rest of mankind will look after this, whether it is to their interest to be and to pass their lives in a state contrary to nature: but to me no man is nearer than myself. What then is the meaning of this, that I have listened to the words of the philosophers and I assent to them, but in fact I am no way made easier (more content)? Am I so stupid? And yet in all other things such as I have chosen, I have not been found very stupid; but I learned letters quickly, and to wrestle, and geometry, and to resolve syllogisms. Has not then reason convinced me? and indeed no other things have I from the beginning so approved and chosen (as the things which are rational): and now I read about these things, hear about them, write about them; I have so far discovered no reason stronger than this (living according to nature). In what then am I deficient? Have the contrary opinions not been eradicated from me? Have the notions (opinions) themselves not been exercised nor used to be applied to action, but as armour are laid aside and rusted and cannot fit me? And yet neither in the exercises of the palaestra, nor in writing or reading am I satisfied with learning, but I turn up and down the syllogisms which are proposed, and I make others, and sophistical syllogisms also. But the necessary theorems by proceeding from which a man can become free from

grief, fear, passions (affects), hindrance, and a free man, these I do not exercise myself in nor do I practise in these the proper practice (study). Then I care about what others will say of me, whether I shall appear to them worth notice, whether I shall appear happy. —

Wretched man, will you not see what you are saying about yourself? What do you appear to yourself to be? in your opinions, in your desires, in your aversions from things (ἐν τῷ ἐκκλίνειν), in your movements (purposes, ἐν ὁρμῇ) in your preparation (for anything), in your designs (plans), and in other acts suitable to a man? But do you trouble yourself about this, whether others pity you? — Yes, but I am pitied not as I ought to be. — Are you then pained at this? and is he who is pained, an object of pity? — Yes — How then are you pitied not as you ought to be? For by the very act that you feel (suffer) about being pitied, you make yourself deserving of pity. What then says Antisthenes? Have you not heard? ‘It is a royal thing, O Cyrus, to do right (well) and to be ill spoken of. My head is sound, and all think that I have the head ache. What do I care for that? I am free from fever, and people sympathize with me as if I had a fever, (and say), Poor man, for so long a time you have not ceased to have fever. I also say with a sorrowful countenance, In truth it is now a long time that I have been ill. What will happen then? As God may please: and at the same time I secretly laugh at those who are pitying me. What then hinders the same being done in this case also? I am poor, but I have a right opinion about poverty. Why then do I care if they pity me for my poverty? I am not in power (not a magistrate); but others are: and I have the opinion which I ought to have about having and not having power. Let them look to it who pity me: but I am neither hungry nor thirsty nor do I suffer cold; but because they are hungry or thirsty they think that I too am. What then shall I do for them? Shall I go about and proclaim and say, Be not mistaken, men, I am very well, I do not trouble myself about poverty, nor want of power, nor in a word about anything else than right opinions. These I have free from restraint, I care for nothing at all. — What foolish talk is this? How do I possess right opinions when I am not content with being what I am, but am uneasy about what I am supposed to be?

But you say, others will get more and be preferred to me — What then is more reasonable than for those who have laboured about any thing to have more in that thing in which they have laboured? They have laboured for power, you have laboured about opinions; and they have laboured for wealth, you for the proper use of appearances. See if they have more than you in this about which you have laboured, and which they neglect; if they assent better than you with respect to the natural rules (measures) of things; if they are less disappointed than you in their desires; if they fall less into things which they would avoid than you do; if in their intentions, if in the things which they propose to themselves, if in their purposes, if in their motions towards an object they take a better aim; if they better observe a proper behaviour, as men, as sons, as parents, and so on as to the other names by which we express

the relations of life. But if they exercise power, and you do not, will you not choose to tell yourself the truth, that you do nothing for the sake of this (power), and they do all? But it is most unreasonable that he who looks after anything should obtain less than he who does not look after it.

Not so: but since I care about right opinions, it is more reasonable for me to have power. — Yes in the matter about which you do care, in opinions. But in a matter in which they have cared more than you, give way to them. The case is just the same as if because you have right opinions, you thought that in using the bow you should hit the mark better than an archer, and in working in metal you should succeed better than a smith. Give up then your earnestness about opinions and employ yourself about the things which you wish to acquire; and then lament, if you do not succeed; for you deserve to lament. But now you say that you are occupied with other things, that you are looking after other things; but the many say this truly, that one act has no community with another. He who has risen in the morning seeks whom (of the house of Caesar) he shall salute, to whom he shall say something agreeable, to whom he shall send a present, how he shall please the dancing man, how by bad behaviour to one he may please another. When he prays, he prays about these things; when he sacrifices, he sacrifices for these things: the saying of Pythagoras

Let sleep not come upon thy languid eyes

he transfers to these things. Where have I failed in the matters pertaining to flattery? What have I done? Any thing like a free man, any thing like a noble minded man? And if he finds any thing of the kind, he blames and accuses himself: “Why did you say this? Was it not in your power to lie? Even the philosophers say that nothing hinders us from telling a lie.” But do you, if indeed you have cared about nothing else except the proper use of appearances, as soon as you have risen in the morning reflect, “What do I want in order to be free from passion (affects), and free from perturbation? What am I? Am I a poor body, a piece of property, a thing of which something is said? I am none of these. But what am I? I am a rational animal. What then is required of me?” Reflect on your acts. Where have I omitted the things which conduce to happiness (εὐποιαν)? What have I done which is either unfriendly or unsocial? what have I not done as to these things which I ought to have done?

So great then being the difference in desires, actions, wishes, would you still have the same share with others in those things about which you have not laboured, and they have laboured? Then are you surprised if they pity you, and are you vexed? But they are not vexed if you pity them. Why? Because they are convinced that they have that which is good, and you are not convinced. For this reason you are not satisfied with your own, but you desire that which they have: but they are satisfied with their own, and do not desire what you have: since if you were really convinced, that with respect to what is good, it is you who are the possessor of it and that they have missed it, you

would not even have thought of what they say about you.

ON FREEDOM FROM FEAR.

WHAT makes the tyrant formidable? The guards, you say, and their swords, and the men of the bedchamber and those who exclude them who would enter. Why then if you bring a boy (child) to the tyrant when he is with his guards, is he not afraid; or is it because the child does not understand these things? If then any man does understand what guards are and that they have swords, and comes to the tyrant for this very purpose because he wishes to die on account of some circumstance and seeks to die easily by the hand of another, is he afraid of the guards? No, for he wishes for the thing which makes the guards formidable. If then any man neither wishing to die nor to live by all means, but only as it may be permitted, approaches the tyrant, what hinders him from approaching the tyrant without fear? Nothing. If then a man has the same opinion about his property as the man whom I have instanced has about his body; and also about his children and his wife: and in a word is so affected by some madness or despair that he cares not whether he possesses them or not, but like children who are playing with shells care (quarrel) about the play, but do not trouble themselves about the shells, so he too has set no value on the materials (things), but values the pleasure that he has with them and the occupation, what tyrant is then formidable to him or what guards or what swords?

Then through madness is it possible for a man to be so disposed towards these things, and the Galilaeans through habit, and is it possible that no man can learn from reason and from demonstration that God has made all the things in the universe and the universe itself completely free from hindrance and perfect, and the parts of it for the use of the whole? All other animals indeed are incapable of comprehending the administration of it; but the rational animal man has faculties for the consideration of all these things, and for understanding that it is a part, and what kind of a part it is, and that it is right for the parts to be subordinate to the whole. And besides this being naturally noble, magnanimous and free, man sees that of the things which surround him some are free from hindrance and in his power, and the other things are subject to hindrance and in the power of others; that the things which are free from hindrance are in the power of the will; and those which are subject to hindrance are the things which are not in the power of the will. And for this reason if he thinks that his good and his interest be in these things only which are free from hindrance and in his own power, he will be free, prosperous, happy, free from harm, magnanimous, pious, thankful to God for all things; in no matter finding fault with any of the things which have not been put in his power, nor blaming any of them. But if he thinks that his good and his interest are in externals and in things which are not in the power of his will, he must of necessity be hindered, be impeded, be a slave to those who

have the power over the things which he admires (desires) and fears; and he must of necessity be impious because he thinks that he is harmed by God, and he must be unjust because he always claims more than belongs to him; and he must of necessity be abject and mean.

What hinders a man, who has clearly separated (comprehended) these things, from living with a light heart and bearing easily the reins, quietly expecting every thing which can happen, and enduring that which has already happened? Would you have me to bear poverty? Come and you will know what poverty is when it has found one who can act well the part of a poor man. Would you have me to possess power? Let me have power, and also the trouble of it. Well, banishment? Wherever I shall go, there it will be well with me; for here also where I am, it was not because of the place that it was well with me, but because of my opinions which I shall carry off with me: for neither can any man deprive me of them; but my opinions alone are mine and they cannot be taken from me, and I am satisfied while I have them, wherever I may be and whatever I am doing. But now it is time to die. Why do you say to die? Make no tragedy show of the thing, but speak of it as it is: it is now time for the matter (of the body) to be resolved into the things out of which it was composed. And what is the formidable thing here? what is going to perish of the things which are in the universe? what new thing or wondrous is going to happen? Is it for this reason that a tyrant is formidable? Is it for this reason that the guards appear to have swords which are large and sharp? Say this to others; but I have considered about all these things; no man has power over me. I have been made free; I know his commands, no man can now lead me as a slave. I have a proper person to assert my freedom; I have proper judges. (I say) are you not the master of my body? What then is that to me? Are you not the master of my property? What then is that to me? Are you not the master of my exile or of my chains? Well, from all these things and all the poor body itself I depart at your bidding, when you please. Make trial of your power, and you will know how far it reaches.

Whom then can I still fear? Those who are over the bedchamber? Lest they should do, what? Shut me out? If they find that I wish to enter, let them shut me out. Why then do you go to the doors? Because I think it befits me, while the play (sport) lasts, to join in it. How then are you not shut out? Because unless some one allows me to go in, I do not choose to go in, but am always content with that which happens; for I think that what God chooses is better than what I choose. I will attach myself as a minister and follower to him; I have the same movements (pursuits) as he has, I have the same desires; in a word, I have the same will (συνέλω). There is no shutting out for me, but for those who would force their way in. Why then do not I force my way in? Because I know that nothing good is distributed within to those who enter. But when I hear any man called fortunate because he is honoured by Caesar, I say, what does he happen to get? A province (the government of a province). Does he also obtain an opinion such as he ought? The office of a Prefect. Does he

also obtain the power of using his office well? Why do I still strive to enter (Caesar's chamber)? A man scatters dried figs and nuts: the children seize them, and fight with one another; men do not, for they think them to be a small matter. But if a man should throw about shells, even the children do not seize them. Provinces are distributed: let children look to that. Money is distributed: let children look to that. Praetorships, consulships are distributed: let children scramble for them, let them be shut out, beaten, kiss the hands of the giver, of the slaves: but to me these are only dried figs and nuts. What then? If you fail to get them, while Caesar is scattering them about, do not be troubled: if a dried fig come into your lap, take it and eat it; for so far you may value even a fig. But if I shall stoop down and turn another over, or be turned over by another, and shall flatter those who have got into (Caesar's) chamber, neither is a dried fig worth the trouble, nor any thing else of the things which are not good, which the philosophers have persuaded me not to think good.

Show me the swords of the guards. See how big they are, and how sharp. What then do these big and sharp swords do? They kill. And what does a fever do? Nothing else. And what else a (falling) tile? Nothing else. Would you then have me to wonder at these things and worship them, and go about as the slave of all of them? I hope that this will not happen: but when I have once learned that every thing which has come into existence must also go out of it, that the universe may not stand still nor be impeded, I no longer consider it any difference whether a fever shall do it or a tile, or a soldier. But if a man must make a comparison between these things, I know that the soldier will do it with less trouble (to me), and quicker. When then I neither fear any thing which a tyrant can do to me, nor desire any thing which he can give, why do I still look on with wonder (admiration)? Why am I still confounded? Why do I fear the guards? Why am I pleased if he speaks to me in a friendly way, and receives me, and why do I tell others how he spoke to me? Is he a Socrates, is he a Diogenes that his praise should be a proof of what I am? Have I been eager to imitate his morals? But I keep up the play and go to him, and serve him so long as he does not bid me to do any thing foolish or unreasonable. But if he says to me, Go and bring Leon of Salamis, I say to him, Seek another, for I am no longer playing. (The tyrant says): Lead him away (to prison). I follow; that is part of the play. But your head will be taken off — Does the tyrant's head always remain where it is, and the heads of you who obey him? — But you will be cast out unburied? — If the corpse is I, I shall be cast out; but if I am different from the corpse, speak more properly according as the fact is, and do not think of frightening me. These things are formidable to children and fools. But if any man has once entered a philosopher's school and knows not what he is, he deserves to be full of fear and to flatter those whom afterwards he used to flatter; (and) if he has not yet learned that he is not flesh nor bones nor sinews (σάρκα), but he is that which makes use of these parts of the body and governs there and follows (understands) the appearances of things.

Yes, but this talk makes us despise the laws — And what kind of talk makes men more obedient to the laws who employ such talk? And the things which are in the power of a fool are not law. And yet see how this talk makes us disposed as we ought to be even to these men' (fools); since it teaches us to claim in opposition to them none of the things in which they are able to surpass us. This talk teaches us as to the body to give it up, as to property to give that up also, as to children, parents, brothers, to retire from these, to give up all; it only makes an exception of the opinions, which even Zeus has willed to be the select property of every man. What transgression of the laws is there here, what folly? Where you are superior and stronger, there I gave way to you: on the other hand, where I am superior, do you yield to me; for I have studied (cared for) this, and you have not. It is your study to live in houses with floors formed of various stones, how your slaves and dependents shall serve you, how you shall wear fine clothing, have many hunting men, lute players, and tragic actors. Do I claim any of these? have you made any study of opinions, and of your own rational faculty? Do you know of what parts it is composed, how they are brought together, how they are connected, what powers it has, and of what kind? Why then are you vexed, if another who has made it his study, has the advantage over you in these things? But these things are the greatest. And who hinders you from being employed about these things and looking after them? And who has a better stock of books, of leisure, of persons to aid you? Only turn your mind at last to these things, attend, if it be only a short time, to your own ruling faculty (ἡγεμονικόν): consider what this is that you possess, and whence it came, this which uses all other (faculties), and tries them, and selects and rejects. But so long as you employ yourself about externals you will possess them (externals) as no man else does; but you will have this (the ruling faculty) such as you choose to have it, sordid and neglected.

AGAINST THOSE WHO HASTILY RUSH INTO THE USE OF THE PHILOSOPHIC DRESS.

NEVER praise nor blame a man because of the things which are common (to all, or to most), and do not ascribe to him any skill or want of skill; and thus you will be free from rashness and from malevolence. This man bathes very quickly. Does he then do wrong? Certainly not. But what does he do? He bathes very quickly. Are all things then done well? By no means: but the acts which proceed from right opinions are done well; and those which proceed from bad opinions are done ill. But do you, until you know the opinion from which a man does each thing, neither praise nor blame the act. But the opinion is not easily discovered from the external things (acts). This man is a carpenter. Why? Because he uses an axe. What then is this to the matter? This man is a musician because he sings. And what does that signify? This man is a

philosopher. Because he wears a cloak and long hair. And what does a juggler wear? For this reason if a man sees any philosopher acting indecently, immediately he says, See what the philosopher is doing; but he ought because of the man's indecent behaviour rather to say that he is not a philosopher. For if this is the preconceived notion (πρόληψις) of a philosopher and what he professes, to wear a cloak and long hair, men would say well; but if what he professes is this rather, to keep himself free from faults, why do we not rather, because he does not make good his professions, take from him the name of philosopher? For so we do in the case of all other arts. When a man sees another handling an axe badly, he does not say, what is the use of the carpenter's art? See how badly carpenters do their work; but he says just the contrary, This man is not a carpenter, for he uses an axe badly. In the same way if a man hears another singing badly, he does not say, See how musicians sing; but rather, This man is not a musician. But it is in the matter of philosophy only that people do this. When they see a man acting contrary to the profession of a philosopher, they do not take away his title, but they assume him to be a philosopher, and from his acts deriving the fact that he is behaving indecently they conclude that there is no use in philosophy.

What then is the reason of this? Because we attach value to the notion (πρόληψιν) of a carpenter, and to that of a musician, and to the notion of other artisans in like manner, but not to that of a philosopher, and we judge from externals only that it is a thing confused and ill defined. And what other kind of art has a name from the dress and the hair; and has not both theorems and a material and an end? What then is the material (matter) of the philosopher? Is it a cloak? No, but reason. What is his end? is it to wear a cloak? No, but to possess the reason in a right state. Of what kind are his theorems? Are they those about the way in which the beard becomes great or the hair long? No, but rather what Zeno says, to know the elements of reason, what kind of a thing each of them is, and how they are fitted to one another, and what things are consequent upon them. Will you not then see first if he does what he professes when he acts in an unbecoming manner, and then blame his study (pursuit)? But now when you yourself are acting in a sober way, you say in consequence of what he seems to you to be doing wrong, Look at the philosopher, as if it were proper to call by the name of philosopher one who does these things; and further, This is the conduct of a philosopher. But you do not say, Look at the carpenter, when you know that a carpenter is an adulterer or you see him to be a glutton; nor do you say, See the musician. Thus to a certain degree even you perceive (understand) the profession of a philosopher, but you fall away from the notion, and you are confused through want of care.

But even the philosophers themselves as they are called pursue the thing (philosophy) by beginning with things which are common to them and others: as soon as they have assumed a cloak and grown a beard, they say, I am a philosopher. But no man will say, I am a musician, if he has bought a plectrum

(fiddlestick) and a lute: nor will he say, I am a smith, if he has put on a cap and apron. But the dress is fitted to the art; and they take their name from the art, and not from the dress. For this reason Euphrates used to say well, A long time I strove to be a philosopher without people knowing it; and this, he said, was useful to me: for first I knew that when I did any thing well, I did not do it for the sake of the spectators, but for the sake of myself: I ate well for the sake of myself; I had my countenance well composed and my walk: all for myself and for God. Then, as I struggled alone, so I alone also was in danger: in no respect through me, if I did anything base or unbecoming, was philosophy endangered; nor did I injure the many by doing any thing wrong as a philosopher. For this reason those who did not know my purpose used to wonder how it was that while I conversed and lived altogether with all philosophers, I was not a philosopher myself. And what was the harm for me to be known to be a philosopher by my acts and not by outward marks? See how I eat, how I drink, how I sleep, how I bear and forbear, how I co-operate, how I employ desire, how I employ aversion (turning from things), how I maintain the relations (to things) those which are natural or those which are acquired, how free from confusion, how free from hindrance. Judge of me from this, if you can. But if you are so deaf and blind that you cannot conceive even Hephaestus to be a good smith, unless you see the cap on his head, what is the harm in not being recognized by so foolish a judge?

So Socrates was not known to be a philosopher by most persons; and they used to come to him and ask to be introduced to philosophers. Was he vexed then as we are, and did he say, And do you not think that I am a philosopher? No, but he would take them and introduce them, being satisfied with one thing, with being a philosopher; and being pleased also with not being thought to be a philosopher, he was not annoyed: for he thought of his own occupation. What is the work of an honourable and good man? To have many pupils? By no means. They will look to this matter who are earnest about it. But was it his business to examine carefully difficult theorems? Others will look after these matters also, In what then was he, and who was he and whom did he wish to be? He was in that (employed in that) wherein there was hurt (damage) and advantage. If any man can damage me, he says, I am doing nothing: if I am waiting for another man to do me good, I am nothing. If I wish for any thing, and it does not happen, I am unfortunate. To such a contest he invited every man, and I do not think that he would have declined the contest with any one. What do you suppose? was it by proclaiming and saying, I am such a man? Far from it, but by being such a man. For further, this is the character of a fool and a boaster to say, I am free from passions and disturbance: do not be ignorant, my friends, that while you are uneasy and disturbed about things of no value, I alone am free from all perturbation. So is it not enough for you to feel no pain, unless you make this proclamation: Come together all who are suffering gout, pains in the head, fever, ye who are lame, blind, and observe that I am sound (free) from every ailment — This is

empty and disagreeable to hear, unless like Aesculapius you are able to show immediately by what kind of treatment they also shall be immediately free from disease, and unless you show your own health as an example.

For such is the Cynic who is honoured with the sceptre and the diadem by Zeus, and says, That you may see, O men, that you seek happiness and tranquillity not where it is, but where it is not, behold I am sent to you by God as an example, I who have neither property nor house, nor wife nor children, not even a bed, nor coat nor household utensil; and see how healthy I am: try me, and if you see that I am free from perturbations, hear the remedies and how I have been cured (treated). This is both philanthropic and noble. But see whose work it is, the work of Zeus, or of him whom he may judge worthy of this service, that he may never exhibit any thing to the many, by which he shall make of no effect his own testimony, — whereby he gives testimony to virtue, and bears evidence against external things:

His beauteous face pales not, nor from his cheeks He wipes a tear. —
Odyssey, xi. 528

And not this only, but he neither desires nor seeks any thing, nor man nor place nor amusement, as children seek the vintage or holidays; always fortified by modesty as others are fortified by walls and doors and doorkeepers.

But now (these men) being only moved to philosophy, as those who have a bad stomach are moved to some kinds of food which they soon loathe, straightway (rush) towards the sceptre and to the royal power. They let the hair grow, they assume the cloak, they show the shoulder bare, they quarrel with those whom they meet; and if they see a man in a thick winter coat, they quarrel with him. Man, first exercise yourself in winter weather: see your movements (inclinations) that they are not those of a man with a bad stomach or those of a longing woman. First strive that it be not known what you are: be a philosopher to yourself (or, philosophize to yourself) a short time. Fruit grows thus: the seed must be buried for some time, hid, grow slowly in order that it may come to perfection. But if it produces the ear before the jointed stem, it is imperfect, a produce of the garden of Adonis. Such a poor plant are you also: you have blossomed too soon; the cold weather will scorch you up. See what the husbandmen say about seeds when there is warm weather too early. They are afraid lest the seeds should be too luxuriant, and then a single frost should lay hold of them and show that they are too forward. Do you also consider, my man: you have shot out too soon, you have hurried towards a little fame before the proper season: you think that you are something, a fool among fools: you will be caught by the frost, and rather you have been frost-bitten in the root below, but your upper parts still blossom a little, and for this reason you think that you are still alive and flourishing. Allow us to ripen in the natural way: why do you bare (expose) us? why do you force us? we are not yet able to bear the air. Let the root grow, then acquire the first joint, then the second, and then the third: in this way then the fruit will naturally force

itself out, even if I do not choose. For who that is pregnant and filled with such great principles does not also perceive his own powers and move towards the corresponding acts? A bull is not ignorant of his own nature and his powers, when a wild beast shows itself, nor does he wait for one to urge him on; nor a dog when he sees a wild animal. But if I have the powers of a good man, shall I wait for you to prepare me for my own (proper) acts? At present I have them not, believe me. Why then do you wish me to be withered up before the time, as you have been withered up?

TO A PERSON WHO HAD BEEN CHANGED TO A CHARACTER OF SHAMELESSNESS.

WHEN you see another man in the possession of power (magistracy), set against this the fact that you have not the want (desire) of power; when you see another rich, see what you possess in place of riches: for if you possess nothing in place of them, you are miserable; but if you have not the want of riches, know that you possess more than this man possesses and what is worth much more. Another man possesses a handsome woman (wife): you have the satisfaction of not desiring a handsome wife. Do these things appear to you to be small? And how much would these persons give, these very men who are rich, and in possession of power, and live with handsome women, to be able to despise riches, and power and these very women whom they love and enjoy? Do you not know then what is the thirst of a man who has a fever? He possesses that which is in no degree like the thirst of a man who is in health: for the man who is in health ceases to be thirsty after he has drunk; but the sick man being pleased for a short time has a nausea, he converts the drink into bile, vomits, is griped, and more thirsty. It is such a thing to have desire of riches and to possess riches, desire of power and to possess power, desire of a beautiful woman and to sleep with her: to this is added jealousy, fear of being deprived of the thing which you love, indecent words, indecent thoughts, unseemly acts.

And what do I lose? you will say. My man, you were modest, and you are so no longer. Have you lost nothing? In place of Chrysippus and Zeno you read Aristides and Evenus; have you lost nothing? In place of Socrates and Diogenes, you admire him who is able to corrupt and seduce most women. You wish to appear handsome and try to make yourself so, though you are not. You like to display splendid clothes that you may attract women; and if you find any fine oil (for the hair), you imagine that you are happy. But formerly you did not think of any such thing, but only where there should be decent talk, a worthy man, and a generous conception. Therefore you slept like a man, walked forth like a man, wore a manly dress, and used to talk in a way becoming a good man; then do you say to me, I have lost nothing? So do men lose nothing more than coin? Is not modesty lost? Is not decent behaviour lost? is it that he who has lost these things has sustained no loss? Perhaps you

think that not one of these things is a loss. But there was a time when you reckoned this the only loss and damage, and you were anxious that no man should disturb you from these (good) words and actions.

Observe, you are disturbed from these good words and actions by nobody, but by yourself. Fight with yourself, restore yourself to decency, to modesty, to liberty. If any man ever told you this about me, that a person forces me to be an adulterer, to wear such a dress as yours, to perfume myself with oils, would you not have gone and with your own hand have killed the man who thus calumniated me? Now will you not help yourself? and how much easier is this help? There is no need to kill any man, nor to put him in chains, nor to treat him with contumely nor to enter the Forum (go to the courts of law), but it is only necessary for you to speak to yourself who will be most easily persuaded, with whom no man has more power of persuasion than yourself. First of all, condemn what you are doing, and then when you have condemned it, do not despair of yourself, and be not in the condition of those men of mean spirit, who, when they have once given in, surrender themselves completely and are carried away as if by a torrent. But see what the trainers of boys do. Has the boy fallen? Rise, they say, wrestle again till you are made strong. Do you also do something of the same kind: for be well assured that nothing is more tractable than the human soul. You must exercise the Will, and the thing is done, it is set right: as on the other hand, only fall a nodding (be careless), and the thing is lost: for from within comes ruin and from within comes help. Then (you say) what good do I gain? And what greater good do you seek than this? From a shameless man you will become a modest man, from a disorderly you will become an orderly man, from a faithless you will become a faithful man, from a man of unbridled habits a sober man. If you seek any thing more than this, go on doing what you are doing: not even a God can now help you.

WHAT THINGS WE OUGHT TO DESPISE, AND WHAT THINGS WE OUGHT TO VALUE.

THE difficulties of all men are about external things, their helplessness is about externals. What shall I do, how will it be, how will it turn out, will this happen, will that? All these are the words of those who are turning themselves to things which are not within the power of the will. For who says, How shall I not assent to that which is false? how shall I not turn away from the truth? If a man be of such a good disposition as to be anxious about these things, I will remind him of this, Why are you anxious? The thing is in your own power: be assured: do not be precipitate in assenting before you apply the natural rule. On the other side, if a man is anxious (uneasy) about desire, lest it fail in its purpose and miss its end, and with respect to the avoidance of things, lest he should fall into that which he would avoid, I will first kiss (love) him, because he throws away the things about which others are in a flutter (others desire) and their fears, and employs his thoughts about his own affairs and his own

condition. Then I shall say to him, if you do not choose to desire that which you will fail to obtain nor to attempt to avoid that into which you will fall, desire nothing which belongs to (which is in the power of) others, nor try to avoid any of the things which are not in your power. If you do not observe this rule, you must of necessity fail in your desires and fall into that which you would avoid. What is the difficulty here? where is there room for the words, How will it be? and How will it turn out? and will this happen or that?

Now is not that which will happen independent of the will? Yes. And the nature of good and of evil is it not in the things which are within the power of the will? Yes. Is it in your power then to treat according to nature every thing which happens? Can any person hinder you? No man. No longer then say to me, How will it be? For however it may be, you will dispose of it well, and the result to you will be a fortunate one. What would Hercules have been if he said, How shall a great lion not appear to me, or a great boar, or savage men? And what do you care for that? If a great boar appear, you will fight a greater fight: if bad men appear, you will relieve the earth of the bad. Suppose then that I lose my life in this way. You will die a good man, doing a noble act. For since we must certainly die, of necessity a man must be found doing something, either following the employment of a husbandman, or digging, or trading, or serving in a consulship or suffering from indigestion or from diarrhoea. What then do you wish to be doing when you are found by death? I for my part would wish to be found doing something which belongs to a man, beneficent, suitable to the general interest, noble. But if I cannot be found doing things so great, I would be found doing at least that which I cannot be hindered from doing, that which is permitted me to do, correcting myself, cultivating the faculty which makes use of appearances, labouring at freedom from the affects (labouring at tranquillity of mind), rendering to the relations of life their due; if I succeed so far, also (I would be found) touching on (advancing to) the third topic (or head) safety in the forming judgments about things. If death surprises me when I am busy about these things, it is enough for me if I can stretch out my hands to God and say: The means which I have received from thee for seeing thy administration (of the world) and following it, I have not neglected: I have not dishonoured thee by my acts: see how I have used my perceptions, see how I have used my preconceptions: have I ever blamed thee? have I been discontented with any thing that happens, or wished it to be otherwise? have I wished to transgress the (established) relations (of things)? That thou hast given me life, I thank thee for what thou hast given: so long as I have used the things which are thine I am content; take them back and place them wherever thou mayest choose; for thine were all things, thou gavest them to me — Is it not enough to depart in this state of mind, and what life is better and more becoming than that of a man who is in this state of mind? and what end is more happy?

But that this may be done (that such a declaration may be made), a man must receive (bear) no small things, nor are the things small which he must

lose (go without). You cannot both wish to be a consul and to have these things (the power of making such a dying speech), and to be eager to have lands, and these things also; and to be solicitous about slaves and about yourself. But if you wish for any thing which belongs to another, that which is your own is lost. This is the nature of the thing: nothing is given or had for nothing. And where is the wonder? If you wish to be a consul, you must keep awake, run about, kiss hands, waste yourself with exhaustion at other men's doors, say and do many things unworthy of a free man, send gifts to many, daily presents to some. And what is the thing that is got? Twelve bundles of rods (the consular fasces), to sit three or four times on the tribunal, to exhibit the games in the Circus and to give suppers in small baskets. Or, if you do not agree about this, let some one show me what there is besides these things. In order then to secure freedom from passions (ἀπαφείας), tranquillity, to sleep well when you do sleep, to be really awake when you are awake, to fear nothing, to be anxious about nothing, will you spend nothing and give no labour? But if any thing belonging to you be lost while you are thus busied, or be wasted badly, or another obtains what you ought to have obtained, will you immediately be vexed at what has happened? Will you not take into the account on the other side what you receive and for what, how much for how much? Do you expect to have for nothing things so great? And how can you? One work (thing) has no community with another. You cannot have both external things after bestowing care on them and your own ruling faculty: but if you would have those, give up this. If you do not, you will have neither this nor that, while you are drawn in different ways to both. The oil will be spilled, the household vessels will perish: (that may be), but I shall be free from passions (tranquil). — There will be a fire when I am not present, and the books will be destroyed: but I shall treat appearances according to nature — Well; but I shall have nothing to eat. If I am so unlucky, death is a harbour; and death is the harbour for all; this is the place of refuge; and for this reason not one of the things in life is difficult: as soon as you choose, you are out of the house, and are smoked no more. Why then are you anxious, why do you lose your sleep, why do you not straightway, after considering wherein your good is and your evil, say, Both of them are in my power? Neither can any man deprive me of the good, nor involve me in the bad against my will. Why do I not throw myself down and snore? for all that I have is safe. As to the things which belong to others, he will look to them who gets them, as they may be given by him who has the power. Who am I who wish to have them in this way or in that? is a power of selecting them given to me? has any person made me the dispenser of them? Those things are enough for me over which I have power: I ought to manage them as well as I can: and all the rest, as the master of them (God) may choose.

When a man has these things before his eyes, does he keep awake and turn hither and thither? What would he have, or what does he regret, Patroclus or Antilochus or Menelaus? For when did he suppose that any of his friends was

immortal, and when had he not before his eyes that on the morrow or the day after he or his friend must die? Yes, he says, but I thought that he would survive me and bring up my son. — You were a fool for that reason, and you were thinking of what was uncertain. Why then do you not blame yourself, and sit crying like girls? — But he used to set my food before me. — Because he was alive, you fool, but now he cannot: but Automedon will set it before you, and if Automedon also dies, you will find another. But if the pot, in which your meat was cooked, should be broken, must you die of hunger, because you have not the pot which you are accustomed to? Do you not send and buy a new pot He says:

No greater ill than this could fall on me. (*Iliad* xix. 321.)

Why is this your ill? Do you then instead of removing it blame your mother (Thetis) for not foretelling it to you that you might continue grieving from that time? What do you think? do you not suppose that Homer wrote this that we may learn that those of noblest birth, the strongest and the richest, the most handsome, when they have not the opinions which they ought to have, are not prevented from being most wretched and unfortunate?

ABOUT PURITY (CLEANLINESS).

SOME persons raise a question whether the social feeling is contained in the nature of man; and yet I think that these same persons would have no doubt that love of purity is certainly contained in it, and that if man is distinguished from other animals by any thing, he is distinguished by this. When then we see any other animal cleaning itself, we are accustomed to speak of the act with surprise, and to add that the animal is acting like a man: and on the other hand, if a man blames an animal for being dirty, straightway as if we were making an excuse for it, we say that of course the animal is not a human creature. So we suppose that there is something superior in man, and that we first receive it from the Gods. For since the Gods by their nature are pure and free from corruption, so far as men approach them by reason, so far do they cling to purity and to a love (habit) of purity. But since it is impossible that man's nature (οὐσία) can be altogether pure being mixed (composed) of such materials, reason is applied, as far as it is possible, and reason endeavours to make human nature love purity.

The first then and highest purity is that which is in the soul; and we say the same of impurity. Now you could not discover the impurity of the soul as you could discover that of the body: but as to the soul, what else could you find in it than that which makes it filthy in respect to the acts which are her own? Now the acts of the soul are movement towards an object or movement from it, desire, aversion, preparation, design (purpose), assent. What then is it which in these acts makes the soul filthy and impure? Nothing else than her own bad judgments (κρίματα). Consequently the impurity of the soul is the soul's bad opinions; and the purification of the soul is the planting in it of

proper opinions; and the soul is pure which has proper opinions, for the soul alone in her own acts is free from perturbation and pollution.

Now we ought to work at something like this in the body also, as far as we can. It was impossible for the defluxions of the nose not to run when man has such a mixture in his body. For this reason nature has made hands and the nostrils themselves as channels for carrying off the humours. If then a man sucks up the defluxions, I say that he is not doing the act of a man. It was impossible for a man's feet not to be made muddy and not be soiled at all when he passes through dirty places. For this reason nature (God) has made water and hands. It was impossible that some impurity should not remain in the teeth from eating; for this reason, she says, wash the teeth. Why? In order that you may be a man and not a wild beast or a hog. It was impossible that from the sweat and the pressing of the clothes there should not remain some impurity about the body which requires to be cleaned away. For this reason water, oil, hands, towels, scrapers (strigils), nitre, sometimes all other kinds of means are necessary for cleaning the body. You do not act so: but the smith will take off the rust from the iron (instruments), and he will have tools prepared for this purpose, and you yourself wash the platter when you are going to eat, if you are not completely impure and dirty: but will you not wash the body nor make it clean? Why? he replies. I will tell you again; in the first place, that you may do the acts of a man; then, that you may not be disagreeable to those with whom you associate. You do something of this kind even in this matter, and you do not perceive it: you think that you deserve to stink. Let it be so: deserve to stink. Do you think that also those who sit by you, those who recline at table with you, that those who kiss you deserve the same? Either go into a desert, where you deserve to go, or live by yourself, and smell yourself. For it is just that you alone should enjoy your own impurity. But when you are in a city, to behave so inconsiderately and foolishly, to what character do you think that it belongs? If nature had entrusted to you a horse, would you have overlooked and neglected him? And now think that you have been entrusted with your own body as with a horse; wash it, wipe it, take care that no man turns away from it, that no one gets out of the way for it. But who does not get out of the way of a dirty man, of a stinking man, of a man whose skin is foul, more than he does out of the way of a man who is daubed with muck? That smell is from without, it is put upon him; but the other smell is from want of care, from within, and in a manner from a body in putrefaction.

But Socrates washed himself seldom — Yes, but his body was clean and fair: and it was so agreeable and sweet that the most beautiful and the most noble loved him, and desired to sit by him rather than by the side of those who had the handsomest forms. It was in his power neither to use the bath nor to wash himself, if he chose; and yet the rare use of water had an effect. [If you do not choose to wash with warm water, wash with cold.] But Aristophanes says

Those who are pale, unshod, 'tis those I mean. (Nubes v. 102.)

For Aristophanes says of Socrates that he also walked the air and stole clothes from the palaestra. But all who have written about Socrates bear exactly the contrary evidence in his favour; they say that he was pleasant not only to hear, but also to see. On the other hand they write the same about Diogenes. For we ought not even by the appearance of the body to deter the multitude from philosophy; but as in other things, a philosopher should show himself cheerful and tranquil, so also he should in the things that relate to the body: See, ye men, that I have nothing, that I want nothing: see how I am without a house, and without a city, and an exile, if it happens to be so, and without a hearth I live more free from trouble and more happily than all of noble birth and than the rich. But look at my poor body also and observe that it is not injured by my hard way of living — But if a man says this to me, who has the appearance (dress) and face of a condemned man, what God shall persuade me to approach philosophy, if it makes men such persons? Far from it; I would not choose to do so, even if I were going to become a wise man. I indeed would rather that a young man, who is making his first movements towards philosophy, should come to me with his hair carefully trimmed than with it dirty and rough, for there is seen in him a certain notion (appearance) of beauty and a desire of (attempt at) that which is becoming; and where he supposes it to be, there also he strives that it shall be. It is only necessary to show him (what it is), and to say: Young man, you seek beauty, and you do well: you must know then that it (is produced) grows in that part of you where you have the rational faculty: seek it there where you have the movements towards and the movements from things, where you have the desires towards, and the aversion from things: for this is what you have in yourself of a superior kind; but the poor body is naturally only earth: why do you labour about it to no purpose? if you shall learn nothing else, you will learn from time that the body is nothing. But if a man comes to me daubed with filth, dirty, with a moustache down to his knees, what can I say to him, by what kind of resemblance can I lead him on? For about what has he busied himself which resembles beauty, that I may be able to change him and say, Beauty is not in this, but in that? Would you have me to tell him, that beauty consists not in being daubed with muck, but that it lies in the rational part? Has he any desire of beauty? has he any form of it in his mind? Go and talk to a hog, and tell him not to roll in the mud.

For this reason the words of Xenocrates touched Polemon also, since he was a lover of beauty, for he entered (the room) having in him certain incitements (ἐναύσματα) to love of beauty, but he looked for it in the wrong place. For nature has not made even the animals dirty which live with man. Does a horse ever wallow in the mud, or a well bred dog? But the hog, and the dirty geese, and worms and spiders do, which are banished furthest from human intercourse. Do you then being a man choose to be not as one of the animals which live with man, but rather a worm, or a spider? Will you not

wash yourself somewhere some time in such manner as you choose? Will you not wash off the dirt from your body? Will you not come clean that those with whom you keep company may have pleasure in being with you? But do you go with us even into the temples in such a state, where it is not permitted to spit or blow the nose, being a heap of spittle and of snot?

What then? does any man (that is, do I) require you to ornament yourself? Far from it; except to ornament that which we really are by nature, the rational faculty, the opinions, the actions; but as to the body only so far as purity, only so far as not to give offence. But if you are told that you ought not to wear garments dyed with purple, go and daub your cloak with muck or tear it. But how shall I have a neat cloak? Man, you have water; wash it. Here is a youth worthy of being loved, here is an old man worthy of loving and being loved in return, a fit person for a man to intrust to him a son's instruction, to whom daughters and young men shall come, if opportunity shall so happen, that the teacher shall deliver his lessons to them on a dunghill. Let this not be so: every deviation comes from something which is in man's nature; but this (deviation) is near being something not in man's nature.

ON ATTENTION

WHEN you have remitted your attention for a short time, do not imagine this, that you will recover it when you choose; but let this thought be present to you, that in consequence of the fault committed to-day your affairs must be in a worse condition for all that follows. For first, and what causes most trouble, a habit of not attending is formed in you; then a habit of deferring your attention. And continually from time to time you drive away by deferring it the happiness of life, proper behaviour, the being and living conformably to nature. If then the procrastination of attention is profitable, the complete omission of attention is more profitable; but if it is not profitable, why do you not maintain your attention constant? — To-day I choose to play — Well then, ought you not to play with attention? — I choose to sing — What then hinders you from doing so with attention? Is there any part of life excepted, to which attention does not extend? For will you do it (any thing in life) worse by using attention, and better by not attending at all? And what else of the things in life is done better by those who do not use attention? Does he who works in wood work better by not attending to it? Does the captain of a ship manage it better by not attending? and is any of the smaller acts done better by inattention? Do you not see that when you have let your mind loose, it is no longer in your power to recall it, either to propriety, or to modesty, or to moderation: but you do every thing that comes into your mind in obedience to your inclinations.

To what things then ought I to attend? First to those general (principles) and to have them in readiness, and without them not to sleep, not to rise, not to drink, not to eat, not to converse (associate) with men; that no man is master of another man's will, but that in the will alone is the good and the bad.

No man then has the power either to procure for me any good or to involve me in any evil, but I alone myself over myself have power in these things. When then these things are secured to me, why need I be disturbed about external things? What tyrant is formidable, what disease, what poverty, what offence (from any man)? Well, I have not pleased a certain person. Is he then (the pleasing of him) my work, my judgment? No. Why then should I trouble myself about him? — But he is supposed to be some one (of importance) — He will look to that himself; and those who think so will also. But I have one whom I ought to please, to whom I ought to subject myself, whom I ought to obey, God and those who are next to him. He has placed me with myself, and has put my will in obedience to myself alone, and has given me rules for the right use of it; and when I follow these rules in syllogisms, I do not care for any man who says any thing else (different): in sophistical argument, I care for no man. Why then in greater matters do those annoy me who blame me? What is the cause of this perturbation? Nothing else than because in this matter (topic) I am not disciplined. For all knowledge (science) despises ignorance and the ignorant; and not only the sciences, but even the arts. Produce any shoemaker that you please, and he ridicules the many in respect to his own work (business). Produce any carpenter.

First then we ought to have these (rules) in readiness, and to do nothing without them, and we ought to keep the soul directed to this mark, to pursue nothing external, and nothing which belongs to others (or is in the power of others), but to do as he has appointed who has the power; we ought to pursue altogether the things which are in the power of the will, and all other things as it is permitted. Next to this we ought to remember who we are, and what is our name, and to endeavour to direct our duties towards the character (nature) of our several relations (in life) in this manner: what is the season for singing, what is the season for play, and in whose presence; what will be the consequence of the act; whether our associates will despise us, whether we shall despise them; when to jeer (σκῶψαι), and whom to ridicule; and on what occasion to comply and with whom; and finally, in complying how to maintain our own character. But wherever you have deviated from any of these rules, there is damage immediately, not from any thing external, but from the action itself.

What then? is it possible to be free from faults, (if you do all this)? It is not possible; but this is possible, to direct your efforts incessantly to being faultless. For we must be content if by never remitting this attention we shall escape at least a few errors. But now when you have said, To-morrow I will begin to attend, you must be told that you are saying this, To-day I will be shameless, disregardful of time and place, mean; it will be in the power of others to give me pain; to-day I will be passionate, and envious. See how many evil things you are permitting yourself to do. If it is good to use attention to-morrow, how much better is it to do so to-day? if to-morrow it is in your interest to attend, much more is it to-day, that you may be able to do

so to-morrow also, and may not defer it again to the third day.

AGAINST OR TO THOSE WHO READILY TELL THEIR OWN AFFAIRS.

WHEN a man has seemed to us to have talked with simplicity candour) about his own affairs, how is it that at last we are ourselves also induced to discover to him our own secrets and we think this to be candid behaviour? In the first place because it seems unfair for a man to have listened to the affairs of his neighbour, and not to communicate to him also in turn our own affairs: next, because we think that we shall not present to them the appearance of candid men when we are silent about our own affairs. Indeed men are often accustomed to say, I have told you all my affairs, will you tell me nothing of your own? where is this done? — Besides, we have also this opinion that we can safely trust him who has already told us his own affairs; for the notion rises in our mind that this man could never divulge our affairs because he would be cautious that we also should not divulge his. In this way also the incautious are caught by the soldiers at Rome. A soldier sits by you in a common dress and begins to speak ill of Caesar; then you, as if you had received a pledge of his fidelity by his having begun the abuse, utter yourself also what you think, and then you are carried off in chains.

Something of this kind happens to us also generally. Now as this man has confidently intrusted his affairs to me, shall I also do so to any man whom I meet? (No), for when I have heard, I keep silence, if I am of such a disposition; but he goes forth and tells all men what he has heard. Then if I hear what has been done, if I be a man like him, I resolve to be revenged, I divulge what he has told me; I both disturb others and am disturbed myself. But if I remember that one man does not injure another, and that every man's acts injure and profit him, I secure this, that I do not any thing like him, but still I suffer what I do suffer through my own silly talk.

True: but it is unfair when you have heard the secrets of your neighbour for you in your turn to communicate nothing to him. — Did I ask you for your secrets, my man? did you communicate your affairs on certain terms, that you should in return hear mine also? If you are a babbler and think that all who meet you are friends, do you wish me also to be like you? But why, if you did well in intrusting your affairs to me, and it is not well for me to intrust mine to you, do you wish me to be so rash? It is just the same as if I had a cask which is water-tight, and you one with a hole in it, and you should come and deposit with me your wine that I might put it into my cask, and then should complain that I also did not intrust my wine to you, for you have a cask with a hole in it. How then is there any equality here? You intrusted your affairs to a man who is faithful, and modest, to a man who thinks that his own actions alone are injurious and (or) useful, and that nothing external is. Would you have me intrust mine to you, a man who has dishonoured his own faculty of will, and

who wishes to gain some small bit of money or some office or promotion in the court (emperor's palace), even if you should be going to murder your own children, like Medea? Where (in what) is this equality (fairness)? But show yourself to me to be faithful, modest, and steady: show me that you have friendly opinions; show that your cask has no hole in it; and you will see how I shall not wait for you to trust me with your affairs, but I myself shall come to you and ask you to hear mine. For who does not choose to make use of a good vessel? Who does not value a benevolent and faithful adviser? who will not willingly receive a man who is ready to bear a share, as we may say, of the difficulty of his circumstances, and by this very act to ease the burden, by taking a part of it.

True: but I trust you; you do not trust me. — In the first place, not even do you trust me, but you are a babbler, and for this reason you cannot hold any thing; for indeed, if it is true that you trust me, trust your affairs to me only; but now whenever you see a man at leisure, you seat yourself by him and say: Brother, I have no friend more benevolent than you nor dearer; I request you to listen to my affairs. And you do this even to those who are not known to you at all. But if you really trust me, it is plain that you trust me because I am faithful and modest, not because I have told my affairs to you. Allow me then to have the same opinion about you. Show me that if one man tells his affairs to another, he who tells them is faithful and modest. For if this were so, I would go about and tell my affairs to every man, if that would make me faithful and modest. But the thing is not so, and it requires no common opinions (principles). If then you see a man who is busy about things not dependent on his will and subjecting his will to them, you must know that this man has ten thousand persons to compel and hinder him. He has no need of pitch or the wheel to compel him to declare what he knows: but a little girl's nod, if it should so happen, will move him, the blandishment of one who belongs to Caesar's court, desire of a magistracy or of an inheritance, and things without end of that sort. You must remember then among general principles that secret discourses (discourses about secret matters) require fidelity and corresponding opinions. But where can we now find these easily? Or if you cannot answer that question, let some one point out to me a man who can say: I care only about the things which are my own, the things which are not subject to hindrance, the things which are by nature free. This I hold to be the nature of the good: but let all other things be as they are allowed; I do not concern myself.

ENCEHIRIDION



Translated by Thomas Wentworth Higginson

The *Encheiridion* is a handbook that briefly outlines the chief doctrines of Epictetus' *Diatribes*, acting as a manual of Stoic ethical advice. Although the content is similar to the *Diatribes*, the *Encheiridion* is not a summary of the larger work, but a compilation of practical precepts. The work avoids metaphysics and focuses attention on applying philosophy in daily life. The primary theme is how we should accept what happens in life.

For many centuries, the *Enchiridion* maintained its authority both with Christians and pagans. Two Christian writers, Nilus and an anonymous contemporary, wrote paraphrases of the work in the early fifth century and Simplicius of Cilicia wrote a commentary in the sixth. The work was first published in Latin translation by Poliziano in Rome in 1493.

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INTRODUCTION

The little book by Epictetus called *Enchiridion* or “manual” has played a disproportionately large role in the rise of modern attitudes and modern philosophy. As soon as it had been translated into the vernacular languages, it became a bestseller among independent intellectuals, among anti-Christian thinkers, and among philosophers of a subjective cast. Montaigne had a copy of the *Enchiridion* among his books. Pascal violently rejected the megalomaniac pride of the Stoic philosopher. Frederick the Great carried the book with him on all campaigns. It was a source of inspiration and encouragement to Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, in the serious illness which ended only in his death; many pages of his diaries contain passages copied from the *Enchiridion*. It has been studied and widely quoted by Scottish philosophers like Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, and Adam Ferguson who valued Stoic moral philosophy for its reconciliation of social dependency and personal independence.

That there was a rebirth of Stoicism in the centuries of rebirth which marked the emergence of the modern age was not mere chance. Philosophical, moral, and social conditions of the time united to cause it. Roman Stoicism had been developed in times of despotism as a philosophy of lonely and courageous souls who had recognized the redeeming power of philosophical reason in all the moral and social purposes of life. Philosophy as a way of life makes men free. It is the last ditch stand of liberty in a world of servitude. Many elements in the new age led to thought which had structural affinity with Roman Stoicism. Modern times had created the independent thinker, the free intellectual in a secular civilization. Modern times had destroyed medieval liberties and had established the new despotism of the absolute state supported by ecclesiastical authority. Modern philosophies continued the basic trend in Stoicism in making the subjective consciousness the foundation of philosophy. The Stoic emphasis on moral problems was also appealing in an era of rapid transition when all the values which had previously been taken for granted were questioned and reconsidered.

While it is interesting to observe how varied were the effects produced by this small volume, this epitome of the Stoic system of moral philosophy, these effects seem still more remarkable when we consider that it was not intended to be a philosophical treatise on Stoicism for students. It was, rather, to be a guide for the advanced student of Stoicism to show him the best roads toward the goal of becoming a true philosopher. Thus Epictetus and his *Enchiridion* have a unique position in Roman Stoicism. Seneca and Marcus Aurelius had selected Stoic philosophy as the most adequate system for expressing their existential problems of independence, solitude, and history. In this enterprise, Seneca made tremendous strides toward the insights of social psychology as a by-product of his consciousness of decadence (in this he was close to

Nietzsche), but he was not primarily concerned with the unity of the Stoic system. Marcus Aurelius changed the philosophical doctrine into the regimen of the lonesome ruler. In contrast to both, Epictetus was teaching Stoic philosophy as a doctrine and as a way of life. The *Enchiridion* is a summary of theoretical and applied Stoicism.

Epictetus was the son of a woman slave, born between 50 and 60 A.D. at Hieropolis in Phrygia. We do not know how he came to Rome. He was there as slave to one of Nero's distinguished freedmen who served as the Emperor's secretary. While still in service, Epictetus took courses with Musonius Rufus, the fashionable Stoic philosopher, who was impressed by the sincere and dynamic personality of the young slave and trained him to be a Stoic philosopher. Epictetus became a free man and began teaching philosophy on street corners, in the market, but he was not successful. During the rule of Domitian, Epictetus with many other philosophers was exiled from Rome, probably between 89 and 92 A.D. He went to Nicopolis, across Actium in Epirus, where he conducted his own school. He was so well regarded and highly esteemed that he established the reputation of the place as the town of Epictetus' school. Students came from Athens and Rome to attend his classes. Private citizens came to ask his advice and guidance. Some of his students returned to their homes to enter the traditional careers to which they were socially obligated. Others assumed the philosophic way of life in order to escape into the sphere of Stoic freedom.

Among the students was a young Roman, Flavius Arrian, who took courses at Nicopolis when Epictetus was already old. Flavius, who was born in 108 A.D., was one of the intimates of Hadrian, who made him consul in 130 A.D. He probably studied with Epictetus between the years 123 and 126 A.D. The informal philosophical talks which Epictetus had with his students fascinated him. Needless to say there were also systematic courses in the fields of philosophy. But it was the informal discourses which convinced Arrian that he had finally discovered a Stoic Socrates or a Stoic Diogenes, who was not merely teaching a doctrine, but also living the truth. Arrian recorded many of the discourses and informal conversations of Epictetus with his intimate students. He took them down in shorthand in order not to lose the ineffable liveliness, grace, and wit of the beloved teacher. Arrian retired into private life after the death of Hadrian in 138 A.D. and dedicated himself to his literary work. He published his notes on Epictetus' teaching under the title: *Discourses in Four Books*. The *Enchiridion*, which was also arranged by Arrian, is a brief summary of the basic ideas of Stoic philosophy and an introduction to the techniques required to transform Stoic philosophy into a way of life.

Thus we do not have any original writings of Epictetus. Like G. H. Mead in recent times, he was completely dedicated to the human and intellectual problems of his students. He left it for them to preserve what they considered to be the lasting message of the teacher. In contrast to Seneca and Marcus

Aurelius, Epictetus had no subjective approach to the Stoic doctrines. Moral philosophy was the center of his teaching, and epistemology was only instrumental. It is even permissible to say that he took physics or cosmology too lightly. If this is granted, we must admit that he is completely absorbed by the fundamentals of Stoic thought as presented in the *Enchiridion*. Epictetus' personality is totally integrated in the act of reasoning which establishes conformity with nature.

A remarkable difference between the *Discourses* and the *Enchiridion* should be mentioned. The *Discourses* are a living image of the teacher in action; they present the process of philosophizing, not the finished product. They show the enthusiastic and sober, the realistic and pathetic moralist in constantly changing perspectives determined by the changing students with their various concerns, problems, and questions; his teachings, his formulations, have direct reference to the various life situations in which the students should apply and practice the master's Stoic teaching. No human situation is omitted; as a guide to conduct, philosophy has relevance for all. Whether the students have to attend a dinner party, whether they are among competitors in a stadium or in a swimming pool, whether they have to present themselves at court or in an office, whether they are in the company of their mothers and sisters or of girl friends, in all human situations the philosopher knows the correct advice for the philosophical apprentice. Thus, in the *Discourses*, Arrian presents the unique individuality of the philosopher and of his applied moral method in living contact with various students in concrete situations. Epictetus as teacher anticipates very modern educational methods in his regard for the structure of situations and the changing perspectives in human relationships.

Nothing like this is revealed in the *Enchiridion*. Gone is the Stoic philosopher as living spirit. What remains is the living spirit of Stoicism. The *Enchiridion* is a manual for the combat officer. This analogy should be taken seriously. The Roman Stoics coined the formula: *Vivere militare!* (Life is being a soldier.) The student of philosophy is a private, the advancing Stoic is a non-commissioned officer, and the philosopher is the combat officer. For this reason all Roman Stoics apply metaphors and images derived from military life. Apprentice students of Stoicism are described as messengers, as scouts of God, as representatives of divine nature. The advancing student who is close to the goal of being a philosopher has the rank of an officer. He is already able to establish inner freedom and independence. He understands the basic Stoic truth of subjective consciousness, which is to distinguish what is in our power from what is not in our power. Not in our power are all the elements which constitute our environment, such as wealth, health, reputation, social prestige, power, the lives of those we love, and death. In our power are our thinking, our intentions, our desires, our decisions. These make it possible for us to control ourselves and to make of ourselves elements and parts of the universe of nature. This knowledge of ourselves makes us free in a world of

dependencies. This superiority of our powers enables us to live in conformity with nature. The rational philosophy of control of Self and of adjustment to the Whole implies an asceticism of the emotional and the sensitive life. The philosopher must examine and control his passions, his love, his tenderness at all times in order always to be ready for the inevitable moment of farewell. The Stoics practiced a Jesuitism *avant la lettre*. They were able to live in the world as if they did not live in it. To the Stoic, life is a military camp, a play on the stage, a banquet to which we are invited. The *Enchiridion* briefly indicated the techniques which the philosopher should apply in acting well the diverse roles which God might assign to those whom he loves, the Stoic philosophers. From the rules of social conduct to the recommendations of sexual asceticism before marriage, and the method of true thinking, the advanced Stoic will find all principles of perfection and all precepts for realizing philosophical principles in his conduct in this tiny volume.

Thus the *Enchiridion* was liberating for all intellectuals who learned from it that there are philosophical ways of self-redemption. From its time, the secular thinker could feel jubilant because he was not in need of a divine grace. Epictetus had taught him that philosophical reason could make him free and that he was capable of redeeming himself by sound reasoning.

In the Stoic distinctions of personality and world, of I and mine, of subjective consciousness and the world of objects, of freedom and dependence, we find implicit the basic elements of modern philosophies of rationalism and of objective idealism or pantheism. For this reason there is a continuous renaissance of Stoicism from Descartes, Grotius, and Bishop Butler, to Montesquieu, Adam Smith, and Kant. In this long development in modern times, the tiny *Enchiridion* of Epictetus played a remarkable part.

The translations of Epictetus and of all other Stoics had the widest effect on philosophers, theologians, and lay thinkers. They were studied by the clergy of the various Christian denominations, by the scientists who were striving for a natural religion, and by the independent philosophers who were eager to separate philosophy from religion. There were many outstanding bishops in the Catholic and Anglican Churches who were eager to transform the traditions of Roman Stoicism into Christian Stoicism. Among the Calvinistic denominations were many thinkers who were in sympathy with Stoic moral principles because of their praise of the austerity of life and of the control of passions. Likewise the adherents of natural religion were propagating Stoicism as the ideal pattern of universally valid and intelligible religion. Renascent Stoicism had three functions in the rise of the modern world. First, it reconciled Christian traditions to modern rationalistic philosophies; secondly, it established an ideal pattern of natural religion; and, thirdly, it opened the way for the autonomy of morals.

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The New School

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THE ENCHIRIDION

I

There are things which are within our power, and there are things which are beyond our power. Within our power are opinion, aim, desire, aversion, and, in one word, whatever affairs are our own. Beyond our power are body, property, reputation, office, and, in one word, whatever are not properly our own affairs.

Now the things within our power are by nature free, unrestricted, unhindered; but those beyond our power are weak, dependent, restricted, alien. Remember, then, that if you attribute freedom to things by nature dependent and take what belongs to others for your own, you will be hindered, you will lament, you will be disturbed, you will find fault both with gods and men. But if you take for your own only that which is your own and view what belongs to others just as it really is, then no one will ever compel you, no one will restrict you; you will find fault with no one, you will accuse no one, you will do nothing against your will; no one will hurt you, you will not have an enemy, nor will you suffer any harm.

Aiming, therefore, at such great things, remember that you must not allow yourself any inclination, however slight, toward the attainment of the others; but that you must entirely quit some of them, and for the present postpone the rest. But if you would have these, and possess power and wealth likewise, you may miss the latter in seeking the former; and you will certainly fail of that by which alone happiness and freedom are procured.

Seek at once, therefore, to be able to say to every unpleasing semblance, "You are but a semblance and by no means the real thing." And then examine it by those rules which you have; and first and chiefly by this: whether it concerns the things which are within our own power or those which are not; and if it concerns anything beyond our power, be prepared to say that it is nothing to you.

II

Remember that desire demands the attainment of that of which you are desirous; and aversion demands the avoidance of that to which you are averse; that he who fails of the object of his desires is disappointed; and he who incurs the object of his aversion is wretched. If, then, you shun only those undesirable things which you can control, you will never incur anything which you shun; but if you shun sickness, or death, or poverty, you will run the risk of wretchedness. Remove [the habit of] aversion, then, from all things that are not within our power, and apply it to things undesirable which are within our power. But for the present, altogether restrain desire; for if you desire any of the things not within our own power, you must necessarily be

disappointed; and you are not yet secure of those which are within our power, and so are legitimate objects of desire. Where it is practically necessary for you to pursue or avoid anything, do even this with discretion and gentleness and moderation.

III

With regard to whatever objects either delight the mind or contribute to use or are tenderly beloved, remind yourself of what nature they are, beginning with the merest trifles: if you have a favorite cup, that it is but a cup of which you are fond of — for thus, if it is broken, you can bear it; if you embrace your child or your wife, that you embrace a mortal — and thus, if either of them dies, you can bear it.

IV

When you set about any action, remind yourself of what nature the action is. If you are going to bathe, represent to yourself the incidents usual in the bath — some persons pouring out, others pushing in, others scolding, others pilfering. And thus you will more safely go about this action if you say to yourself, “I will now go to bathe and keep my own will in harmony with nature.” And so with regard to every other action. For thus, if any impediment arises in bathing, you will be able to say, “It was not only to bathe that I desired, but to keep my will in harmony with nature; and I shall not keep it thus if I am out of humor at things that happen.”

V

Men are disturbed not by things, but by the views which they take of things. Thus death is nothing terrible, else it would have appeared so to Socrates. But the terror consists in our notion of death, that it is terrible. When, therefore, we are hindered or disturbed, or grieved, let us never impute it to others, but to ourselves — that is, to our own views. It is the action of an uninstructed person to reproach others for his own misfortunes; of one entering upon instruction, to reproach himself; and one perfectly instructed, to reproach neither others nor himself.

VI

Be not elated at any excellence not your own. If a horse should be elated, and say, “I am handsome,” it might be endurable. But when you are elated and say, “I have a handsome horse,” know that you are elated only on the merit of the horse. What then is your own? The use of the phenomena of existence. So that when you are in harmony with nature in this respect, you will be elated with some reason; for you will be elated at some good of your own.

VII

As in a voyage, when the ship is at anchor, if you go on shore to get water, you may amuse yourself with picking up a shellfish or a truffle in your way, but your thoughts ought to be bent toward the ship, and perpetually attentive, lest the captain should call, and then you must leave all these things, that you may not have to be carried on board the vessel, bound like a sheep; thus likewise in life, if, instead of a truffle or shellfish, such a thing as a wife or a child be granted you, there is no objection; but if the captain calls, run to the ship, leave all these things, and never look behind. But if you are old, never go far from the ship, lest you should be missing when called for.

VIII

Demand not that events should happen as you wish; but wish them to happen as they do happen, and you will go on well.

IX

Sickness is an impediment to the body, but not to the will unless itself pleases. Lameness is an impediment to the leg, but not to the will; and say this to yourself with regard to everything that happens. For you will find it to be an impediment to something else, but not truly to yourself.

X

Upon every accident, remember to turn toward yourself and inquire what faculty you have for its use. If you encounter a handsome person, you will find continence the faculty needed; if pain, then fortitude; if reviling, then patience. And when thus habituated, the phenomena of existence will not overwhelm you.

XI

Never say of anything, "I have lost it," but, "I have restored it." Has your child died? It is restored. Has your wife died? She is restored. Has your estate been taken away? That likewise is restored. "But it was a bad man who took it." What is it to you by whose hands he who gave it has demanded it again? While he permits you to possess it, hold it as something not your own, as do travelers at an inn.

XII

If you would improve, lay aside such reasonings as these: "If I neglect my affairs, I shall not have a maintenance; if I do not punish my servant, he will be good for nothing." For it were better to die of hunger, exempt from grief

and fear, than to live in affluence with perturbation; and it is better that your servant should be bad than you unhappy.

Begin therefore with little things. Is a little oil spilled or a little wine stolen? Say to yourself, "This is the price paid for peace and tranquillity; and nothing is to be had for nothing." And when you call your servant, consider that it is possible he may not come at your call; or, if he does, that he may not do what you wish. But it is not at all desirable for him, and very undesirable for you, that it should be in his power to cause you any disturbance.

XIII

If you would improve, be content to be thought foolish and dull with regard to externals. Do not desire to be thought to know anything; and though you should appear to others to be somebody, distrust yourself. For be assured, it is not easy at once to keep your will in harmony with nature and to secure externals; but while you are absorbed in the one, you must of necessity neglect the other.

XIV

If you wish your children and your wife and your friends to live forever, you are foolish, for you wish things to be in your power which are not so, and what belongs to others to be your own. So likewise, if you wish your servant to be without fault, you are foolish, for you wish vice not to be vice but something else. But if you wish not to be disappointed in your desires, that is in your own power. Exercise, therefore, what is in your power. A man's master is he who is able to confer or remove whatever that man seeks or shuns. Whoever then would be free, let him wish nothing, let him decline nothing, which depends on others; else he must necessarily be a slave.

XV

Remember that you must behave as at a banquet. Is anything brought round to you? Put out your hand and take a moderate share. Does it pass by you? Do not stop it. Is it not yet come? Do not yearn in desire toward it, but wait till it reaches you. So with regard to children, wife, office, riches; and you will some time or other be worthy to feast with the gods. And if you do not so much as take the things which are set before you, but are able even to forego them, then you will not only be worthy to feast with the gods, but to rule with them also. For, by thus doing, Diogenes and Heraclitus, and others like them, deservedly became divine, and were so recognized.

XVI

When you see anyone weeping for grief, either that his son has gone abroad or that he has suffered in his affairs, take care not to be overcome by the apparent

evil, but discriminate and be ready to say, "What hurts this man is not this occurrence itself — for another man might not be hurt by it — but the view he chooses to take of it." As far as conversation goes, however, do not disdain to accommodate yourself to him and, if need be, to groan with him. Take heed, however, not to groan inwardly, too.

XVII

Remember that you are an actor in a drama of such sort as the Author chooses — if short, then in a short one; if long, then in a long one. If it be his pleasure that you should enact a poor man, or a cripple, or a ruler, or a private citizen, see that you act it well. For this is your business — to act well the given part, but to choose it belongs to another.

XVIII

When a raven happens to croak unluckily, be not overcome by appearances, but discriminate and say, "Nothing is portended to *me*, either to my paltry body, or property, or reputation, or children, or wife. But to *me* all portents are lucky if I will. For whatsoever happens, it belongs to me to derive advantage therefrom."

XIX

You can be unconquerable if you enter into no combat in which it is not in your own power to conquer. When, therefore, you see anyone eminent in honors or power, or in high esteem on any other account, take heed not to be bewildered by appearances and to pronounce him happy; for if the essence of good consists in things within our own power, there will be no room for envy or emulation. But, for your part, do not desire to be a general, or a senator, or a consul, but to be free; and the only way to this is a disregard of things which lie not within our own power.

XX

Remember that it is not he who gives abuse or blows, who affronts, but the view we take of these things as insulting. When, therefore, anyone provokes you, be assured that it is your own opinion which provokes you. Try, therefore, in the first place, not to be bewildered by appearances. For if you once gain time and respite, you will more easily command yourself.

XXI

Let death and exile, and all other things which appear terrible, be daily before your eyes, but death chiefly; and you will never entertain an abject thought, nor too eagerly covet anything.

If you have an earnest desire toward philosophy, prepare yourself from the very first to have the multitude laugh and sneer, and say, "He is returned to us a philosopher all at once"; and, "Whence this supercilious look?" Now, for your part, do not have a supercilious look indeed, but keep steadily to those things which appear best to you, as one appointed by God to this particular station. For remember that, if you are persistent, those very persons who at first ridiculed will afterwards admire you. But if you are conquered by them, you will incur a double ridicule.

XXIII

If you ever happen to turn your attention to externals, for the pleasure of anyone, be assured that you have ruined your scheme of life. Be content, then, in everything, with being a philosopher; and if you wish to seem so likewise to anyone, appear so to yourself, and it will suffice you.

XXIV

Let not such considerations as these distress you: "I shall live in discredit and be nobody anywhere." For if discredit be an evil, you can no more be involved in evil through another than in baseness. Is it any business of yours, then, to get power or to be admitted to an entertainment? By no means. How then, after all, is this discredit? And how it is true that you will be nobody anywhere when you ought to be somebody in those things only which are within your own power, in which you may be of the greatest consequence? "But my friends will be unassisted." What do you mean by "unassisted"? They will not have money from you, nor will you make them Roman citizens. Who told you, then, that these are among the things within our own power, and not rather the affairs of others? And who can give to another the things which he himself has not? "Well, but get them, then, that we too may have a share." If I can get them with the preservation of my own honor and fidelity and self-respect, show me the way and I will get them; but if you require me to lose my own proper good, that you may gain what is no good, consider how unreasonable and foolish you are. Besides, which would you rather have, a sum of money or a faithful and honorable friend? Rather assist me, then, to gain this character than require me to do those things by which I may lose it. Well, but my country, say you, as far as depends upon me, will be unassisted. Here, again, what assistance is this you mean? It will not have porticos nor baths of your providing? And what signifies that? Why, neither does a smith provide it with shoes, nor a shoemaker with arms. It is enough if everyone fully performs his own proper business. And were you to supply it with another faithful and honorable citizen, would not he be of use to it? Yes. Therefore neither are you yourself useless to it. "What place, then," say you,

“shall I hold in the state?” Whatever you can hold with the preservation of your fidelity and honor. But if, by desiring to be useful to that, you lose these, how can you serve your country when you have become faithless and shameless?

XXV

Is anyone preferred before you at an entertainment, or in courtesies, or in confidential intercourse? If these things are good, you ought to rejoice that he has them; and if they are evil, do not be grieved that you have them not. And remember that you cannot be permitted to rival others in externals without using the same means to obtain them. For how can he who will not haunt the door of any man, will not attend him, will not praise him, have an equal share with him who does these things? You are unjust, then, and unreasonable if you are unwilling to pay the price for which these things are sold, and would have them for nothing. For how much are lettuces sold? An obulus, for instance. If another, then, paying an obulus, takes the lettuces, and you, not paying it, go without them, do not imagine that he has gained any advantage over you. For as he has the lettuces, so you have the obulus which you did not give. So, in the present case, you have not been invited to such a person’s entertainment because you have not paid him the price for which a supper is sold. It is sold for praise; it is sold for attendance. Give him, then, the value if it be for your advantage. But if you would at the same time not pay the one, and yet receive the other, you are unreasonable and foolish. Have you nothing, then, in place of the supper? Yes, indeed, you have — not to praise him whom you do not like to praise; not to bear the insolence of his lackeys.

XXVI

The will of nature may be learned from things upon which we are all agreed. As when our neighbor’s boy has broken a cup, or the like, we are ready at once to say, “These are casualties that will happen”; be assured, then, that when your own cup is likewise broken, you ought to be affected just as when another’s cup was broken. Now apply this to greater things. Is the child or wife of another dead? There is no one who would not say, “This is an accident of mortality.” But if anyone’s own child happens to die, it is immediately, “Alas! how wretched am I!” It should be always remembered how we are affected on hearing the same thing concerning others.

XXVII

As a mark is not set up for the sake of missing the aim, so neither does the nature of evil exist in the world.

XXVIII

If a person had delivered up your body to some passer-by, you would certainly be angry. And do you feel no shame in delivering up your own mind to any reviler, to be disconcerted and confounded?

XXIX

In every affair consider what precedes and what follows, and then undertake it. Otherwise you will begin with spirit, indeed, careless of the consequences, and when these are developed, you will shamefully desist. "I would conquer at the Olympic Games." But consider what precedes and what follows, and then, if it be for your advantage, engage in the affair. You must conform to rules, submit to a diet, refrain from dainties; exercise your body, whether you choose it or not, at a stated hour, in heat and cold; you must drink no cold water, and sometimes no wine — in a word, you must give yourself up to your trainer as to a physician. Then, in the combat, you may be thrown into a ditch, dislocate your arm, turn your ankle, swallow an abundance of dust, receive stripes [for negligence], and, after all, lose the victory. When you have reckoned up all this, if your inclination still holds, set about the combat. Otherwise, take notice, you will behave like children who sometimes play wrestlers, sometimes gladiators, sometimes blow a trumpet, and sometimes act a tragedy, when they happen to have seen and admired these shows. Thus you too will be at one time a wrestler, and another a gladiator; now a philosopher, now an orator; but nothing in earnest. Like an ape you mimic all you see, and one thing after another is sure to please you, but is out of favor as soon as it becomes familiar. For you have never entered upon anything considerably; nor after having surveyed and tested the whole matter, but carelessly, and with a halfway zeal. Thus some, when they have seen a philosopher and heard a man speaking like Euphrates — though, indeed, who can speak like him? — have a mind to be philosophers, too. Consider first, man, what the matter is, and what your own nature is able to bear. If you would be a wrestler, consider your shoulders, your back, your thighs; for different persons are made for different things. Do you think that you can act as you do and be a philosopher, that you can eat, drink, be angry, be discontented, as you are now? You must watch, you must labor, you must get the better of certain appetites, must quit your acquaintances, be despised by your servant, be laughed at by those you meet; come off worse than others in everything — in offices, in honors, before tribunals. When you have fully considered all these things, approach, if you please — that is, if, by parting with them, you have a mind to purchase serenity, freedom, and tranquillity. If not, do not come hither; do not, like children, be now a philosopher, then a publican, then an orator, and then one of Caesar's officers. These things are not consistent. You must be one man, either good or bad. You must cultivate either your own reason or else externals; apply yourself either to things within or without you — that is, be either a philosopher or one of the mob.

Duties are universally measured by relations. Is a certain man your father? In this are implied taking care of him, submitting to him in all things, patiently receiving his reproaches, his correction. But he is a bad father. Is your natural tie, then, to a *good* father? No, but to a father. Is a brother unjust? Well, preserve your own just relation toward him. Consider not what *he* does, but what *you* are to do to keep your own will in a state conformable to nature, for another cannot hurt you unless you please. You will then be hurt when you consent to be hurt. In this manner, therefore, if you accustom yourself to contemplate the relations of neighbor, citizen, commander, you can deduce from each the corresponding duties.

XXXI

Be assured that the essence of piety toward the gods lies in this — to form right opinions concerning them, as existing and as governing the universe justly and well. And fix yourself in this resolution, to obey them, and yield to them, and willingly follow them amidst all events, as being ruled by the most perfect wisdom. For thus you will never find fault with the gods, nor accuse them of neglecting you. And it is not possible for this to be affected in any other way than by withdrawing yourself from things which are not within our own power, and by making good or evil to consist only in those which are. For if you suppose any other things to be either good or evil, it is inevitable that, when you are disappointed of what you wish or incur what you would avoid, you should reproach and blame their authors. For every creature is naturally formed to flee and abhor things that appear hurtful and that which causes them; and to pursue and admire those which appear beneficial and that which causes them. It is impracticable, then, that one who supposes himself to be hurt should rejoice in the person who, as he thinks, hurts him, just as it is impossible to rejoice in the hurt itself. Hence, also, a father is reviled by his son when he does not impart the things which seem to be good; and this made Polynices and Eteocles mutually enemies — that empire seemed good to both. On this account the husbandman reviles the gods; [and so do] the sailor, the merchant, or those who have lost wife or child. For where our interest is, there, too, is piety directed. So that whoever is careful to regulate his desires and aversions as he ought is thus made careful of piety likewise. But it also becomes incumbent on everyone to offer libations and sacrifices and first fruits, according to the customs of his country, purely, and not heedlessly nor negligently; not avariciously, nor yet extravagantly.

XXXII

When you have recourse to divination, remember that you know not what the event will be, and you come to learn it of the diviner; but of what nature it is

you knew before coming; at least, if you are of philosophic mind. For if it is among the things not within our own power, it can by no means be either good or evil. Do not, therefore, bring with you to the diviner either desire or aversion — else you will approach him trembling — but first clearly understand that every event is indifferent and nothing to *you*, of whatever sort it may be; for it will be in your power to make a right use of it, and this no one can hinder. Then come with confidence to the gods as your counselors; and afterwards, when any counsel is given you, remember what counselors you have assumed, and whose advice you will neglect if you disobey. Come to divination as Socrates prescribed, in cases of which the whole consideration relates to the event, and in which no opportunities are afforded by reason or any other art to discover the matter in view. When, therefore, it is our duty to share the danger of a friend or of our country, we ought not to consult the oracle as to whether we shall share it with them or not. For though the diviner should forewarn you that the auspices are unfavorable, this means no more than that either death or mutilation or exile is portended. But we have reason within us; and it directs us, even with these hazards, to stand by our friend and our country. Attend, therefore, to the greater diviner, the Pythian God, who once cast out of the temple him who neglected to save his friend.

XXXIII

Begin by prescribing to yourself some character and demeanor, such as you may preserve both alone and in company.

Be mostly silent, or speak merely what is needful, and in few words. We may, however, enter sparingly into discourse sometimes, when occasion calls for it; but let it not run on any of the common subjects, as gladiators, or horse races, or athletic champions, or food, or drink — the vulgar topics of conversation — and especially not on men, so as either to blame, or praise, or make comparisons. If you are able, then, by your own conversation, bring over that of your company to proper subjects; but if you happen to find yourself among strangers, be silent.

Let not your laughter be loud, frequent, or abundant.

Avoid taking oaths, if possible, altogether; at any rate, so far as you are able.

Avoid public and vulgar entertainments; but if ever an occasion calls you to them, keep your attention upon the stretch, that you may not imperceptibly slide into vulgarity. For be assured that if a person be ever so pure himself, yet, if his companion be corrupted, he who converses with him will be corrupted likewise.

Provide things relating to the body no further than absolute need requires, as meat, drink, clothing, house, retinue. But cut off everything that looks toward show and luxury.

Before marriage guard yourself with all your ability from unlawful

intercourse with women; yet be not uncharitable or severe to those who are led into this, nor boast frequently that you yourself do otherwise.

If anyone tells you that a certain person speaks ill of you, do not make excuses about what is said of you, but answer: "He was ignorant of my other faults, else he would not have mentioned these alone."

It is not necessary for you to appear often at public spectacles; but if ever there is a proper occasion for you to be there, do not appear more solicitous for any other than for yourself — that is, wish things to be only just as they are, and only the best man to win; for thus nothing will go against you. But abstain entirely from acclamations and derision and violent emotions. And when you come away, do not discourse a great deal on what has passed and what contributes nothing to your own amendment. For it would appear by such discourse that you were dazzled by the show.

Be not prompt or ready to attend private recitations; but if you do attend, preserve your gravity and dignity, and yet avoid making yourself disagreeable.

When you are going to confer with anyone, and especially with one who seems your superior, represent to yourself how Socrates or Zeno would behave in such a case, and you will not be at a loss to meet properly whatever may occur.

When you are going before anyone in power, fancy to yourself that you may not find him at home, that you may be shut out, that the doors may not be opened to you, that he may not notice you. If, with all this, it be your duty to go, bear what happens and never say to yourself, "It was not worth so much"; for this is vulgar, and like a man bewildered by externals.

In company, avoid a frequent and excessive mention of your own actions and dangers. For however agreeable it may be to yourself to allude to the risks you have run, it is not equally agreeable to others to hear your adventures. Avoid likewise an endeavor to excite laughter, for this may readily slide you into vulgarity, and, besides, may be apt to lower you in the esteem of your acquaintance. Approaches to indecent discourse are likewise dangerous. Therefore, when anything of this sort happens, use the first fit opportunity to rebuke him who makes advances that way, or, at least, by silence and blushing and a serious look show yourself to be displeased by such talk.

XXXIV

If you are dazzled by the semblance of any promised pleasure, guard yourself against being bewildered by it; but let the affair wait your leisure, and procure yourself some delay. Then bring to your mind both points of time — that in which you shall enjoy the pleasure, and that in which you will repent and reproach yourself, after you have enjoyed it — and set before you, in opposition to these, how you will rejoice and applaud yourself if you abstain. And even though it should appear to you a seasonable gratification, take heed that its enticements and allurements and seductions may not subdue you, but set in opposition to this how much better it is to be conscious of having gained

so great a victory.

XXXV

When you do anything from a clear judgment that it ought to be done, never shrink from being seen to do it, even though the world should misunderstand it; for if you are not acting rightly, shun the action itself; if you are, why fear those who wrongly censure you?

XXXVI

As the proposition, "either it is day or it is night," has much force in a disjunctive argument, but none at all in a conjunctive one, so, at a feast, to choose the largest share is very suitable to the bodily appetite, but utterly inconsistent with the social spirit of the entertainment. Remember, then, when you eat with another, not only the value to the body of those things which are set before you, but also the value of proper courtesy toward your host.

XXXVII

If you have assumed any character beyond your strength, you have both demeaned yourself ill in that and quitted one which you might have supported.

XXXVIII

As in walking you take care not to tread upon a nail, or turn your foot, so likewise take care not to hurt the ruling faculty of your mind. And if we were to guard against this in every action, we should enter upon action more safely.

XXXIX

The body is to everyone the proper measure of its possessions, as the foot is of the shoe. If, therefore, you stop at this, you will keep the measure; but if you move beyond it, you must necessarily be carried forward, as down a precipice; as in the case of a shoe, if you go beyond its fitness to the foot, it comes first to be gilded, then purple, and then studded with jewels. For to that which once exceeds the fit measure there is no bound.

XL

Women from fourteen years old are flattered by men with the title of mistresses. Therefore, perceiving that they are regarded only as qualified to give men pleasure, they begin to adorn themselves, and in that to place all their hopes. It is worth while, therefore, to try that they may perceive themselves honored only so far as they appear beautiful in their demeanor and

modestly virtuous.

XLI

It is a mark of want of intellect to spend much time in things relating to the body, as to be immoderate in exercises, in eating and drinking, and in the discharge of other animal functions. These things should be done incidentally and our main strength be applied to our reason.

XLII

When any person does ill by you, or speaks ill of you, remember that he acts or speaks from an impression that it is right for him to do so. Now it is not possible that he should follow what appears right to you, but only what appears so to himself. Therefore, if he judges from false appearances, he is the person hurt, since he, too, is the person deceived. For if anyone takes a true proposition to be false, the proposition is not hurt, but only the man is deceived. Setting out, then, from these principles, you will meekly bear with a person who reviles you, for you will say upon every occasion, "It seemed so to him."

XLIII

Everything has two handles: one by which it may be borne, another by which it cannot. If your brother acts unjustly, do not lay hold on the affair by the handle of his injustice, for by that it cannot be borne, but rather by the opposite — that he is your brother, that he was brought up with you; and thus you will lay hold on it as it is to be borne.

XLIV

These reasonings have no logical connection: "I am richer than you, therefore I am your superior." "I am more eloquent than you, therefore I am your superior." The true logical connection is rather this: "I am richer than you, therefore my possessions must exceed yours." "I am more eloquent than you, therefore my style must surpass yours." But you, after all, consist neither in property nor in style.

XLV

Does anyone bathe hastily? Do not say that he does it ill, but hastily. Does anyone drink much wine? Do not say that he does ill, but that he drinks a great deal. For unless you perfectly understand his motives, how should you know if he acts ill? Thus you will not risk yielding to any appearances but such as you fully comprehend.

Never proclaim yourself a philosopher, nor make much talk among the ignorant about your principles, but show them by actions. Thus, at an entertainment, do not discourse how people ought to eat, but eat as you ought. For remember that thus Socrates also universally avoided all ostentation. And when persons came to him and desired to be introduced by him to philosophers, he took them and introduced them; so well did he bear being overlooked. So if ever there should be among the ignorant any discussion of principles, be for the most part silent. For there is great danger in hastily throwing out what is undigested. And if anyone tells you that you know nothing, and you are not nettled at it, then you may be sure that you have really entered on your work. For sheep do not hastily throw up the grass to show the shepherds how much they have eaten, but, inwardly digesting their food, they produce it outwardly in wool and milk. Thus, therefore, do you not make an exhibition before the ignorant of your principles, but of the actions to which their digestion gives rise.

XLVII

When you have learned to nourish your body frugally, do not pique yourself upon it; nor, if you drink water, be saying upon every occasion, "I drink water." But first consider how much more frugal are the poor than we, and how much more patient of hardship. If at any time you would inure yourself by exercise to labor and privation, for your own sake and not for the public, do not attempt great feats; but when you are violently thirsty, just rinse your mouth with water, and tell nobody.

XLVIII

The condition and characteristic of a vulgar person is that he never looks for either help or harm from himself, but only from externals. The condition and characteristic of a philosopher is that he looks to himself for all help or harm. The marks of a proficient are that he censures no one, praises no one, blames no one, accuses no one; says nothing concerning himself as being anybody or knowing anything. When he is in any instance hindered or restrained, he accuses himself; and if he is praised, he smiles to himself at the person who praises him; and if he is censured, he makes no defense. But he goes about with the caution of a convalescent, careful of interference with anything that is doing well but not yet quite secure. He restrains desire; he transfers his aversion to those things only which thwart the proper use of our own will; he employs his energies moderately in all directions; if he appears stupid or ignorant, he does not care; and, in a word, he keeps watch over himself as over an enemy and one in ambush.

When anyone shows himself vain on being able to understand and interpret the works of Chrysippus, say to yourself: "Unless Chrysippus had written obscurely, this person would have had nothing to be vain of. But what do I desire? To understand nature, and follow her. I ask, then, who interprets her; and hearing that Chrysippus does, I have recourse to him. I do not understand his writings. I seek, therefore, one to interpret *them*." So far there is nothing to value myself upon. And when I find an interpreter, what remains is to make use of his instructions. This alone is the valuable thing. But if I admire merely the interpretation, what do I become more than a grammarian, instead of a philosopher, except, indeed, that instead of Homer I interpret Chrysippus? When anyone, therefore, desires me to read Chrysippus to him, I rather blush when I cannot exhibit actions that are harmonious and consonant with his discourse.

L

Whatever rules you have adopted, abide by them as laws, and as if you would be impious to transgress them; and do not regard what anyone says of you, for this, after all, is no concern of yours. How long, then, will you delay to demand of yourself the noblest improvements, and in no instance to transgress the judgments of reason? You have received the philosophic principles with which you ought to be conversant; and you have been conversant with them. For what other master, then, do you wait as an excuse for this delay in self-reformation? You are no longer a boy but a grown man. If, therefore, you will be negligent and slothful, and always add procrastination to procrastination, purpose to purpose, and fix day after day in which you will attend to yourself, you will insensibly continue to accomplish nothing and, living and dying, remain of vulgar mind. This instant, then, think yourself worthy of living as a man grown up and a proficient. Let whatever appears to be the best be to you an inviolable law. And if any instance of pain or pleasure, glory or disgrace, be set before you, remember that now is the combat, now the Olympiad comes on, nor can it be put off; and that by one failure and defeat honor may be lost or — won. Thus Socrates became perfect, improving himself by everything, following reason alone. And though you are not yet a Socrates, you ought, however, to live as one seeking to be a Socrates.

LI

The first and most necessary topic in philosophy is the practical application of principles, as, *We ought not to lie*; the second is that of demonstrations as, *Why it is that we ought not to lie*; the third, that which gives strength and logical connection to the other two, as, *Why this is a demonstration*. For what is demonstration? What is a consequence? What a contradiction? What truth?

What falsehood? The third point is then necessary on account of the second; and the second on account of the first. But the most necessary, and that whereon we ought to rest, is the first. But we do just the contrary. For we spend all our time on the third point and employ all our diligence about that, and entirely neglect the first. Therefore, at the same time that we lie, we are very ready to show how it is demonstrated that lying is wrong.

Upon all occasions we ought to have these maxims ready at hand:

Conduct me, Zeus, and thou, O Destiny,

Wherever your decrees have fixed my lot.

I follow cheerfully; and, did I not,

Wicked and wretched, I must follow still.

Who'er yields properly to Fate is deemed

Wise among men, and knows the laws of Heaven.

And this third:

“O Crito, if it thus pleases the gods, thus let it be.”

“Anytus and Melitus may kill me indeed; but hurt me they cannot.”

THE PERIPLUS



Anonymous translation

The Periplus was a description of the Black Sea in twenty-five books, composed before 132 AD. The work is now lost, except for a fragment from the beginning of the text. It opens with Arrian introducing himself, as if he were writing a letter to his personal friend, the Emperor Hadrian.

FRAGMENT OF THE PERIPLUS.

ARRIAN TO HIS EMPEROR, CAESAR TRAJAN HADRIAN
AUGUSTUS.

We come in the course of our voyage to Trapezus, a Greek city in a maritime station, a colony of Sinope, as we are informed by Xenophon, the celebrated historian. We surveyed the Euxine Sea with the greatest pleasure, as we viewed it from the same spot whence both Xenophon and yourself [i.e., Hadrian] have formerly observed it.

Two altars of rough stone are still standing there. [...] Your statue, which is there, has merit in the idea of the figure, and in the design, as it represents you pointing towards the sea; but it bears no resemblance to the original, and the execution is in other respects indifferent. Send therefore a statue worthy to be called yours, and of a similar design to one which is there at present, as the situation is well-calculated for perpetuating, by these means, the memory of any illustrious person.

A temple is there constructed, built of squared stone, and is a respectable edifice; but the image of Hermes, which it contains, is neither worthy of the temple, nor the situation in which it stands. I suggest you send me a statue of Hermes of not more than five feet in height, as such a size seems well proportioned and suitable to the building.

I also request a statue of Philesius of four feet in height; for it seems to me reasonable that the latter should have a temple and altar in common with his ancestor. Hence while some persons sacrifice to Hermes, and some to Philesius, and some to both, they will all do what is agreeable to both the deities; to Hermes, as they honor his descendant; to Philesius, as they honor his ancestor.

I myself sacrificed an ox there; not as Xenophon did in the port of Calpe, when he took an ox from a wagon on account of the scarcity of victims; whereas here the Trapezuntines themselves furnished no contemptible sacrifice. We examined the entrails of the animals sacrificed, and performed our libations upon them. I need not mention to you in whose behalf we first offered our prayers, as you must be conscious that you deserve the prayers of all, and especially of those who are under less obligations of gratitude than myself.

CYNEGETICUS



Translated by William Dansey

Arrian's treatise on hunting, written some five hundred years after Xenophon's own *Cynegeticus*, is a commentary on the earlier work, setting out to provide more recent information on the art of hunting. Arrian describes the revolution in hunting that the introduction of gaze-hounds has caused, providing amusing anecdotes about his own hunting experiences with his favourite hound.

CYNEGETICUS

I. The advantages that accrue to mankind from hunting, and the regard of the Gods for those instructed in it by Chiron, and their honourable distinction throughout Greece, have been related by Xenophon, the son of Gryllus.

He has pointed out the similitude between Cynegetical and Military science; and the age, constitution, and frame of mind, that essentially qualify for entering on the chase; — has given a description of puree-nets, hayes, and road-nets, such as are, necessary to be prepared — the mode of fixing snares for animals that may be entrapped — the natural history of hares, their food, haunts, forms, and the method of searching for them — what dogs are clever at scenting, Mid what faulty — and how, by their shape and work, each may be ascertained. Some few remarks are also left by him on the boar-hunt, the stag, bear, and lion chases — how these animals may be taken by cunning and stratagem.

The omissions of his work (which do not appear to me to have arisen from negligence, but from ignorance of the Celtic breed of dogs, and the Scythian and African horses,) I shall endeavour to fill up: being his namesake and fellow-citizen, of similar pursuits with himself, as a sportsman, a general, and a philosopher — writing under the same feeling that actuated him, when he thought fit to amend the imperfections of Simon's work on horsemanship; not out of rivalry with its author, but from a conviction that his labours would be useful to mankind.

II. In my opinion no proof is required that Xenophon was ignorant of the Celtic breed of dogs, beyond this: that the nations inhabiting that district of Europe were unknown except the parts of Italy occupied by the Greeks, and those with whom they had commercial intercourse by sea. And that he was unacquainted with any other breed of dogs, resembling the Celtic in point of swiftness, is evident from these words:—"whatever hares," he says, "are caught by dogs, become their prey, contrary to the natural shape of the animal, or accidentally." Now, if he had been acquainted with the Celtic breed, I think he would have made the very same remark on the dogs; "whatever hares the dogs do not catch at speed, they fail of catching in contradiction of their shape, or from some accidental circumstance." For assuredly when greyhounds are in good condition, and of high courage, no hare can escape them; unless the country present some obstacles, either a covert to conceal her, or a hollow deep pit to break off the course, or a ditch to favour her escape while out of sight of the dogs.

To this ignorance, in my opinion, is to be attributed the length of his instructions on driving the hare into nets, and if she pass them, pursuing and recovering her by scent, till she be taken, at last, completely tired out. But he has nowhere said either that fleet dogs altogether supersede the necessity of a sportsman having nets, or of his hunting by scent after the hare has escaped

them. Indeed he has described only the mode of hunting which is practised by the Carians and Cretans.

III. But such of the Celts as hunt for the beauty of the sport, and not as a means of livelihood, never make use of nets. And yet they have a variety of dog not less clever at hunting on scent than the Carian and Cretan, but in shape sorry brutes. In pursuit these give tongue with a clanging howl like the yelping Carians, but are more eager, when they catch the scent. Sometimes, indeed, they gladden so outrageously, even on a stale trail, that I have rated them for their excessive barking, — alike on every scent, whether it be of the hare going to form, or at speed. In pursuing and recovering her, when started, they are not inferior to the Carians or Cretans, save in the one point of speed.

It is good sport, if they kill but a single hare in the winter season, so much resting-time do they give her in the chase; unless, indeed, by being frightened out of her wits at the tumultuous uproar of the pack, she become an easy prey.

These dogs are called Segusians, deriving their name from a Celtic people, amongst whom, I suppose, they were first bred, and held in repute. But all that can be said about them has been anticipated by the elder Xenophon. For they manifest nothing different from others in their mode of finding, or hunting their game ; — having no peculiarity, unless one were inclined to speak of their shape, which I scarce think worth while, except merely to say, that they are shaggy and ugly; and such as are most high-bred are most unsightly. So that the comparison of them to mendicants on the highways is popular with the Celts. For their voice is dolorous and pitiful; and they do not bark on scent of their game, as if eager and savage, but as if plaintively whining after it.

About these, then, I do not think any thing memorable can be written. But the swift-footed Celtic hounds are called in the Celtic tongue οὐέτραγοι; — not deriving their name from any particular nation, like the Cretan, Carian, or Spartan dogs: but, as some of the Cretans are name διάπονοι from working hard, ιταμαί from their keenness, and mongrels from their being compounded of both; so these Celts are named from their swiftness. In figure, the most high-bred are a prodigy of beauty; — their eyes, their hair, their colour, and bodily shape throughout. Such brilliancy of gloss is there about the spottiness of the parti-coloured, and in those of uniform colour each glistening over the sameness of tint, as to afford a most delightful spectacle to an amateur of coursing.

IV. I will specify the indications of speed and good breeding in greyhounds, and by attention to what points ill-bred and slow ones may be distinguished from them.

In the first place, let them be lengthy from head to tail; for in every variety of dog, you will find, on reflection, no one point so indicative of speed and good breeding as length; and on the other hand, no such mark of slowness and degeneracy as shortness. So that I have even seen dogs with numerous other faults, that have been, on account of their length, both swift and high-couraged. And farther, the larger dogs, when in other respects equal, show

higher breeding than small ones on the very score of size. But those large dogs are bad, whose limbs are unknot, and destitute of symmetry; being indeed, when so formed, worse than small dogs, with an equal share of other faults attached to them.

Your greyhounds should have light and well-articulated heads; whether hooked or flat nosed is not of much consequence: nor does it greatly matter whether the parts beneath the forehead be protuberant with muscle. They are alone bad which are heavy-headed, having thick nostrils, with a blunt instead of a pointed termination. Such then are well-headed hounds. Their eyes should be large, up-raised, clear, strikingly bright. The best look fiery, and flash like lightning, resembling those of leopards, lions, or lynxes. Next to these are black eyes, provided they are wide-open and grim-looking; and last of all, grey: nor are these to be considered bad, nor indicative of bad dogs, provided they are clear, and have a savage look.

V. For I have myself bred up a hound whose eyes are the greyest of the grey; a swift, hard-working, courageous, sound-footed dog, and, in his prime, a match, at any time, for four hares. He is, moreover, (for while I am writing, he is yet alive), most gentle, and kindly-affectioned; and never before had any dog such regard for myself, and friend and fellow-sportsman, Megillus. For when not actually engaged in coursing, he is never away from one or other of us. But while I am at home he remains within, by my side, accompanies me on going abroad, follows me to the gymnasium, and, while I am taking exercise, sits down by me. On my return he runs before me, often looking back to see whether I had turned any where out of the road; and as soon as he catches sight of me, showing symptoms of joy, and again trotting on before me. If I am going out on any government business, he remains with my friend, and does exactly the same towards him. He is the constant companion of whichever may be sick; and if he has not seen either of us for only a short time, he jumps up repeatedly by way of salutation, and barks with joy, as a greeting to us. At meals he pats us first with one foot and then with the other, to put us in mind that he is to have his share of food. He has also many tones of speech — more than I ever knew in any other dog — pointing out, in his own language, whatever he wants.

Having been beaten, when a puppy, with a whip, if any one, even at this day, does but mention a whip, he will come up to the speaker cowering and begging, applying his mouth to the man's as if to kiss him, and jumping up, will hang on his neck, and not let him go until he has appeased his angry threats.

Now really I do not think that I should be ashamed to write even the name of this dog; that it may be left to posterity, that Xenophon the Athenian had a greyhound called Horne, of the greatest speed and intelligence, and altogether supremely excellent.

Let the ears of your greyhounds be large and soft, so as to appear, from their size and softness, as if broken. Such are best: but it is no bad indication if

they appear erect, provided they are not small and stiff. The neck should be long, round, and flexible; so that if you forcibly draw the dogs backwards by their collars, it may seem to be broken, from its flexibility and softness. Broad chests are better than narrow. Let them have shoulders standing wide-apart, not tied together, but as loose, and free from each other, as possible — legs round, straight, and well-jointed — sides strong — loins broad, firm, not fleshy, but sinewy — upper flanks loose and supple — hips wide asunder — lower flanks hollow — tails fine, long, rough with hair, supple, flexible, and more hairy towards the tip — haunches sweeping, and firm to the touch : — with regard to their legs, if the hind ones are longer than the fore, the greyhound will ran best up hill; if the fore legs are longest, down hill; but if both are equal, he will run best on a flat. Since, however, it is more difficult to beat a hare on an acclivity, because she runs best up hill, those are deemed the better class of dogs, whose hind legs are longer than their fore ones. Round and strong feet are decidedly best.

VI. The colour of greyhounds is not of any importance; nor does it matter if they are perfectly black, red, or white; nor is a simple, uniform colour to be suspected as ferine. The colours, such as they are, should be bright and pure; and the hair, whether the dog be of the rough or smooth sort, should be fine, close, and soft. The best dogs are such as are large and well put together, and resemble bitches in point of suppleness; and the best bitches are such as resemble dogs in spirit, and muscularity of body.

Now if any one pays attention to these hints, as to the shape of greyhounds, they will fully supply him, in my opinion, with the indications of good blood for his kennel, and the opposite of the reverse.

VII. Nor will the temper of greyhounds afford fewer indications of good and bad blood to a careful observer. Such hounds, in the first place, as are crabbed to all persons alike, are not of a generous breed. But if you find any cross to strangers, and good-tempered to their feeder, it is rather a favourable sign than otherwise.

I once knew a greyhound, who was dull and sullen at home, and took no pleasure in any of the persons about him; but, “when led out hunting, was beyond measure delighted, and showed, by smiling and fawning at every body that came near him, that he was vexed at staying at home. This may be held a good sign.

The best dogs, however, are those of most attachment to man, and to whom no human countenance is strange. Such, on the other band, as are afraid of people, and astounded at noise, obstreperous, and often excited without cause, are senseless brutes of no pluck. Like men that are timid and frightened out of their wits, such dogs as these can never be deemed of generous blood. Those, too, are bad, which, when let loose from couples in a field, do not come back at the call of their keeper, but gallop away. If you call them in mildly, they pay no attention to you; — if threateningly, they keep aloof from fear.

For when a greyhound has had his gallop, and has run about, he ought to

come back to his keeper, even without a call, — showing that he is under command at will; but, if the keeper does—not choose to take him up, let him again bound away, and again return. Such dogs are well broken in as, at the voice of their keeper, crouch before him; not from fear, but regard and respect for their feeder, cowering like the worshippers of the Great King. It is no good sign for a hound to stand still, when let out of couples on an open plain, unless he happen to be advanced in age, for it shows sluggishness.

The most high-bred greyhounds have a prominent brow, and look proud. Their tread is light, quick-stepping, on their toes; and they walk sideways, extending their necks like horses curvetting.

VIII. Some greyhounds eat voraciously, others with delicacy. The latter mode of feeding indicates a dog of better blood than the former. Good dogs are not bad feeders, but fond of bread or gruel. This kind of farinaceous food is most strengthening to them, and there is no fear of their gorging themselves too much with it. I prefer, however, their liking food quite dry; and yet, if it be moistened with water, and they still relish it, it is no evil.

When a dog is sick, administer the broth of fat meat to him, or having roasted a bullock's liver over some hot coals, and rubbed it abroad, sprinkle it like flour into the broth. This is good also for puppies to strengthen their limbs, when they are first weaned from milk. But milk is the best food for the support of puppies till the ninth month, and even longer; and is serviceable to the sick and delicate, both as drink and aliment. Fasting too is beneficial to a sick dog.

IX. There is nothing like a soft and warm bed for greyhounds; but it is best for them to sleep with men: — as they become thereby affectionately attached — pleased with the contact of the human body, and as fond of their bedfellow as of their feeder. If any ailing affect the dog, the man will perceive it, and will relieve him in the night, when thirsty, or urged by any call of nature. He will also know how the dog has rested. For if he has passed a sleepless night, or groaned frequently in his sleep, or thrown up any of his food, it will not be safe to take him out coursing. All these things the dog's bedfellow will be acquainted with.

Nothing can be worse than for dogs to sleep with each other; and more especially so, if they touch one another in bed. For as all cutaneous irritation is removed by a man sleeping with them, so, when they sleep together, they generate every sort of foulness of skin by warmth and close contact, and are generally full of mange. To which cause must be referred the very offensive and pungent stench on entering a kennel where many hounds are confined together.

X. Rubbing the whole body is of great service to the greyhound; no less than to the horse. For it is conducive to the firmness and strength of his limbs — renders his hair soft, and skin shining, and cleanses it from all foulness.

The back and loins you should rub with your right hand, — placing your left under the belly; lest the dog, being forcibly pressed down upon his knees,

should suffer injury. The sides should be rubbed with both hands at once, and the haunches quite down to the feet, and the shoulders in the same way. When the dog seems to have had enough of it, lay hold of his tail, and lift him up by it; and then' having drawn it through your hand, let him go. As soon as he is at liberty, he will shake himself, and show that he is pleased with the operation.

XI. It is a point of equal importance with any other, that greyhounds be confined during the day; otherwise they will unavoidably become intractable, and, whenever fastened with a collar, will be impatient under the restraint, and whine, and gnaw the straps, so as even to require chains like malefactors. Besides, a hound that is at liberty must needs eat every thing that falls in his way; and, from running about during the day-time, lose the acme of his speed. But, though generally at rest, they should still have their appointed times for walking out.

XII. Four times a day, at least, take your dogs out of kennel to a level and open field, and there loose them from couples, to empty themselves, gallop, and run about. But if they have quite ceased coursing, let it be, done more frequently. Slip them in pairs, a brace at a time, so that by contending and playing with each other, they may enjoy their pleasure, and take their exercise together. But on no account let many loose at once, as they sometimes do great mischief by falling on each other. Never slip a strong and full-grown dog with a puppy; for the old dog is an overpowering and distressing antagonist for the youngster, easily overtaking him in pursuit, and as readily running away from him, and leaving him behind ; whereby the pup must of course be cowed and die-spirited, having in either case the worst of the contest. And farther, such as are spiteful towards each other, never give these their liberty at one and the same time, lest they injure one another. For there are dogs, as well as men, with mutual antipathies, and others again with mutual attachments. Those of the same sex are particularly inimical to each other, dogs to dogs, and bitches to bitches; and this generally from spiteful jealousy. These matters are not to be made light of.

XIII. In the winter season feed your dogs only once a day, a little before evening; for the days are short, and the greyhounds are to be so managed, that if you need their services for coursing till a late hour, they may be able to bear the necessary fasting. But in summer it is right to give them a little bread in addition, that they may not be exhausted by the length of the day; and if thirsty, they will drink with less detriment after having eaten. To thrust down a dog's throat a piece of salted suet is also found beneficial. But if the weather be very hot, I would have you take an egg in your hand, open your dog's mouth, and push it down, that he may swallow it at one gulp. This will be nourishment enough for him, will cherish his wind, and quench his thirst.

XIV. You may go out coursing frequently in spring and autumn, these seasons being attended with the least risk to your dogs — but rarely in summer, lying by, generally, when the heat is oppressive. For greyhounds are

impatient of heat, and often, when pursuing a hare with all their might, have been suffocated from a stoppage of their wind. To guard against which, a courser should carry eggs with him, and administer them entire, if his hound's breathing be exceedingly distressed. For there is no better refrigerative, nothing that appeases difficulty of breathing so much. It is not unattended with danger for a dog, under these circumstances of distress, to drink immoderately.

For the reasons given, then, be cautious of coursing in hot weather. Never go out in winter when the cold is severe, and, on no account, when the ground is frozen hard. For dogs bruise themselves in frost, lose their nails, lacerate the soles of their feet, and if very high-couraged, break even the bones of their toes against the frozen ground from running with excessive eagerness. Whereas the hare is light, with woolly and soft feet, and trips along without injury in frost.

XV. Whoever courses with greyhounds should neither slip them near the hare, nor more than a brace at a time; for though the hare be remarkably swift-footed, and have often beaten many dogs, yet being just started from her form, she cannot but be fluttered at heart, and terrified at the hallooing, and the hounds pressing close upon her: — and in this way, many a noble hare has often ignobly perished without an effort, showing no diversion worth mentioning.

Let the hare, therefore, creep away from her form as if unperceived, and recover her presence of mind. And then, if she be a racer, she will prick up her ears, and bound away from her seat with long strides ; and the greyhounds, having capered about as if they were dancing, will stretch out at full speed after her. And at this time is the spectacle worthy indeed of the pains that must necessarily be bestowed on these dogs.

XVI. Those are the strongest hares which have their forms in open and exposed places; for, from boldness, they do not conceal themselves, but seem to me to challenge the dogs. When coursed, they do not fly to the woods or groves, however near, for immediate liberation from danger, but stretch away to the open country; and during the contest, if they are pursued by slow hounds, they moderate their own speed according as they are pressed ; but if their pursuers are fast, they run with all their might.

Often when they have turned aside to the champaign country, if they perceive a fleet dog following so close as to overshadow them, they throw him off by frequent ricks and turns, and again make for the woods, or wherever they know of a place of refuge; and this should be deemed a proof that the dog has beaten the hare. For coursers, such at least as are true sportsmen, do not take their dogs out for the sake of catching a hare, but for the contest and sport of coursing; and are glad if the hare meet with an escape: if she fly to any thin brake for concealment, though they may see her trembling and in the utmost distress, they will call off their dogs, and more particularly so, when they have run well.

Often, indeed, when following a course on horseback, have I come up to the hare as soon as caught, and myself saved her alive: and then, having taken away my dog, and fastened him up, allowed her to escape. And if I have arrived too late to save her, I have struck my head with sorrow, that the dogs had killed so good an antagonist.

On this point alone I cannot agree with my namesake. I allow indeed that a man may forget every other object of which he is enamoured, when he sees a hare found, and pursued at speed; but to see her taken is, I own, neither a pleasant nor striking spectacle; but disagreeable rather, and not at all likely to make us forgetful of other objects of attachment. And yet we must not blame Xenophon, considering he was ignorant of greyhounds, if even the capture of a hare appeared to him a grand sight.

I am aware, (even if my instructions were opposed to it), how strong the inducement is to halloo, when following a course, and that even a dumb man might break forth, as is related of the son of Croesus.

XVII. It is proper sometimes to speak to the greyhounds; for they are pleased at hearing their master's voice, and have the consciousness of his presence, and of their brilliant running not escaping his notice, as an encouragement and reward for their exertions.

There is no objection to your cheering your hound as often as you like in his first course; but in his second or third, when it is probable that he is fagged, I think it wrong to cheer him very often by name, lest from his ardour, and desire of pleasing his master, he exert himself beyond his strength, and suffer some inward rupture; an accident which has been fatal to many a high-bred greyhound. But he should be allowed to slacken his running as he chooses. For the contest is by no means equal between the hare and greyhound: the hare runs where she likes, and the dog pursues; she shifts her course, throws him off, and darts forward; and if thrown out, the dog is wide of the hare, and must again stretch away after her a-head, and recover what he has lost of the course by overshooting himself. Moreover, the natural difficulties of the country are more in favour of the hare, than the dog — such as rough and stony grounds, steep and inequalities of surface — both because she is light, and because her feet, from their woolliness, are not liable to be lacerated by the roughness of the ground; and the running for her life, too, takes away all sense of difficulties.

XVIII. When the greyhound has caught the hare, or been otherwise victorious in the course, you should dismount from your horse, pat him with your hand and praise him, kissing his head, and stroking his ears, and speaking to him by name—"Well done, Cirras!"—"Well done, Bonnas!"—"Bravo, my Horne!" — calling each hound by his name; for, like men of generous spirit, they love to be praised: and the dog, if not quite tired out, will come up with joy to caress you. At this time, it is a good sign for him to roll himself on the ground, as we see horses do; for it shows that he is not done up with the course, and, at the same time, rolling refreshes him.

XIX. The more opulent Celts, who live in luxury, course in the following manner. They send out hare-finders early in the morning to look over such places as are likely to afford hares in form; and a messenger brings word if they have found any, and what number. They then go out themselves, and having started the hare, slip the dogs after her, and follow on horseback.

XX. But others, who have no hare-finders, go out on horseback, collecting a large party of fellow-sportsmen together; and coming to likely lying-ground, when a hare is started, they slip their dogs. While others again, who are more of workmen at the sport, sally forth on foot; and if any one accompanies them on horseback, it is his duty to keep up with the dogs.

They beat the ground in regular array, with an extended front, proceeding in a straight line to the completion of a certain extent of country; and then, wheeling about in a body, return in the same way by the side of their former track, omitting as far as possible none of the likely lying.

But it is necessary, if many dogs are taken into the field, that they should not be left at random, and without arrangement. For when the hare is started from her form, not a man would refrain from slipping his hound after her: one from eagerness to see his own dog run, and another from being startled and beside himself at the hallooing, — and the hare would be caught, in consequence of the crowd and confusion of the dogs, without a struggle, and the whole value of the spectacle destroyed. On which account a steward should be appointed over the sport, should match the dogs, and give orders to the field: — if the hare start on this side, you and you are to slip, and nobody else; but if on that side, you and you: and let strict attention be paid to the orders given.

XXI. The Celts sometimes course with a mixture of sagacious and swift-footed hounds; and while the dogs of scent are trying, they stand apart with the greyhounds, leading them in their hands where it is most probable the hare will direct her course, that they may slip them at her when she breaks cover. And here the greyhounds answer the same purpose as Xenophon's nets. But the courses in this way are irregular and confused, and the hare, however good, is generally so terrified at the barking of the finders, that, unless, she get far enough a-head to be able to recover herself, she is easily caught, being frightened out of her wits.

Whoever, therefore, is a good slipper, should not let go his dog while the hare is at all bewildered, (unless he would destroy the sport,) but should allow her to make her first turns, and then slip.

XXII. Let it be deemed unlawful to slip to a young hare; but rather, in obedience to my namesake, spare such for the Goddess. If possible, indeed, you should endeavour to call off the dogs on scent; though they are with difficulty checked, being intractable from hunger, and so keen at devouring whatever prey they take, that you can scarce drive them away, even by beating them with sticks.

XXIII. You should course the stag, or any game of equal size in the same

way, slipping high-couraged hounds; for the animal is large, runs a long while, and is by no means safe to contend with; indeed there is no little danger of a greyhound being destroyed by a stag. But where the plains are adapted for riding, as in Mysia, Dacia, Scythia, and Illyricum, they are in the habit of coursing deer with Scythian and Illyrian horses; which, though slow at first in pursuit, and utterly despicable, as far as appearance goes, by the side of those of Thessaly, Sicily, or Peloponnesus, hold out to the last under the most severe work. On such occasions you will see the huge, swift, proud-looking horse flagging, and this lean and scrubby little animal at first passing him, then leaving him behind, and at last even driving the stag away from him. He holds on indeed until the stag gives out and stops, gasping with distress; when you may, if you choose, spear him at close quarters as if enfettered, or throw a noose over his neck, and lead him away alive.

XXIV. In Africa there is a mode of coursing on Libyan horses, called Nomades, on which the sportsmen, mounted, catch not only red and roe deer, (for these are taken with little effort, and the horses are not esteemed good in consequence,) but also wild asses, which excel in speed, and power of holding out for the greatest length of course.

For when the Greeks marched with Cyrus, the son of Darius, against the great king, (in which expedition Xenophon was engaged, who relates the circumstance,) while they were passing over the plains of Arabia, there appeared herds of wild asses, but not one could be caught by any single horseman, and therefore the Greeks pursued them with relays of horsemen at stated distances; and after the asses had held out for a long while against several, they sunk at last from fatigue. Thus even Cyrus himself, the son of the great king, and the brother of the great king, had not horses good enough for this chase; and yet the Libyan boys, some at eight years of age, and others not much older, mounted on their naked steeds, and guiding them with a switch, as the Greeks employ the rein, press these wild asses so closely in pursuit, that at last they throw a noose around their necks and lead them away quite subdued.

Such are the methods of coursing adopted by those who have fleet hounds and horses, they neither ensnare the animals with toils, nets, or springes; nor employ, in short, any other tricks or wily inventions, but contend with them in a straight-forward trial of speed. And to me, the two spectacles appear nowise akin: the former being like thievish depredation; the latter, like a battle fought out with main strength: the one class of sportsmen resembling pirates in their clandestine attack, while the other are as openly victorious as were the Athenians over the Medes in the naval engagement at Artemisium, or at Salamis and Psyttalia, or again at Cyprus.

XXV. As to the age at which greyhounds should begin coursing, you may take a bitch out after the eleventh month; or, if she be well set, and not loose-limbed, you may let go a hare from your hand before her, in an open field, a month earlier than this, starting the pup close to the hare, that she may enjoy

the sight of her game, and, by seeing it quite close, may work with eagerness. But presently slip another good dog to the hare, that the puppy may not suffer by too long a course, nor flag from over-fatigue; and the second dog turning the hare with ease again and again, will drive her into the puppy's mouth, when the latter should be allowed to tear her with her teeth till she has killed her.

As soon as the season arrives for taking out your puppies, let them be first walked over such roads as are rough ; for this exercise is conducive to forming and strengthening their feet. Then station the man who leads them upon a conspicuous and elevated spot, and be sure that he does not slip a puppy when the hare has got much a-head, and is out of sight; (notwithstanding the elder Xenophon advises it in regard to dogs that are to be practised at running on scent;) for if you slip a greyhound puppy out of sight of her game, she runs wide, and jumps about, and is beside herself and bewildered. And after she is full-grown, if a hare happen to escape her, she is never at rest, neither returning to her keeper, nor obeying his call, but, from eagerness for a course, continuing to run about wildly, like a mad dog, after nothing.

Let the man, then, that holds the puppy stand on such a spot as have stated, concealed from view at the point where it is most probable the tired hare will come in the course of her turns; and when he sees her quite weary, let him slip the puppy close to her, neither before, nor directly opposite to her; for the bitch rushing right upon her will overshoot herself, and the hare, with a wrench, easily skimming by, will of course leave the bitch far behind; the latter with difficulty turning herself, as gallies sailing briskly a-head cannot readily tack, unless the rowing be much slackened before they are brought about. Let the hare, therefore, just pass by, and then let him slip obliquely after her. Some one should follow up quickly, as soon as the hare is caught, before the dogs are gorged with her blood. Not that the flesh of a hare is to be accounted of much worth by a person who courses for the beauty of the sport; but it is a bad thing to teach a greyhound to eat a hare. Many a dog, too, has been destroyed by gorging himself while out of breath, after a long course, and has died of suffocation.

XXVI. Dog-puppies most not be taken out coursing until they are two years old, for their limbs become set at a much later period than those of bitches. Besides it is attended with no little danger to take them out earlier, many a greyhound having been prematurely destroyed by a severe course before he was full-grown, and especially those of the greatest spirit and highest breeding; for, in consequence of their spirit, they run to the very utmost of their power.

The other practical points, already insisted on in reference to bitches, are equally to be attended to in regard to the other sex. Dogs are to be kept from copulation within the age stated; for the seed being not yet matured in them, is generally weak and evanid, καθάπερ ἡ τῶν παίδων. The puppies themselves

too are so utterly ruined by it that you can never afterwards, do what you will, remedy the error. The proper and' seasonable time for sexual intercourse is from the completion of the third year.

And it should be thus managed: — watch the opportunity of the bitch being clear of vaginal blood; for if she receive the seed before, it generally is not retained, but is washed out by the blood, καθάπερ ταῖς γυναιξί; and you must here pay her particular attention, as it is only for a short interval of time that she preserves her heat after the vaginal blood has stopped.

A bitch's age may be considered good for the purpose from the second to the seventh year.

XXVIII. It is best for the dog and bitch to be shut up by themselves, and to be out of sight while together. For open and public copulations, if we may believe sportsmen, are not prolific; but such as are effected by dogs in private are reported to succeed.

Bitches, after being warded, may be led out, as walking about is conducive to their strength; but they must not be slipped again to a hare, for fear of being destroyed by overstraining or excessive fatigue. The dog likewise should not be let loose after a hare until he is recovered from his exhaustion, and invigorated by an interval of at least sixty days' rest. After which there will be no obstacle to his being coursed.

XXIX. The most favourable season for breeding is the spring of the year, as the temperature is mediate between hot and cold. Winter is not propitious for rearing puppies, more especially on account of the want of milk: and summer is distressing to the dams for suckling. Autumn is worse than spring for this reason, that the winter arrests the whelps before they are thoroughly formed.

XXX. If you wish a brood-bitch to recover her previous speed, you must not let her suckle her whelps, except merely to lighten any excess of milk, — and then put them to other bitches, selecting such as are well-bred: for the milk of degenerate curs is not congenial to high-bred puppies. If, however, the dam herself appear no longer serviceable for coursing, it is best to leave the whelps with their own mother, and not to put them under a foster-parent. For the growth is stunted by a stranger's nursing, (as the other Xenophon declares,) but the mother's milk and breath are cherishing to her puppies.

XXXI. When puppies can run about, Xenophon properly recommends that they be fed with milk; for the filling them with heavy food distorts their legs, and occasions diseases in their bodies. And as to giving dogs short names of easy pronunciation, in this we should also attend to him; for the names which he has enumerated, (in part the invention of others, and some of his own creation), are cleverly composed.

But if you do not as yet wish your bitches to breed up any puppies, you must take the greatest possible care of them while under distress in consequence. For when they have ceased to give suck, their teats become turgid and full of milk, and the parts beneath the belly distended. At which

time, it is not safe to loose them after a hare, — for their flanks may be burst asunder: nor should you let them play with another dog, as, by contending and striving with him beyond their strength, they may be placed in equal danger.

It is best to wait till their teats are become flaccid. And you will have a proof that it is safe to take them out, when the hair falls off abundantly, as you stroke it with your hand. They are then, I think, free from the distress they laboured under on account of their milk, and are ready for coursing.

XXXII. The greyhound bitch is fleeter than the dog, but the dog has more bottom than the bitch; and, because he can run through the whole year, is a much more valuable acquisition: and as good bitches abound, but it is no easy thing to meet with a thorough-good dog, the latter is on this account more precious: and again, it is fortunate if bitches preserve their speed to the fifth year, whereas dogs retain theirs even to the tenth. For all which reasons, in my opinion, a really good, high-bred dog is a great treasure — one that falls not to the lot of a courser without the favour of some god. For such a blessing, then, he should sacrifice to Diana Venatrix. He should sacrifice, too, whenever successful in his sport, dedicate the first-fruits of his spoils to the goddess, and purify his dogs and sportsmen, as regulated by the established rites of the country.

XXXIII. Some of the Celts have a custom of annually sacrificing to Diana; while others institute a treasury for the goddess, — into which they pay two oboli for every hare that is caught, — a drachma for a fox, (because he is a crafty animal, and destroy hares,) — and four drachma for a roe-deer, in consideration of his size, and greater value as game.

When the year comes round, on the return of the nativity of Diana, the treasury is opened, and a victim purchased out of the money collected; either a sheep, or kid, or heifer, according to the amount of the sum: and then, after having sacrificed, and presented the first-offerings of their victims to the Goddess of the chase, according to their respective rites, they give themselves up, with their hounds, to indulgence and recreation, — crowning the latter on this day with garlands, as an indication of the festival being celebrated on their account.

XXXIV. This Celtic custom I follow with my fellow-sportsmen, and declare no human undertaking to have a prosperous issue without the interposition of the Gods. For that Mariners, who regard their safety, supplicate the Gods at embarkation ; and, after dangers escaped, offer up sacrifices of gratitude to the sea-deities, Neptune, Amphitrite, and the Nereids. Cultivators of the soil do the same to Ceres, her daughter, and Bacchus; Artificers, to Minerva and Vulcan; Professors of instruction, to the Muses, Apollo Musagetes, Mnemosyne, and Mercury; Lovers, to Venus, Cupid, Suada, and the Graces. And, upon the same principle, Sportsmen should not be neglectful of Diana Venatrix, nor Apollo, nor Pan, nor the Nymphs, nor Mercury,' the conductor and president of the highways, nor any other mountain gods that there may be: otherwise their pursuits must turn out

abortive, their dogs injured, their horses lamed, and themselves disappointed.

XXXV. And of this, Homer gives evidence in his poem. Teucer, he says, the best bowman of the Greeks, in the archery-contest hit the cord only, and cut it asunder, because he had offered no vow to Apollo; but that Merion, who was no archer at all, by having invoked Apollo, struck the bird when on the wing.

Again, the posterity of those, who fought against Thebes with Polynices, captured the city,

To omen trusting, and the aid of Jove;

whereas their fathers, not at all inferior to them in valour, had perished before it, because they were disobedient to the signs vouchsafed to them by the Gods.

And lastly, Hector, inattentive to Polydamas when he objected to an attack on the Grecian fleet, (because the Trojans would not return from it with honour to themselves, as he inferred from a serpent dropped by an eagle,) was soon afterwards taught otherwise by experience, that no good comes of being refractory towards the Deity.

Following these examples, it is right in field-sports, as in every thing else, to begin with adoration of the Gods; and, after having obtained success, to offer thanksgiving-sacrifices and libations, with auspicious words, and crowns, and hymns, and to dedicate the first-fruits of the captured game, as the conqueror does of the spoils of war.

The Greek Texts



Ruins at Nicopolis, Epirus — Arrian studied philosophy in Nicopolis, under the Stoic philosopher Epictetus in his famous school.

LIST OF GREEK TEXTS



In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Greek texts of Arrian's works. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER

BOOK I.

[1] Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου ὅσα μὲν ταῦτα ἄμφω περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου συνέγραψαν, ταῦτα ἐγὼ ὡς πάντῃ ἀληθῆ ἀναγράφω, ὅσα δὲ οὐ ταῦτά, τούτων τὰ πιστότερα ἐμοὶ φαινόμενα καὶ ἅμα ἀξιοφηγότερα ἐπιλεξάμενος. [2] ἄλλοι μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέγραψαν, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὑπὲρ ὅτου πλείονες ἢ ἀξυμφωνότεροι ἐς ἀλλήλους: ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ Πτολεμαῖός τε καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος πιστότεροι ἔδοξαν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν, ὁ μὲν ὅτι συνεστράτευσεν βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Ἀριστόβουλος, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ πρὸς τῷ ξυστρατεῦσαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ὄντι αἰσχρότερον ἢ τῷ ἄλλῳ ψεύσασθαι ἦν: ἄμφω δέ, ὅτι τετελευτηκότος ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυγγράφουσιν [ὅτε] αὐτοῖς ἢ τε ἀνάγκη καὶ ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ ἄλλως τι ἢ ὡς συνηνέχθη ξυγγράψαι ἀπῆν. [3] ἔστι δὲ αὖ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλων ξυγγεγραμμένα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἀξιοφήγῃ τε μοι ἔδοξε καὶ οὐ πάντῃ ἄπιστα, ὡς λεγόμενα μόνον ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέγραψα. ὅστις δὲ θαυμάσεται ἀνθ' ὅτου ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε συγγραφεῦσι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦλθεν ἥδε ἡ συγγραφὴ, τὰ τε ἐκείνων πάντα τις ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐντυχὼν οὕτω θαυμαζέτω.

[1] λέγεται δὴ Φίλιππος μὲν τελευτήσαι ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πυθοδήλου Ἀθήνησι: παραλαβόντα δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλέξανδρον, παῖδα ὄντα Φιλίππου, ἐς Πελοπόννησον παρελθεῖν: εἶναι δὲ τότε ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν ἔτη Ἀλέξανδρον. [2] ἐνταῦθα ξυναγαγόντα τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅσοι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου ἦσαν, αἰτεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας στρατιᾶς, ἦντινα Φιλίπῳ ἤδη ἔδοσαν: καὶ αἰτήσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐκάστων πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων: Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι μὴ εἶναι σφισι πάτριον ἀκολουθεῖν ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἄλλων ἐξηγεῖσθαι. νεωτερίσαι δὲ ἅττα καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν πόλιν. [3] ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίους γε τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπλαγέντας καὶ πλείονα ἔτι τῶν Φιλίπῳ δοθέντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰς τιμὴν συγχωρῆσαι. ἐπανελθόντα δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι τοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν στόλου. [4] ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἐς Τριβαλλοὺς καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς, ὅτι τε νεωτερίζειν ἐπύθετο Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς, καὶ ἅμα ὁμόρους ὄντας οὐκ ἐδόκει ὑπολείπεσθαι ὅτι μὴ πάντῃ ταπεινωθέντας οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας στελλόμενον. [5] ὁρμηθέντα δὴ ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς Θράκην τὴν τῶν αὐτονόμων καλουμένων Θρακῶν, Φιλίππους πόλιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντα καὶ τὸν Ὀρβηλον τὸ ὄρος. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Νέστον ποταμὸν λέγουσιν, ὅτι δεκαταῖος ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Αἴμον. [6] καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀπὴντων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰ στενὰ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν τε % ἐμπόρων πολλοὶ ὥπλισμένοι καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ αὐτόνομοι, παρεσκευασμένοι εἶργειν τοῦ πρόσω κατειληφότες τὴν ἄκρην τοῦ Αἴμου τὸν στόλον, παρ' ἣν ἦν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡ πάροδος. [7] ξυναγαγόντες δὲ ἀμάξας καὶ προβαλόμενοι πρὸ σφῶν ἅμα μὲν χάρακι ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, εἰ βιάζοιντο, ἅμα δὲ ἐν νῷ εἶχον ἐπαφιέναι ἀνιούσιν ἢ ἀποτομώτατον τοῦ ὅρους ἐπὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων τὰς ἀμάξας. γνώμην δὲ πεποιήντο ὅτι ὅσῳ πυκνότερᾳ τῇ φάλαγγι καταφερόμεναι συμμιζοῦσιν αἱ ἅμαξαι, τοσῶδε

μᾶλλον τι διασκεδάσουσιν αὐτὴν βία ἐμπεσοῦσαι. [8] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ βουλὴ γίγνεται ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ὑπερβαλεῖ τὸ ὄρος· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐδόκει διακινδυνευτέα, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἄλλη τὴν ἀπόδοτον, παραγ γέλλει τοῖς ὀπλίταις, ὁπότε καταφέροντο κατὰ τοῦ ὀρθίου αἱ ἄμαξαι, ὅσοις μὲν ὁδὸς πλατεῖα οὕσα παρέχοι λῦσαι τὴν τάξιν, τούτους δὲ διαχωρῆσαι, ὥς δι' αὐτῶν ἐκπεσεῖν τὰς ἀμάξας· [9] ὅσοι δὲ περικαταλαμβάνοιντο, ξυννεύσαντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πεσόντας ἐς γῆν, συγκλείσαι ἐς ἀκριβὲς τὰς ἀσπίδας, τοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν φερομένης τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ὑπερπηδῶσας ἀβλαβῶς ἐπελθεῖν. καὶ οὕτω ξυνέβη ὅπως παρήνεσέ τε Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ εἵκασεν. [10] οἱ μὲν γὰρ διέσχον τὴν φάλαγγα, αἱ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἐπικυλισθεῖσαι ὀλίγα ἐβλαψαν· ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδείς ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀμάξαις. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Μακεδόνες θαρσύναντες, ὅτι ἀβλαβεῖς αὐτοῖς, ἃς μάλιστα ἐδέδισαν, αἱ ἄμαξαι ἐγένοντο, σὺν βοῇ ἐς τοὺς Θρᾶκας ἐνέβαλον. [11] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τοξότας μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης φάλαγγος, ὅτι ταύτῃ εὐπορώτερα ἦν, ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐκτοξεύειν ἐς τοὺς Θρᾶκας ὅπῃ προσφέροντο· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ ἄγλημα καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἦγεν. [12] ἔνθα δὴ οἱ τοξόται βάλλοντες τοὺς προεκθέοντας τῶν Θρακῶν ἀνέστελλον· καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ προσμίζασα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐξέωσεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀνθρώπους ψιλοὺς καὶ κακῶς ὥπλισμένους βαρβάρους, ὥστε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἐπάγοντα οὐκέτι ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ ῥίψαντες ὥς ἐκάστοις προὔχῳρι τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἔφυγον. [13] καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς χίλιους καὶ πεντακοσίους, ζῶντες δὲ ἄνδρες μὲν ὀλίγοι ἐλήφθησαν δι' ὠκύτητα καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐμπειρίαν, γυναῖκες δὲ ὅσαι ξυνείποντο αὐτοῖς ἐάλωσαν πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ παιδιάρια καὶ ἡ λεία πᾶσα ἐάλω.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν μὲν λείαν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, Λυσανίᾳ καὶ Φιλώτᾳ παραδοὺς διατίθεσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ἄκρον ὑπερβαλὼν προΐει διὰ τοῦ Αἵμου ἐς Τριβαλλοὺς, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν Λύγινον ποταμόν· ἀπέχει δὲ οὗτος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστρου ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν Αἷμον ἰόντι σταθμοὺς τρεῖς. [2] Σύρμος δὲ ὁ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν βασιλεὺς, ἐκ πολλοῦ πυνθανόμενος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν στόλον, γυναῖκας μὲν καὶ παῖδας τῶν Τριβαλλῶν προὔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον διαβαίνειν κελεύσας τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς νῆσόν τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰστρῳ· πεύκη ὄνομα τῇ νήσῳ ἐστίν. [3] ἐς ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον καὶ οἱ Θρᾶκες οἱ πρόσχωροι τοῖς Τριβαλλοῖς προσάγοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκ πολλοῦ συμπεφευγότες ἦσαν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σύρμος ἐς ταύτην ξυμπεφεύγει ξὺν τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν Τριβαλλῶν ἔφυγεν ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ἐνθενπερ τῇ προτεραιᾷ ὠρμήθῃ Ἀλέξανδρος. [4] ὥς δὲ ἔμαθεν αὐτῶν τὴν ὀρμὴν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποστρέψας τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τριβαλλοὺς ἦγεν, καὶ καταλαμβάνει καταστρατοπεδεύοντας ἤδη. καὶ οἱ μὲν καταληφθέντες πρὸς τῷ νάπῃ τῷ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν παρετάσσοντο· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα ἐς βάθος ἐκτάξας ἐπήγε, τοὺς τοξότας δὲ καὶ τοὺς σφενδονήτας προεκθέοντας ἐκέλευσεν ἐκτοξεύειν τε καὶ σφενδονᾶν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, εἴ πως προκαλέσαιτο αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ ψιλὰ ἐκ τοῦ νάπους. [5] οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγένοντο, πατιόμενοι ἐξέθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς τοξότας, ὅπως ἐς χεῖρας ξυμμίξειαν γυμνοῖς οὗσι τοῖς τοξόταις. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὥς προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς νάπης

ἔξω, Φιλώταν μὲν ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν Μακεδονίας ἱππέας προσέταξεν ἐμβάλλειν κατὰ τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, ἥπερ μάλιστα προῦκεχωρήκεσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκδρομῇ: Ἡρακλείδην δὲ καὶ Σώπολιν τοὺς ἐκ Βοτταΐας τε καὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἱππέας κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἐπάγειν ἔταξε. [6] τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος παρατείνας κατὰ μέσους ἐπῆγε. καὶ ἔστε μὲν ἀκροβολισμὸς παρ' ἐκατέρων ἦν, οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ οὐ μείον εἶχον: ὥς δὲ ἡ τε φάλαγξ πυκνὴ ἐνέβαλλεν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐρρωμένως καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς οὐκ ἀκοντισμῷ ἔτι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἵπποις ὠθοῦντες ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη προσέπιπτον, τότε δὴ ἐτράπησαν διὰ τοῦ νάπου εἰς τὸν ποταμόν. [7] καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν τρισχίλιοι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, ζῶντες δὲ ὀλίγοι καὶ τούτων ἐλήφθησαν, ὅτι ὕλη τε δασεῖα πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἦν καὶ νύξ ἐπιγενομένη τὴν ἀκριβειαν τῆς διώξεως ἀφείλετο τοὺς Μακεδόνας. αὐτῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων τελευτῆσαι λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ἱππέας μὲν ἑνδεκα, πεζοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα.

[1] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης τριταῖος ἀφικνεῖται Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν τὸν Ἰστρον, ποταμῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην μέγιστον ὄντα καὶ πλείστην γῆν ἐπερχόμενον καὶ ἔθνη μαχιμώτατα ἀπείργοντα, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ Κελτικά, ὅθεν γε καὶ αἱ πηγαὶ αὐτῷ ἀνίσχουσιν, ὧν τελευταίους Κουάδους καὶ Μαρκομάνους: [2] ἐπὶ δὲ Σαυροματῶν μοῖραν, Ἰάζυγας: ἐπὶ δὲ Γέτας τοὺς ἀπαθανατίζοντας: ἐπὶ δὲ Σαυρομάτας τοὺς πολλοὺς: ἐπὶ δὲ Σκύθας ἔστε ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολάς, ἵνα ἐκδοῖ κατὰ πέντε στόματα ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον. [3] ἐνταῦθα καταλαμβάνει αὐτῷ ἠκούσας ναῦς μακρὰς ἐκ Βυζαντίου διὰ τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν. ταύτας ἐμπλήσας τοξοτῶν τε καὶ ὀπλιτῶν τῇ νήσῳ ἐπέπλει, ἵνα οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Θρᾶκες ξυμπεφευγότες ἦσαν, καὶ ἐπειράτο βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἀπόβασιν. [4] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπῆντων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ὅπῃ αἱ νῆες προσπίπτοιεν: αἱ δὲ ὀλίγαι τε ἦσαν καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ οὐ πολλή ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς νήσου τὰ πολλὰ ἀπότομα ἐς προσβολήν, καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ παρ' αὐτήν, οἷα δὴ ἐς στενὸν συγκεκλεισμένον, ὅζῳ καὶ ἄπορον προσφέρεσθαι. [5] ἐνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπαγαγὼν τὰς ναῦς ἔγνω διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἰστρον ἐπὶ τοὺς Γέτας τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ὤκισμένους, ὅτι τε συνειλεγμένους ἐώρα πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, ὡς εἴρξοντας, εἰ διαβαῖνοι, — ἦσαν γὰρ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ πλείους τῶν μυρίων — καὶ ἅμα πόθος ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἐλθεῖν. [6] τῶν μὲν δὴ νεῶν ἐπέβη αὐτός: τὰς δὲ διφθέρας, ὑφ' αἷς ἐσκήνουν, τῆς κάρφης πληρώσας καὶ ὅσα μονόξυλα πλοῖα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ξυναγαγόν — ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτων εὐπορία πολλή, ὅτι τούτοις χρῶνται οἱ πρόσοικοι τῷ Ἰστροφ ἔφ' ἀλieiα τε τῇ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ καὶ εἵποτε παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμόν στέλλοιντο καὶ ληστεύοντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοί — ταῦτα ὡς πλεῖστα ξυναγαγόν διεβίβαζεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς ὅσους δυνατὸν ἦν ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. καὶ γίνονται οἱ διαβάντες ἅμα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους.

[1] διέβαλον δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἡ λήιον ἦν σίτου βαθύ: καὶ ταύτη μᾶλλον τι ἔλαθον προσχόντες τῇ ὄχθῃ. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἔω Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ τοῦ λήιου ἦγε, παραγγείλας τοῖς πεζοῖς πλαγαῖαι ταῖς σαρίσσαις ἐπικλίνοντας τὸν σῖτον οὕτω

προάγειν ἐς τὰ οὐκ ἐργάσιμα. οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἔστε μὲν διὰ τοῦ ληίου προῆει ἢ φάλαγξ ἐφείποντο: [2] ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐργασίμων ἐξήλασαν, τὴν μὲν ἵππον ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος παρήγαγεν, τὴν φάλαγγα δὲ ἐν πλαισίῳ Νικάνορα ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε. [3] καὶ οἱ Γέται οὐδὲ τὴν πρώτην ἐμβολὴν τῶν ἱπέων ἐδέξαντο: παράδοξος μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τόλμα ἐφάνη τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅτι εὐμαρῶς οὕτως τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ποταμῶν διεβέβηκει ἐν μιᾷ νυκτί τὸν Ἴστρον οὐ γεφυρώσας τὸν πόρον, φοβερὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ἡ ξύγκλεισις, βιαία δὲ ἡ τῶν ἱπέων ἐμβολή. [4] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς τὴν πόλιν καταφεύγουσιν, ἥ δὴ ἀπείχεν αὐτοῖς ὅσον παρασάγγην τοῦ Ἴστρου: ὥς δὲ ἐπάγοντα εἶδον σπουδῇ Ἀλέξανδρον τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, ὥς μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν πῃ οἱ πεζοὶ ἐνεδρευσάντων τῶν Γετῶν, τοὺς ἱππέας δὲ κατὰ μέτωπον, λείπουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Γέται κακῶς τετειχισμένην, ἀναλαβόντες τῶν παιδαρίων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὅσα φέρειν οἱ ἵπποι ἠδύναντο: [5] ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ ὁρμή ὥς πορρωτάτω ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς τὰ ἔρημα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν λαμβάνει καὶ τὴν λείαν πᾶσαν ὅσῃν οἱ Γέται ὑπελίποντο. καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν Μελεάγρῳ καὶ Φιλίππῳ ἐπαναγαγεῖν δίδωσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατασκάνας τὴν πόλιν θύει τε ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἴστρου Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἴστρῳ ὅτι οὐκ ἄπορος αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπανάγει αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σώους σύμπαντας ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. [6] ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκοντο πρέσβεις ὥς Ἀλέξανδρον παρὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα αὐτόνομα ἔθνη προσοικεῖ τῷ Ἴστρῳ καὶ παρὰ Σύρμου τοῦ Τριβαλλῶν βασιλέως: καὶ παρὰ Κελτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ὥκισμένων ἦκον: μεγάλοι οἱ Κελτοὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ μέγα ἐπὶ σφίσι φρονοῦντες: πάντες δὲ φιλίας τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφιέμενοι ἦκειν ἔφασαν. [7] καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδωκε πίστεις Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἔλαβε: τοὺς Κελτοὺς δὲ καὶ ἤρετο, ὅ τι μάλιστα δεδίδτεται αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἐλπίσας ὅτι μέγα ὄνομα τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς Κελτοὺς καὶ ἔτι προσωτέρω ἦκει καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων δεδιέναι φήσουσι. [8] τῷ δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδα ξυνέβη τῶν Κελτῶν ἡ ἀπόκρισις: οἷα γὰρ πόρρω τε ὥκισμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ χωρία δύσπορα οἰκοῦντες καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς ἄλλα τὴν ὁρμὴν ὀρῶντες ἔφασαν δεδιέναι μήποτε ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι, Ἀλέξανδρόν τε ἀγασθέντες οὔτε δέει οὔτε κατ' ὠφέλειαν πρεσβεῦσαι παρ' αὐτόν. καὶ τούτους φίλους τε ὀνομάσας καὶ ξυμμάχους ποιησάμενος ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψε, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι ἀλαζόνες Κελτοὶ εἰσιν.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπ' Ἀγριάνων καὶ Παιόνων προῦχώρει. ἐνθα δὴ ἄγγελοι ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ Κλεῖτόν τε τὸν Βαρδύλεω ἀφεστάναι ἀγγέλλοντες καὶ Γλαυκίαν προσκεχωρηκέναι αὐτῷ τὸν Ταυλαντίων βασιλέα: οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Αὐταριάτας ἐπιθήσεσθαι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐξήγγελλον: ὧν δὲ ἕνεκα κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐδόκει ἀναζευγνύναι. [2] Λάγγαρος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀγριάνων βασιλεὺς ἦδη μὲν καὶ Φιλίππου ζῶντος ἀσπαζόμενος Ἀλέξανδρον δηλὸς ἦν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐπρέσβευσε παρ' αὐτόν, τότε δὲ παρῆν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, ὅσους τε καλλίστους καὶ εὐοπλοτάτους ἀμφ' αὐτόν εἶχε: [3] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Αὐταριατῶν πυνθανόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον, οἵτινές τε καὶ ὀπόσοι εἶεν, οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι ἐν λόγῳ τίθεσθαι Αὐταριάτας: εἶναι γὰρ ἀπολεμωτάτους τῶν ταύτῃ: καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, ὥς ἀμφὶ τὰ σφέτερα μᾶλλον

τι ἔχοιεν. καὶ κελεύσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἦγε καὶ ἔφερε τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. Αὐταριᾶται μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ τὰ αὐτῶν εἶχον· [4] Λάγγαρος δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐτιμήθη μεγάλως πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ δῶρα ἔλαβεν, ὅσα μέγιστα παρὰ βασιλεῖ τῷ Μακεδόνων νομίζεται· καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου Κύναν καὶ ταύτην ὠμολόγησε δώσειν αὐτῷ ἐς Πέλλαν ἀφικομένῳ Ἀλέξανδρος. [5] ἀλλὰ Λάγγαρος μὲν ἐπανελθὼν οἶκαδε νόσφ' ἔτελεύτησεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἐριγόνα ποταμὸν πορευόμενος ἐς Πέλλιον πόλιν ἐστέλλετο. ταύτην γὰρ κατειλήφει ὁ Κλεῖτος ὡς ἐχυρωτάτην τῆς χώρας· καὶ πρὸ ταύτην ὡς ἦκεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καταστρατοπεδεύσας πρὸς τῷ Ἑορδαϊκῷ ποταμῷ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐγνώκει προσβάλλειν τῷ τείχει. [6] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κλεῖτον τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως ὄρη ὑπερδέξια τε ὄντα καὶ δασέα κατεῖχον ὡς πάντοθεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Μακεδόσιν εἰ τῇ πόλει προσβάλλοιεν· Γλαυκίας δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Ταυλαντίων βασιλεὺς οὐπω παρῆν. [7] Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει προσῆγεν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι σφαγιασάμενοι παῖδας τρεῖς καὶ κόρας ἴσας τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ κριοὺς μέλανας τρεῖς, ὥρμητο μὲν ὡς δεξόμενοι ἐς χεῖρας τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὁμοῦ δὲ γενομένων ἐξέλιπον καίτοι καρτερὰ ὄντα τὰ κατειλημμένα πρὸς σφῶν χωρία, ὥστε καὶ τὰ σφάγια αὐτῶν κατελήφθη ἔτι κείμενα. [8] ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ δὴ ἡμέρᾳ κατακλείσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐγνώκει περιτειχισμῷ ἀποκλεῖσαι αὐτούς· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ παρῆν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως Γλαυκίας ὁ τῶν Ταυλαντίων βασιλεὺς. ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀπέγνω εἶναι ἂν ζὴν τῇ παρουσίᾳ δυνάμει, πολλῶν μὲν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ μαχίμων ξυμπεφευγόντων, πολλῶν δὲ ἅμα τῷ Γλαυκίᾳ προσκεισομένων, εἰ αὐτὸς τῷ τείχει προσμάχοιτο. [9] Φιλώταν δὲ ἀναλαβόντα τῶν ἱππέων ὅσους ἐς προφυλακὴν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια τὰ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐς ἐπισιτισμὸν ἔπεμπε. καὶ ὁ Γλαυκίας μαθὼν τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ἀμφὶ Φιλώταν ἐξελαύνει ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὰ κύκλῳ ὄρη τοῦ πεδίου, ὅθεν οἱ ζὴν Φιλῶτα ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι ἔμελλον. [10] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπηγγέλθη αὐτῷ, ὅτι κινδυνεύουσιν οἱ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἰ νῦν αὐτοὺς καταλήψεται, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ ἱππέας ἐς τετρακοσίους ἐβοήθει σπουδῇ· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα πρὸς τῇ πόλει ἀπέλιπεν, ὡς μὴ ἀποχωρήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδραμόντες τοῖς ἀμφὶ Γλαυκίαν συμμίξειαν. [11] ἔνθα δὴ Γλαυκίας προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον αἰσθόμενος ἐκλείπει τὰ ὄρη· οἱ δὲ ζὴν Φιλῶτα ἀσφαλῶς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διεσώθησαν. ἐδόκουν δ' ἔτι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ ἀπειληφέναι οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κλεῖτον καὶ Γλαυκίαν· [12] τὰ τε γὰρ ὄρη τὰ ὑπερδέξια κατεῖχον πολλοῖς μὲν ἱππεῦσι, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ σφενδονήταις καὶ ὀπλίταις δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγοις, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει κατειλημμένοι προσκείσεσθαι ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἤμελλον· τὰ τε χωρία δι' ὧν ἡ πάροδος ἦν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στενὰ καὶ ὕλῳδῃ ἐφαίνετο, τῇ μὲν πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπειργόμενα, τῇ δὲ ὄρος ὑπερύψηλον ἦν καὶ κρημνοὶ πρὸς τοῦ ὄρους, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ἀσπίδων ἂν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡ πάροδος ἐγένετο. ἔνθα δὴ ἐκτάσσει τὸν στρατὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἕως

[1] ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος. ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν διακοσίους ἱππέας ἐπιτάξας παρήγγελλε σιγῇ ἔχειν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον

ὀξέως δεχομένους. [2] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐσήμηνεν ὀρθὰ ἀνατεῖναι τὰ δόρατα τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἔπειτα ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος ἀποτεῖναι ἐς προβολήν, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τὸ δεξιὸν ἐγκλίνει τῶν δοράτων τὴν σύγκλεισιν, αὐθις δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά. καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐς τε τὸ πρόσω ὀξέως ἐκίνησε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα ἄλλοτε ἄλλη παρήγαγε. [3] καὶ οὕτω πολλὰς τάξεις τάσας τε καὶ μετακοσμήσας ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον οἶον ἔμβολον ποιήσας τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τὴν τε ὀξύτητα ὀρῶντες καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν δρωμένων: τότε δὲ προσάγοντας ἤδη τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λείπουσι τοὺς πρώτους λόφους. [4] ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐπαλαλάξαι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τοῖς δόρασι δουπῆσαι πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας: οἱ δὲ Ταυλάντιοι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπλαγέντες πρὸς τῆς βοῆς ὡς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανήγαγον σπουδῇ τὸν στρατόν. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ λόφον τινὰς κατέχοντας ἰδὼν οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων, παρ' ὃν αὐτῷ ἡ πάροδος ἐγίνετο, παρήγγειλε τοῖς σωματοφύλαξι καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐταίροις, ἀναλαβόντας τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸν γήλοφον: ἐκεῖσε δὲ ἐλθόντας, εἰ ὑπομένοιν οἱ κατειληφότες τὸ χωρίον, τοὺς ἡμίσεας καταπηδῆσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἀναμιχθέντας τοῖς ἱππεῦσι πεζοὺς μάχεσθαι. [6] οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι τὴν ὁρμὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἰδόντες λείπουσι τὸν γήλοφον καὶ παρεκκλίνουσιν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τῶν ὀρῶν. ἔνθα δὲ καταλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν γήλοφον σὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις τοὺς τε Ἀγριᾶνας μεταπέμπεται καὶ τοὺς τοξότας, ὄντας ἐς δισχιλίους: τοὺς δὲ ὑπασπιστὰς διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς τάξεις τῶν Μακεδόνων: ὁπότε δὲ διαβάντες τύχοιεν, ἐπ' ἀσπίδα ἐκτάσσεσθαι, ὡς πυκνὴν εὐθὺς διαβάντων φαίνεσθαι τὴν φάλαγγα: αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν προφυλακῇ ὢν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου ἀφεώρα τῶν πολεμίων τὴν τὴν ὁρμὴν. [7] οἱ δέ, ὀρῶντες διαβαίνουσιν τὴν δύναμιν, κατὰ τὰ ὄρη ἀντεπῆσαν, ὡς τοῖς μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπιθησόμενοι τελευταίοις ἀποχωροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ πελαζόντων ἤδη αὐτὸς ἐκθεῖ σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν, καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὡς διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιούσα, ἐπηλάλαξεν: οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι πάντων ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλανόντων ἐγκλίναντες ἔφευγον: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπῆγεν Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς τε Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας δρόμῳ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν αὐτὸς φθάσας διαβαίνει: [8] τοῖς τελευταίοις δὲ ὡς εἶδεν ἐπικειμένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιστήσας ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξακοντίζειν ὡς πορρωτάτω ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ὅσα ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βέλη ἐξακοντίζεται, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας δὲ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκτοξεύειν, ἐπεσβάντας καὶ τούτους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Γλαυκίαν εἰσω βέλους παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπέρασαν τὸν ποταμόν, ὥστε οὐδεὶς ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει αὐτῶν. [9] τρίτῃ δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ καταμαθὼν Ἀλέξανδρος κακῶς αὐλιζομένους τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κλεῖτον καὶ Γλαυκίαν, καὶ οὔτε φυλακὰς ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτοῖς φυλαττομένας οὔτε χάρακα ἢ τάφρον προβεβλημένους, οἷα δὴ ξὺν φόβῳ ἀπηλλάχθαι οἰομένων Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐς μῆκος τε οὐκ ὠφέλιμον ἀποτετα[γ]μένην αὐτοῖς τὴν τάξιν, ὑπὸ νύκτα ἔτι λαθὼν διαβαίνει τὸν ποταμόν, τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἅμα οἱ ἄγων καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου καὶ Κοίνου τάξιν. [10] καὶ προστέτακτο μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν: ὡς δὲ καιρὸν εἶδεν εἰς ἐπίθεσιν, οὐ

προσμείνας ὁμοῦ γενέσθαι πάντας ἐφῆκε τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας: οἱ δὲ ἀπροσδόκητοί τε ἐπιτεσόντες καὶ φάλαγγι κατὰ κέρας, ἥπερ ἀσθενεστάτοις αὐτοῖς καρτερωτάτῃ τῇ ἐμβολῇ προσμίζειν ἔμελλον, τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς κατέκτεινον, τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας εὐμαρῶς αἰροῦντες, ὥστε πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐγκατελήφθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει ἀτάκτῳ καὶ φοβερᾷ γενομένη: οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἐλήφθησαν. [11] ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ δίωξις τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μέχρι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη τῶν Ταυλαντίων: ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἀπέφυγον αὐτῶν, γυμνοὶ τῶν ὅπλων διεσώθησαν. Κλεῖτος δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὸ πρῶτον καταφυγὼν ἐμπρήσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπηλλάγη παρὰ Γλαυκίαν ἐς Ταυλαντίους.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν φυγάδων τινὲς τῶν ἐκ Θηβῶν φευγόντων παρελθόντες νύκτωρ ἐς τὰς Θήβας, ἐπαγαγομένων τινῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Ἀμύνταν μὲν καὶ Τιμόλαον τῶν τὴν Καδμείαν ἐχόντων οὐδὲν ὑποτοπήσαντας πολέμιον ἔξω τῆς Καδμείας ἀπέκτειναν ξυλλαβόντες: [2] ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρελθόντες ἐπῆραν τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐλευθερίαν τε προῖσχύμενοι, παλαιὰ καὶ καλὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἤδη ποτὲ ἀπαλλαγῆναι. πιθανώτεροι δὲ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐφαίνοντο τεθνηκέναι Ἀλέξανδρον ἰσχυρίζομενοι ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς: [3] καὶ γὰρ καὶ πολὺς ὁ λόγος οὗτος καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν ἐφοῖτα, ὅτι τε χρόνον ἀπὴν οὐκ ὀλίγον καὶ ὅτι οὐδεμία ἀγγελία παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀφίκτο, ὥστε, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὰ ὄντα τὰ μάλιστα καθ' ἡδονὴν σφισιν εἵκαζον. [4] πυθομένῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων οὐδαμῶς ἐδόκει ἀμελητέα εἶναι, τὴν τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν δι' ὑποψίας ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοντι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ τόλμημα οὐ φαῦλον ποιουμένῳ, εἰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε πάλαι ἤδη ταῖς γνώμαις ἀφεστηκότες καὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ οὐ βέβαιοι ὄντες συνεπιλήσονται τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ τοῖς Θηβαίοις. [5] ἄγων δὴ παρὰ τὴν Ἑορδαίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἑλιμιῶτιν καὶ παρὰ τὰ τῆς Στυμφαΐας καὶ Παραναΐας ἄκρα ἐβδομαῖος ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Πέλιναν τῆς Θετταλίας. ἔνθεν δὲ ὀρμηθεὶς ἕκτη ἡμέρα ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ὥστε οὐ πρόσθεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἔμαθον εἰσω Πυλῶν παρεληλυθότα αὐτὸν πρὶν ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ γενέσθαι ζῶν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ. [6] καὶ τότε δὲ οἱ πράξαντες τὴν ἀπόστασιν στρατεύμα ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀντιπάτρου ἀφίχθαι ἔφασκον, αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τεθνάναι ἰσχυρίζοντο, καὶ τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οὗτος αὐτὸς προσάγει Ἀλέξανδρος χαλεπῶς εἶχον: ἄλλον γάρ τινα ἦκειν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀερόπου. [7] ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξ Ὀγχηστοῦ ἄρας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσῆγε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Ιολαοῦ τέμενος: οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ἐνδιδοὺς ἔτι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τριβὴν, εἰ μεταγνόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς κακῶς ἐγνωσμένοις πρεσβεύσαιντο παρ' αὐτόν. [8] οἱ δὲ τοσούτου ἐδέησαν ἐνδόσιμόν τι παρασχεῖν ἐς ζύμβασιν, ὥστε ἐκθέοντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠκροβολίζοντο ἐς τὰς προφυλακάς, καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων. [9] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκπέμπει τῶν ψιλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀναστεῖλαι τὴν ἐκδρομὴν: καὶ οὗτοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνέστειλαν ἤδη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτῷ προσφερομένους. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν καὶ περιελθὼν κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς

φερούσας ἐπ' Ἐλευθεράς τε καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐδὲ τότε προσέμιξε τοῖς τείχεσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐστρατοπέδευσεν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων τῆς Καδμείας, ὥστε ἐγγὺς εἶναι ὠφέλειαν τῶν Μακεδόνων τοῖς τὴν Καδμείαν ἔχουσιν. [10] οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι τὴν Καδμείαν διπλῷ χάρακι ἐφρουροῦν ἀποτείχισαντες, ὥς μήτε ἔξωθεν τινα τοῖς ἐγκατελιημμένοις δύνασθαι ἐπωφελεῖν, μήτε αὐτοὺς ἐκθέοντας βλάπτειν τι σφᾶς, ὁπότε τοῖς ἔξω πολεμίοις προσφέροντο. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ — ἔτι γὰρ τοῖς Θηβαίοις διὰ φιλίας ἐλθεῖν μᾶλλον τι ἢ διὰ κινδύνου ἤθελε — διέτριβε πρὸς τῇ Καδμείᾳ κατεστρατοπεδευκώς. [11] ἔνθα δὴ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν τὰ βέλτιστα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν γινώσκοντες ἐξελθεῖν ὥρμηντο παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ εὐρέσθαι συγγνώμην τῷ πλήθει τῶν Θηβαίων τῆς ἀποστάσεως· οἱ φυγάδες δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς φυγάδας ἐπικεκλημένοι ἦσαν, οὐδενὸς φιланθρώπου τυχεῖν ἂν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀξιοῦντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ βοιωταρχοῦντες ἔστιν οἱ αὐτῶν, παντάπασιν ἐνήγον τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὐδ' ὥς τῇ πόλει προσέβαλλεν.

[1] ἀλλὰ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ὅτι Περδίκκας, προτεταγμένος τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου σὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τάξει καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν πολέμιων οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκώς, οὐ προσμείνας παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ ἐς τὴν μάχην ζύνθημα αὐτὸς πρῶτος προσέμιξε τῷ χάρακι καὶ διασπάσας αὐτὸν ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τῶν Θηβαίων τὴν προφυλακὴν. [2] τούτῳ δὲ ἐπόμενος Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀνδρομένους, ὅτι καὶ καὶ ζυντεταγμένος τῷ Περδίκκᾳ ἦν, ἐπήγαγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν, ὥς εἶδε τὸν Περδίκκαν προεληλυθότα εἰσὼ τοῦ χάρακος. ταῦτα δὲ ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὥς μὴ μόνοι ἀποληφθέντες πρὸς τῶν Θηβαίων κινδυνεύσειαν, ἐπήγε τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν. [3] καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας ἐκδραμεῖν ἐσήμηνεν εἰσὼ τοῦ χάρακος, τὸ δὲ ἄγημά τε καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς ἔτι ἔξω κατεῖχεν. ἔνθα δὴ Περδίκκας [μὲν] τοῦ δευτέρου χάρακος εἰσὼ παρελθεῖν βιαζόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν βληθεὶς πίπτει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποκομίζεται κακῶς ἔχων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ χαλεπῶς διεσώθη ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος· τοὺς μέντοι Θηβαίους ἐς τὴν κοίλῃν ὁδὸν τὴν κατὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον φέρουσιν οἱ ἅμα αὐτῷ εἰσπεσόντες ὁμοῦ τοῖς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοξόταις συνέκλεισαν. [4] καὶ ἔστε μὲν πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἀναχωροῦσιν εἶποντο τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπιστρεψάντων αὐθις σὺν βοῇ τῶν Θηβαίων φυγὴ τῶν Μακεδόνων γίγνεται· καὶ Εὐρυβώτας τε ὁ Κρῆς πίπτει ὁ τοξάρχης καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατέφυγον πρὸς τὸ ἄγημα τὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς τοὺς βασιλικούς. [5] κἀν τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ φεύγοντας κατιδὼν, τοὺς Θηβαίους δὲ λελυκότας ἐν τῇ διώξει τὴν τάξιν, ἐμβάλλει ἐς αὐτοὺς συντεταγμένην τῇ φάλαγγι· οἱ δὲ ὠθοῦσι τοὺς Θηβαίους εἰσὼ τῶν πυλῶν· καὶ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐς τοσόνδε ἡ φυγὴ φοβερά ἐγίνετο, ὥστε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ὠθούμενοι ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔφθισαν συγκλεῖσαι τὰς πύλας, ἀλλὰ συνεσπίπτουσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἰσὼ τοῦ τείχους ὅσοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐγγὺς φευγόντων εἶχοντο, ἅτε καὶ τῶν τειχῶν διὰ προφυλακὰς τὰς πολλὰς ἐρήμων ὄντων. [6] καὶ παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν Καδμείαν οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον σὺν τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν Καδμείαν ἐξέβαινον ἐς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ τείχη, ἐχόμενα ἤδη πρὸς τῶν συνεισπεσόντων τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὑπερβάντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο.

[7] καὶ ὀλίγον μὲν τινα χρόνον ἔμειναν οἱ τεταγμένοι τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον· ὥς δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἐπιφαινόμενος προσέκειντο, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τῶν Θηβαίων διεκπεσόντες διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐξέπιπτον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ ὥς ἐκάστοις προὔχῳρει ἐσώζοντο. [8] ἔνθα δὴ ὀργῇ οὐχ οὕτως τι οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς τε καὶ Πλαταιεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Βοιωτοὶ οὐδὲ ἀμυνομένους τοὺς Θηβαίους ἔτι οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔκτεινον, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπεισπίπτοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐς ἀλκὴν τετραμμένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἰκετεύοντας, οὔτε γυναικῶν οὔτε παίδων φειδόμενοι.

[1] καὶ πάθος τοῦτο Ἑλληνικὸν μεγέθει τε τῆς ἀλούσης πόλεως καὶ ὀξύτητι τοὺς παθόντας καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας, οὐ μείον τι τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς μετασχόντας τοῦ ἔργου ἐξέπληξε. [2] τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀθηναίοις ξυνενεχθέντα, εἰ καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἀπολομένων οὐ μείονα τὴν ξυμφορὰν τῇ πόλει ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πόρρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας διαφθορῆσαι αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατόν, καὶ τὸν πολὺν ξυμμαχικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκείον ὄντα, καὶ τῷ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς περιλειφθῆναι, ὥς καὶ ἐς ὕστερον ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀντισχεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καὶ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ πολεμοῦντας, οὔτε αὐτοῖς τοῖς παθοῦσιν ἴσην τὴν αἴσθησιν τῆς ξυμφορᾶς προσέθηκεν, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει ἔκπληξιν ὁμοίαν παρέσχε. [3] καὶ τὸ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς αὖθις Ἀθηναίων πταῖσμα ναυτικόν τε ἦν καὶ ἡ πόλις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν καθαιρέσει καὶ νεῶν τῶν πολλῶν παραδόσει καὶ στερήσει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς ταπεινότητα ἀφικομένη τό τε σχῆμα τὸ πάτριον ὅμως ἐφύλαξε καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τὴν πάλαι ἀνέλαβεν, ὥς τὰ τε μακρὰ τείχη ἐκτειχίσαι καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης αὖθις ἐπικρατῆσαι καὶ, τοὺς τότε φοβεροὺς σφισι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθόντας ἀφανίσαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνων διασώσασθαι. [4] Λακεδαιμονίων τε αὖ τὸ κατὰ Λεῦκτρα καὶ ξυμφορᾶς ἢ τῷ πλήθει τῶν [τε] ἀπολομένων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξέπληξεν· ἢ τε ξὺν Ἑπαμεινώνδῃ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Ἀρκάδων γενομένη προσβολὴ πρὸς τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ αὐτὴ τῷ ἀήθει τῆς ὄψεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ τοῦ κινδύνου αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμετασχόντας αὐτοῖς τῶν τότε πραγμάτων ἐφόβησεν. [5] ἡ δὲ δὴ Πλαταιῶν ἄλωσις τῆς πόλεως τῇ σμικρότητι ... τῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντων, ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν διαπεφεύγessαν πάλαι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, οὐ μέγα πάθημα ἐγένετο. καὶ ἡ Μήλου καὶ Σκιώνης ἄλωσις, νησιωτικὰ τι προσέβαλεν ἢ ἐς τὸ ζῦμπαν Ἑλληνικὸν μέγαν τὸν παράλογον παρέσχε. [6] Θηβαίοις δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ὀξέα καὶ ξὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ γενόμενα, καὶ ἡ ἄλωσις δι' ὀλίγου τε καὶ οὐ ξὺν πόνῳ τῶν ἐλόντων ξυνενεχθεῖσα, καὶ ὁ φόνος ὁ πολὺς, οἷα δὴ ἐξ ὁμοφύλων τε καὶ παλαιᾶς ἀπεχθείας ἐπεξίσκοντων, καὶ ὁ τῆς πόλεως παντελὴς ἀνδραποδισμός, δυνάμει τε καὶ δόξῃ ἐς τὰ πολέμια τῶν τότε προεχούσης ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἐς μῆνιν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνηνέχθη, [7] ὥς τῆς τε ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ προδοσίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ μακροῦ ταύτην δίκην ἐκτίσαντας Θηβαίους, καὶ τῆς Πλαταιῶν ἐν τε ταῖς σπονδαῖς καταλήψεως καὶ τοῦ παντελοῦς ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῆς τῶν παραδόντων σφᾶς Λακεδαιμονίους οὐχ Ἑλληνικῆς γενομένης διὰ

Θηβαίους σφαγῆς, καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τῆς ἐρημώσεως, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Ἕλληνες παραταξάμενοι Μήδοις ἀπώσαντο τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν κίνδυνον, καὶ ὅτι Ἀθηναίους αὐτοὶ τῇ ψήφῳ ἀπώλλουν, ὅτε ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως γνώμη προὔτεθη ἐν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων ζυμμάχοις. [8] ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ζυμφορᾶς πολλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπισημῆναι ἐλέγετο, ἃ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῷ παρατύκῳ ἡμελήθη, ὕστερον δὲ ἡ μνήμη αὐτὰ ἐς λογισμὸν τοῦ ἐκ πάλαι ἐπὶ τοῖς ξυνενεχθεῖσιν προσημανθῆναι ἀνήνεγκεν. [9] τοῖς δὲ μετασχοῦσι τοῦ ἔργου ζυμμάχοις, οἷς δὴ καὶ ἐπέτρεπεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ κατὰ τὰς Θήβας διαθεῖναι, τὴν μὲν Καδμεῖαν φρουρὰ κατέχειν ἔδοξε, τὴν πόλιν δὲ κατασκάψαι ἐς ἔδαφος καὶ τὴν χώραν κατανεῖμαι τοῖς ζυμμάχοις, ὅση μὴ ἱερὰ αὐτῆς· παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ὅσοι ὑπελείποντο Θηβαίων, πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων τε καὶ ἱερείων καὶ ὅσοι ξένοι Φιλίππου ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ ὅσοι πρόξενοι Μακεδόνων ἐγένοντο, ἀνδραποδίσαι. [10] καὶ τὴν Πινδάρου δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοῦ Πινδάρου λέγουσιν ὅτι διεφύλαξεν Ἀλέξανδρος αἰδοῖ τῇ Πινδάρου. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὀρχόμενόν τε καὶ Πλαταιὰς ἀναστῆσαι τε καὶ τειχίσαι οἱ ζύμμαχοι ἔγνωσαν.

[1] ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ πάθος, Ἀρκάδες μὲν, ὅσοι βοηθήσαντες Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ὠρμήθησαν, θάνατον κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ἐπαράντων σφᾶς ἐς τὴν βοήθειαν· Ἥλεῖοι δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας σφῶν κατεδέξαντο, ὅτι ἐπιτήδειοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦσαν· [2] Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ πρεσβείας σφῶν κατὰ ἔθνη πέμψαντες ζυγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἐδέοντο, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ τι πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ἀπαγγελθέντα ἐνεωτέρισαν· Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, μυστηρίων τῶν μεγάλων ἀγομένων ὡς ἤκόν τινες τῶν Θηβαίων ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου, τὰ μὲν μυστήρια ἐκπλαγέντες ἐξέλιπον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσκευαγῶνουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. [3] ὁ δὲ δήμος δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθὼν Δημάδου γράψαντος δέκα πρέσβεις ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἐπιλεξάμενος πέμπει παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρον, οὓστινας ἐπιτηδειοτάτους Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγίνωσκον, ὅτι τε σῶος ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Τριβαλλῶν ἐπανήλθε χαίρειν τὸν δήμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ ἀπαγγελοῦντας καὶ ὅτι Θηβαίους τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ ἐτιμωρήσατο. [4] ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φιланθρώπως πρὸς τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπιστολὴν δὲ γράψας πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἐξήτει τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Λυκοῦργον· καὶ Ὑπερίδην δὲ ἐξήτει καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Χάρητα καὶ Χαρίδημον καὶ Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Διότιμον καὶ Μοιροκλέα· [5] τούτους γὰρ αἰτίους εἶναι τῆς τε ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ζυμφορᾶς τῇ πόλει γενομένης καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῇ Φιλίππου τελευτῇ πλημμεληθέντων ἐς τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐς Φίλιππον· καὶ Θηβαίοις δὲ τῆς [τε] ἀποστάσεως ἀπέφαιναν αἰτίους οὐ μείον ἢ τοὺς αὐτῶν Θηβαίων νεωτερίσαντας. [6] Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας οὐκ ἐξέδοσαν, πρεσβεύονται δὲ αὖθις παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρον, ἀφεῖναι δεόμενοι τὴν ὀργὴν τοῖς ἐξαιτηθεῖσι· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφῆκε, τυχὸν μὲν αἰδοῖ τῆς πόλεως, τυχὸν δὲ σπουδῇ τοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν στόλου, οὐκ ἐθέλων οὐδὲν ὑποπτον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὑπολείπεσθαι. Χαρίδημον μέντοι μόνον τῶν ἐξαιτηθέντων τε καὶ οὐ δοθέντων φεύγειν ἐκέλευσε· καὶ φεύγει Χαρίδημος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν· καὶ τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν ἀπ' Ἀρχελάου ἔτι καθεστῶσαν ἔθυσε καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα

ἐν Αἰγαῖς διέθηκε τὰ Ὀλύμπια: οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε. [2] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀγγέλλεται τὸ Ὀρφέως τοῦ Οἰάγρου τοῦ Θρακὸς ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν Πιερίδι ἰδρῶσαι ζυνεχῶς: καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα ἐπεθείαζον τῶν μάντεων, Ἀρίστανδρος δέ, ἀνὴρ Τελμισσεύς, μάντις, θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν Ἀλέξανδρον: δηλοῦσθαι γάρ, ὅτι ποιηταῖς ἐπῶν τε καὶ μελῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἀμφὶ ᾠδὴν ἔχουσι πολὺς πόνος ἔσται ποιεῖν τε καὶ ἄδειν ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα. [3] ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐξελαύνει ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου τὰ μὲν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐπιτρέψας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων πεζοὺς μὲν σὺν ψιλοῖς τε καὶ τοξόταις οὐ πολλῷ πλείους τῶν τρισυρίων, ἱππέας δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ στόλος παρὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Κερκινίτιν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ τὰς ἐκβολάς. [4] διαβάς δὲ τὸν Στρυμόνα παρήμειβε τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος τὴν ὡς ἐπ' Ἄβδηρα καὶ Μαρώνειαν, πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ ὥκισμένας. ἔνθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐβρον ποταμὸν ἀφικόμενος διαβαίνει καὶ τὸν Ἐβρον εὐπετῶς. [5] ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιτικῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μέλανα ποταμὸν ἔρχεται. διαβάς δὲ καὶ τὸν Μέλανα ἐς Σηστόν ἀφικνεῖται ἐν εἴκοσι ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκοθεν ἐξορμήσεως. ἔλθων δὲ ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα θύει Πρωτεσίλαῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλαου, ὅτι καὶ Πρωτεσίλαος πρῶτος ἐδόκει ἐκβῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἅμα Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς Ἴλιον στρατευσάντων. καὶ ὁ νοὺς τῆς θυσίας ἦν ἐπιτυχεστέραν οἱ γενέσθαι ἢ Πρωτεσίλαῳ τὴν ἀπόβασιν. [6] Παρμενίων μὲν δὴ τῶν τε πεζῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὴν ἵππον διαβιβάσαι ἐτάχθη ἐκ Σηστοῦ ἐς Ἄβυδον: καὶ διέβησαν τριήρεσι μὲν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐξήκοντα, πλοίοις δὲ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς στρογγύλοις. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ἐς τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα κατὰραι ὁ πλείων λόγος κατέχει, καὶ αὐτὸν τε κυβερνῶντα τὴν στρατηγίδα ναῦν διαβάλλειν καὶ, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἐγένετο, σφάζαντα ταῦρον τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Νηρηΐσι σπένδειν ἐκ χρυσεῆς φιάλης ἐς τὸν πόντον. [7] λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς νεῶς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκβῆναι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ βωμοὺς ἰδρύσασθαι ὅθεν τε ἐστάλη ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ ὅπου ἐξέβη τῆς Ἀσίας Διὸς ἀποβατηρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡρακλέους. ἀνελθόντα δὲ ἐς Ἴλιον τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ θῦσαι τῇ Ἰλιάδι, καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν νεῶν, καὶ καθελεῖν ἀντὶ ταύτης τῶν ἱερῶν τινα ὀπλῶν ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ ἔργου σωζόμενα. [8] καὶ ταῦτα λέγουσιν ὅτι οἱ ὑπασπισται ἔφερον πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰς μάχας. θῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Πριάμῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐρκείου λόγος κατέχει, μῆνιν Πριάμου παραιτούμενον τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ γένει, ὃ δὴ ἐς αὐτὸν καθῆκεν.

[1] ἀνιόντα δ' αὐτὸν ἐς Ἴλιον Μενoitίος τε ὁ κυβερνήτης χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Χάρης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐκ Σιγείου ἐλθὼν καὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι:....οἱ δὲ, ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ἄρα τάφον ἐστεφάνωσεν: Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι τοῦ Πατρόκλου τὸν τάφον ἐστεφάνωσε: καὶ εὐδαιμόνισεν ἄρα, ὡς λόγος, Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀχιλλέα, ὅτι Ὀμήρου κήρυκος ἐς τὴν ἔπειτα μνήμην ἔτυχε. [2] καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐχ ἥκιστα τούτου ἔνεκα εὐδαιμονιστέος Ἀχιλλεύς, ὅτι αὐτῷ γε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιτυχίαν, τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐκλιπὲς ζυνέβη οὐδὲ ἐξηνέχθη

ἐς ἀνθρώπους τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα ἐπαξίως, οὐτ' οὖν καταλογάδην, οὔτε τις ἐν μέτρῳ ἐποίησεν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν μέλει ἦσθη Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν ᾧ Ἰέρων τε καὶ Γέλων καὶ Θήρων καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι οὐδέν τι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπειοικότες, ὥστε πολὺ μῖον γινώσκεται τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ τὰ φανυλότατα τῶν πάλαι ἔργων· [3] ὁπότε καὶ ἡ τῶν μυρίων ζὺν Κύρῳ ἄνοδος ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ἀρτοξέρην καὶ τὰ Κλεάρχου τε καὶ τῶν ἅμα αὐτῷ ἀλόντων παθήματα καὶ ἡ κατάβασις αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ἣν Ξενοφῶν αὐτοὺς κατήγαγε, πολὺ τι ἐπιφανέστερα ἐς ἀνθρώπους Ξενοφώντος ἕνεκά ἐστιν ἢ Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα. [4] καίτοι Ἀλέξανδρος οὔτε ζὺν ἄλλῳ ἐστράτευσεν, οὔτε φεύγων μέγαν βασιλέα τοὺς τῇ καθόδῳ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐμποδῶν γιγνομένους ἐκράτησεν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἄλλος εἰς ἀνὴρ τοσαῦτα ἢ τηλικαῦτα ἔργα κατὰ πληθοῦς ἢ μέγεθος ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ἢ βαρβάροις ἀπεδείξατο. ἐνθεν καὶ αὐτὸς ὀρμηθῆναι φημι ἐς τήνδε τὴν συγγραφὴν, οὐκ ἀπαξιώσας ἑμαυτὸν φανερὰ καταστήσειν ἐς ἀνθρώπους τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα. [5] ὅστις δὲ ὦν ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ γινώσκω, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα οὐδέν δέομαι ἀναγράψαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄγνωστον ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἐστίν, οὐδὲ πατρίδα ἣτις μοί ἐστιν οὐδὲ γένος τὸ ἐμόν, οὐδὲ εἰ δὴ τινα ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ ἑμαυτοῦ ἦρξα· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἀναγράφω, ὅτι ἐμοὶ πατρίς τε καὶ γένος καὶ ἀρχαὶ οἶδε οἱ λόγοι εἰσὶ τε καὶ ἀπὸ νέου ἔτι ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἀπαξιώ ἑμαυτὸν τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, εἴπερ οὖν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. [6] ἐξ Ἰλίου δὲ ἐς Ἀρίσβην ἦκεν, οὗ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῷ διαβεβηκυῖα τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ἐστρατοπεδεύκει, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς Περκώτην· τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ Λάμψακον παραμείψας πρὸς τῷ Πρακτίῳ ποταμῷ ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν Ἰδαίων ἐκκιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου τε καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου. ἐνθεν δὲ ἐς Ἑρμῶντον ἀφίκετο, Κολωνάς πόλιν παραμείψας. [7] σκοποὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπέμποντο πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος· καὶ τούτων ἡγεμῶν ἦν Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀρραβαίου, ἔχων τῶν τε ἐταίρων τὴν ἰλὴν τὴν ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας, ἣς ἰλάρχης ἦν Σωκράτης ὁ Σάθωνος, καὶ τῶν προδρόμων καλουμένων ἱλας τέσσαρας. κατὰ δὲ τὴν πάροδον Πρίαπον πόλιν ἐνδοθεῖσαν πρὸς τῶν ἐνοικούντων τοὺς παραληψομένους ἀπέστειλε σὺν Πανηγόρῳ τῷ Λυκαγόρου, ἐνὶ τῶν ἐταίρων. [8] Περσῶν δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν Ἀρσάμης καὶ Ῥεομίθρης καὶ Πετήνης καὶ Νιφάτης καὶ ζὺν τούτοις Σπιθριδάτης ὁ Λυδίας καὶ Ἰωνίας σατράπης καὶ Ἀρσίτης ὁ τῆς πρὸς Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίας ὑπαρχος. οὗτοι δὲ πρὸς Ζελείᾳ πόλει κατεστρατοπεδευκότες ἦσαν ζὺν τῇ ἵπῳ τε τῇ βαρβαρικῇ καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι τοῖς μισθοφόροις. [9] βουλευομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος διαβεβηκὼς ἠγγέλλετο, Μέμνων ὁ Ῥόδιος παρῆναι μὴ διὰ κινδύνου ἰέναι πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, τῷ τε πεζῷ πολὺ περιόντας σφῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρόντος, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἀπόντος Δαρείου· προϊόντας δὲ τὸν τε χιλὸν ἀφανίζειν καταπατοῦντας τῇ ἵπῳ καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸν ἐμπιπράναι, μηδὲ τῶν πόλεων αὐτῶν φειδομένους. οὐ γὰρ μενεῖν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. [10] Ἀρσίτην δὲ λέγεται εἶπεῖν ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν Περσῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν περίδοι μίαν οἰκίαν ἐμπρησθεῖσαν τῶν ὑπὸ οἷ τεταγμένων ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας Ἀρσίτη προσθέσθαι, ὅτι καὶ ὑποπτόν τι αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐς τὸν Μέμνονα τριβάς ἐμποιεῖν ἐκόντα τῷ πολέμῳ τῆς ἐκ

βασιλέως τιμῆς οὐνεκα.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος προὔχῳρει ἐπὶ τὸν Γράνικον ποταμὸν συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατῷ, διπλὴν μὲν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τάξας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας κατὰ τὰ κέρατα ἄγων, τὰ σκευοφόρα δὲ κατόπιν ἐπιτάξας ἔπεσθαι: τοὺς δὲ προκατασκευασμένους τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἦγεν αὐτῷ Ἥγέλοχος, ἱππέας μὲν ἔχων τοὺς σαρισσοφόρους, τῶν δὲ ψιλῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους. [2] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός τε οὐ πολὺ ἀπέιχε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Γρανίκου καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν σπουδῇ ἐλαύνοντες ἀπήγγελλον ἐπὶ τῷ Γρανίκῳ πέραν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐφεστάναι τεταγμένους ὡς ἐς μάχην. ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν συνέταττεν ὡς μαχομένους: Παρμενίων δὲ προσελθὼν λέγει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τάδε. [3] ‘ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, βασιλεῦ, ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταστρατοπεδεῦσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ ὄχῃ ὡς ἔχομεν. τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους οὐ δοκῶ τολμήσειν πολὺ τῷ πεζῷ λειπομένους πλησίον ἡμῶν αὐλισθῆναι, καὶ ταύτῃ παρέξιν ἔωθεν εὐπετῶς τῷ στρατῷ διαβαλεῖν τὸν πόρον: ὑποφθάσομεν γὰρ αὐτοὶ περάσαντες πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐς τάξιν καθίστασθαι. [4] νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἀκινδύνως μοι δοκοῦμεν ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐν μετώπῳ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄγειν τὸν στρατόν. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὀράται βαθέα, αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὐταὶ ὀρᾷς ὅτι ὑπερύψηλοι καὶ κρημνώδεις εἰσὶν αἱ αὐτῶν: [5] ἀτάκτως τε οὖν καὶ κατὰ κέρας, ἥπερ ἀσθενέστατον, ἐκβαίνουσιν ἐπικεῖσονται ἐς φάλαγγα ξυντεταγμένοι τῶν πολεμίων οἱ ἱππεῖς: καὶ τὸ πρῶτον σφάλμα ἐς τε τὰ παρόντα χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου κρίσιν σφαλερόν.’ [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ‘ταῦτα μὲν’, ἔφη, ‘ὦ Παρμενίων, γινώσκω: αἰσχύνομαι δέ, εἰ τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον διέβην εὐπετῶς, τοῦτο δέ, σμικρὸν ῥεῦμα, — οὕτω τῷ ὀνόματι τὸν Γράνικον ἐκφασίσεις, — εἵρξει ἡμᾶς τὸ μὴ οὐ διαβῆναι ὡς ἔχομεν. [7] καὶ τοῦτο οὔτε πρὸς Μακεδόνων τῆς δόξης οὔτε πρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ὀξύτητος ποιούμαι: ἀναθαρρήσειν τε δοκῶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἀξιομάχους Μακεδόσιν ὄντας, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ σφῶν δέους ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἔπαθον.’

[1] ταῦτα εἰπὼν Παρμενίωνα μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας πέμπει ἡγήσόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν παρήγε. προετάχθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ Φιλώτας ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἔχων τοὺς ἐταίρους τοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς: Ἀμύντας δὲ ὁ Ἀρραβαίου τοὺς τε σαρισσοφόρους ἱππέας ἔχων Φιλῶτα ἐπετάχθη καὶ τοὺς Παίονας καὶ τὴν ἴλην τὴν Σωκράτους. [2] ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων ἐτάχθησαν οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ τῶν ἐταίρων, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἡ Περδίκκου τοῦ Ὀρόντου φάλαγξ: ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Κοῖνου τοῦ Πολεμοκράτους: [ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Κρατεροῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου:] ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Ἀνδρομένου: ἐπὶ δὲ ὧν Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου ἦρχε. [3] τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἱππεῖς ἐτάχθησαν, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Κάλας ὁ Ἀρπάλου: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἦρχε Φίλιππος ὁ Μενελάου: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ Θρᾶκες, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀγάθων: ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων πεζοὶ ἢ τε Κρατεροῦ φάλαγξ καὶ ἡ Μελεάγρου καὶ ἡ Φιλίππου ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς ξυμπάσης τάξεως. [4] Περσῶν δὲ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν ἐς δισμυρίους, ξένοι δὲ πεζοὶ μισθοφόροι ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες δισμυρίων: ἐτάχθησαν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἵππον παρατείναντες τῷ ποταμῷ κατὰ τὴν ὄχθην ἐπὶ

φάλαγγα μακράν, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς κατόπιν τῶν ἰππέων· καὶ γὰρ ὑπερδέξια ἦν τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν ὄχθην χωρία. ἡ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν καθεώρων — δηλὸς γὰρ ἦν τῶν τε ὄπλων τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῶν ἁμφ’ αὐτὸν τῇ σὺν ἐκπλήξει θεραπείᾳ — κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον [μὲν] σφῶν ἐπέχοντα, ταύτῃ πυκνὰς ἐπέταζαν τῇ ὄχθῃ τὰς ἵλας τῶν ἰππέων. [5] χρόνον μὲν δὴ ἁμφοτέρω τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπ’ ἄκρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐφεστῶτες ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ μέλλον ὀκνεῖν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον καὶ σιγῇ ἦν πολλή ἀφ’ ἐκατέρων. οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι προσέμενον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὁπότε ἐσβήσονται ἐς τὸν πόρον, ὥς ἐπικεισόμενοι ἐκβαίνουσιν· [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τοῖς ἁμφ’ αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος ἐπεσθαί τε καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν προδρόμους ἰππέας καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς Παίονας προεμβαλεῖν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔχοντα Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀρραβαίου ἔταξε καὶ τῶν πεζῶν μίαν τάξιν, καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὴν Σωκράτους ἵλην Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου ἄγοντα, ἣ δὴ καὶ ἐτύγχανε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ ἱππικοῦ παντός ἔχουσα[v] ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· [7] αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων τε καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀλαλάζοντας ἐμβαίνει ἐς τὸν πόρον, λοξὴν αἰεὶ παρατείνων τὴν τάξιν, ἣ παρεῖλκε τὸ ρεῦμα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἐκβαίνοντι αὐτῷ οἱ Πέρσαι κατὰ κέρας προσπίπτοιεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὥς ἀνυστὸν τῇ φάλαγγι προσμίξῃ αὐτοῖς.

[1] οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, ἡ πρῶτοι οἱ ἁμφὶ Ἀμύνταν καὶ Σωκράτην προσέσχον τῇ ὄχθῃ, ταύτῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄνωθεν ἔβαλλον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσακοντίζοντες, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ χθαμαλώτερα αὐτῆς ἔστε ἱπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καταβαίνοντες. [2] καὶ ἦν τῶν τε ἰππέων ὠθισμός, τῶν μὲν ἐκβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῶν δ’ εἵργειν τὴν ἔκβασιν, καὶ παλτῶν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν πολλὴ ἄφεςις, οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ζὺν τοῖς δόρασιν ἐμάχοντο. ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πλήθει πολὺ ἐλαττούμενοι οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐκακοπάθουν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξ οὗ βεβαίον τε καὶ ἅμα κάτωθεν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμυνόμενοι, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τῆς ὄχθης· ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου ταύτῃ ἐπετέτακτο, οἱ τε Μέμνωνος παῖδες καὶ αὐτὸς Μέμνων μετὰ τούτων ἐκινδύνευε. [3] καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ξυμμίζαντες τοῖς Πέρσαις κατεκόπησαν πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι ὅσοι γε μὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πελάζοντα ἀπέκλιναν ἐκλιναν αὐτῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἦδη πλησίον ἦν, ἅμα οἱ ἄγων τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, καὶ ἐμβάλλει ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας πρῶτος, ἵνα τὸ πᾶν στίφος τῆς ἵππου καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν· καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ξυνειστέκει μάχη καρτερὰ· [4] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἄλλαι ἐπ’ ἄλλαις τῶν τάξεων τοῖς Μακεδόσι διέβαινον οὐ χαλεπῶς ἤδη. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἡ μάχη, πεζομαχία δὲ μᾶλλον τι ἐφύκει. ξυνεχόμενοι γὰρ ἵπποι τε ἵπποις καὶ ἄνδρες ἀνδράσιν ἡγωνίζοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐξῶσαι εἰς ἅπαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον βιάσασθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ Μακεδόνες, οἱ δὲ εἴρξαι τε αὐτῶν τὴν ἔκβασιν, οἱ Πέρσαι, καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν αὐθις ἀπώσασθαι. [5] καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπλεονέκτουν ἤδη οἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ρώμῃ καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ ὅτι ξυστοῖς κρανεῖνοις πρὸς παλτὰ ἐμάχοντο. [6] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυντρίβεται τὸ δόρυ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ· ὁ δὲ Ἀρέτην ἡτεὶ δόρυ ἕτερον, ἀναβολέα τῶν βασιλικῶν· τῷ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ πονουμένῳ συντετριμμένον τὸ δόρυ ἦν, ὁ δὲ τῷ ἡμίσει κεκλασμένου τοῦ δόρατος οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῦτο δεῖξας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄλλον αἰτεῖν

ἐκέλευεν: Δημάρατος δέ, ἀνὴρ Κορίνθιος, τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἐταίρων, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὸ αὐτοῦ δόρυ. [7] καὶ ὡς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ἰδὼν Μιθριδάτην τὸν Δαρεῖου γαμβρὸν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων προΐπνευοντα καὶ ἐπάγοντα ἅμα οἱ ὥσπερ ἔμβολον τῶν ἱππέων ἐξελαύνει καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ παίσας ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τῷ δόρατι καταβάλλει τὸν Μιθριδάτην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ῥοισάκης μὲν ἐπελαύνει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ παίει Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν κεφαλὴν τῇ κοπίδι: [8] καὶ τοῦ μὲν κράνους τι ἀπέθραυσε, τὴν πληγὴν δὲ ἔσχε τὸ κράνος. καὶ καταβάλλει καὶ τοῦτον Ἀλέξανδρος πείσας τῷ ξυστῷ διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στέρνον. Σπιθριδάτης δὲ ἀνετέτατο μὲν ἤδη ἐπ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ὀπισθεν τὴν κοπίδα, ὑποφθάσας δὲ αὐτὸν Κλεῖτος ὁ Δρωπίδου παίει κατὰ τοῦ ὤμου καὶ ἀποκόπτει τὸν ὤμον τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου ξὺν τῇ κοπίδι: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπεκβαίνοντες αἱ τῶν ἱππέων ὁσοὺς προὔχωρει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεγίγνοντο τοῖς ἀμφ’ Ἀλέξανδρον.

[1] καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι παιόμενοι τε πανταχόθεν ἤδη ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἵπποι τοῖς ξυστοῖς καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἱππέων ἐξωθούμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ψιλῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων τοῖς ἱππεῦσι βλαπτόμενοι ἐγκλίνουσι ταύτῃ πρῶτον, ἣ Ἀλέξανδρος προεκινδύνευεν. ὥς δὲ τὸ μέσον ἐνεδεδώκει αὐτοῖς, παρερρήνυτο δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἦν δὴ φυγὴ καρτερὰ. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἱππέων τῶν Περσῶν ἀπέθανον εἰς χιλίους. [2] οὐ γὰρ πολλὴ ἡ δίωξις ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἐξετράπη Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους: ὧν τὸ στίφος, ἣ τὸ πρῶτον ἐτάχθη, ἐκπλήξει μᾶλλον τι τοῦ παραλόγου ἢ λογισμῷ βεβαίῳ ἔμενεν: καὶ τούτοις τὴν τε φάλαγγα ἐπαγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας πάντῃ προσπεσεῖν κελεύσας ἐν μέσῳ δι’ ὀλίγου κατακόπτει αὐτούς, ὥστε διέφυγε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ὅτι μὴ διέλαθέ τις ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς, ἐξωγήθησαν δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους. [3] ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν Νιφάτης τε καὶ Πετήνης καὶ Σπιθριδάτης ὁ Λυδίας σατράπης καὶ ὁ τῶν Καππαδοκῶν ὑπαρχος Μιθροβουζάνης καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Δαρεῖου γαμβρὸς καὶ Ἀρβουπάλης ὁ Δαρεῖου τοῦ Ἀρτοξέρξου παῖς καὶ Φαρνάκης, ἀδελφὸς οὗτος τῆς Δαρεῖου γυναικός, καὶ ὁ τῶν ξένων ἡγεμὼν Ὠμάρης. Ἀρσίτης δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς μάχης φεύγει ἐς Φρυγίαν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀποθνήσκει αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὡς λόγος, ὅτι αἴτιος ἐδόκει Πέρσαις γενέσθαι τοῦ ἐν τῷ τότε πταίσματος. [4] Μακεδόνων δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐταίρων ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ ἀπέθανον: καὶ τούτων χαλκαὶ εἰκόνες ἐν Δίῳ ἐστᾶσιν, Ἀλεξάνδρου κελεύσαντος Λύσιππον ποιῆσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μόνος προκριθεὶς ἐποίει: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἱππέων ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐξήκοντα, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς τοὺς τριάκοντα. [5] καὶ τούτους τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔθαψεν Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τε καὶ ἄλλῳ κόσμῳ: γονεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκε καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι ἢ τῷ σώματι λειτουργίαι ἢ κατὰ τὰς κτήσεις ἐκάστων εἰσφοραί, καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων δὲ πολλὴν πρόνοίαν ἔσχεν, ἐπελθὼν τε αὐτὸς ἐκάστους καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἰδὼν καὶ ὅπως τις ἐτρώθη ἐρόμενος καὶ ὅ τι πράττων εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι οἱ παρασχών. [6] ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔθαψεν: ἔθαψε δὲ καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους Ἑλληνας, οἱ ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις στρατεύοντες ἀπέθανον: ὅσους δὲ αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβε, τούτους δὲ δῆσας ἐν πέδαις εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπέπεμψεν ἐργάζεσθαι, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ κοινῇ δόξαντα τοῖς

Ἑλλησιν Ἑλληνες ὄντες ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμάχοντο. [7] ἀποπέμπει δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀθήνας τριακοσίας πανοπλίας Περσικὰς ἀνάθημα εἶναι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν πόλει· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε τόδε· Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων.

[1] καταστήσας δὲ Κάλαν σατραπεύειν ἧς Ἀρσίτης ἦρχε καὶ τοὺς φόρους τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποφέρειν τάξας, οὗσπερ Δαρεῖω ἔφερον, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων κατιόντες ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐνεχειρίζον σφᾶς, τούτους μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκάστους ἐκέλευεν, [2] Ζελεΐτας δὲ ἀφῆκε τῆς αἰτίας, ὅτι πρὸς βίαν ἔγνω συστρατεῦσαι τοῖς βαρβάροις· Δασκύλιον δὲ παραληψόμενον Παρμενίωνα ἐκπέμπει· καὶ παραλαμβάνει Δασκύλιον Παρμενίων ἐκλιπόντων τῶν φρουρῶν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Σάρδεων προϋχῶρει· [3] καὶ ἀπέχοντος αὐτοῦ ὅσον ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίους Σάρδεων ἦκον παρ' αὐτὸν Μιθρήνης τε ὁ φρούραρχος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσι καὶ Σαρδιανῶν οἱ δυνατώτατοι, ἐνδιδόντες οἱ μὲν τὴν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ Μιθρήνης τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. [4] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἑρμῷ ποταμῷ· ἀπέχει δὲ ὁ Ἑρμος ἀπὸ Σάρδεων σταδίους ὅσον εἴκοσιν· Ἀμύνταν δὲ τὸν Ἄνδρομένους τὴν ἄκραν παραληψόμενον ἐκπέμπει ἐς Σάρδεις· καὶ Μιθρήνην μὲν ἐν τιμῇ ἅμα οἱ ἦγεν, Σαρδιανοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λυδοὺς τοῖς νόμοις τε τοῖς πάλαι Λυδῶν χρῆσθαι ἔδωκεν καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἀφῆκεν. [5] ἀνῆλθε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν, ἵνα τὸ φρούριον ᾦν τῶν Περσῶν· καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὀχυρὸν τὸ χωρίον· ὑπερύψηλόν τε γὰρ ᾦν καὶ ἀπότομον πάντη καὶ τριπλῷ τείχει πεφραγμένον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ναόν τε οἰκοδομῆσαι Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐπενόει καὶ βωμὸν ιδρύσασθαι. [6] σκοποῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἄκρας ὅπερ ἐπιτηδειότατον χωρίον ὥρα ἔτους ἐξαίφνης χειμῶν ἐπιγίγνεται καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πίπτει, οὗ τὰ τῶν Λυδῶν βασιλεία· Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἔδοξεν ἐκ θεοῦ σημανθῆναι, ἵνα χρή οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τῷ Διὶ τὸν νεῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἐκέλευσε. [7] κατέλιπε δὲ τῆς μὲν ἄκρας τῆς Σάρδεων ἐπιμελητὴν Πausανίαν τῶν ἐταίρων, τῶν δὲ φόρων τῆς συντάξεώς τε καὶ ἀποφορᾶς Νικίαν, Ἀσανδρον δὲ τὸν Φιλῶτα Λυδίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς Σπιθριδάτου ἀρχῆς, δούς αὐτῷ ἱππέας τε καὶ ψιλοὺς ὅσοι ἱκανοὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐδόκουν. [8] Κάλαν δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀερόπου ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Μέμνονος ἐκπέμπει, ἄγοντας τοὺς τε Πελοποννησίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων τοὺς πολλοὺς πλὴν Ἀργείων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐν Σάρδεσι κατελείφθησαν τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττειν. [9] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ, ὥς τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱππομαχίας ἐξηγγέλθη, οἱ τε τὴν Ἐφεσον φρουροῦντες μισθοφόροι ὄχοντο φεύγοντες, δύο τριῆρεις τῶν Ἐφεσίων λαβόντες, καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀντιόχου, ὃς ἔφυγεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀλέξανδρον, παθὼν μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου, δυσνοία δὲ τῇ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπαξιώσας τι παθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι. [10] τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς Ἐφεσον ἀφικόμενος τοὺς τε φυγάδας, ὅσοι δι' αὐτὸν ἐξέπεσον τῆς πόλεως, κατήγαγε καὶ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καταλύσας δημοκρατίαν κατέστησε· τοὺς δὲ φόρους, ὅσους τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέφερον, τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ξυντελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. [11] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἐφεσίων, ὥς ἀφηρέθη αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων φόβος, τοὺς τε Μέμνονα ἐπαγομένους

καὶ τοὺς τὸ ἱερὸν συλῆσαντας τῆς Ἀρτεμίδος καὶ τοὺς τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν Φιλίππου τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καταβαλόντας καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνορύξαντας τὸν Ἡροπύθου τοῦ ἐλευθερώσαντος τὴν πόλιν ὥρμησαν ἀποκτείνειν. [12] καὶ Σύρφακα μὲν καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Πελάγοντα καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Σύρφακος παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν: τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους διεκώλυσεν Ἀλέξανδρος προσωτέρω ἐπιζητεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, γνοὺς ὅτι ὁμοῦ τοῖς αἰτίοις καὶ οὐ ζὺν δίκη τινάς, τοὺς μὲν κατ' ἔχθραν, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ ἀρπαγὴν χρημάτων ἀποκτενεῖ, ζυγχωρηθὲν αὐτῷ, ὁ δῆμος, καὶ εἰ δὴ τῷ ἄλλῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἐφέσῳπραχθεῖσιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ τότε εὐδοκίμει.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ Μαγνησίας τε καὶ Τράλλεων παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκον ἐνδιδόντες τὰς πόλεις: καὶ ὃς πέμπει Παρμενίωνα, δούς αὐτῷ δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους πεζοὺς τῶν ξένων καὶ Μακεδόνας παραπλησίους, ἱππέας δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐς διακοσίους. Ἀλκίμαχον δὲ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰολίδας τε πόλεις ζὺν δυνάμει οὐκ ἐλάττονι ἐξέπεμψε καὶ ὅσαι Ἰωνικαὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔτι ἦσαν. [2] καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀλιγαρχίας πανταχοῦ καταλύειν ἐκέλευσεν, δημοκρατίας δὲ [τε] ἐγκαθιστάναι καὶ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς σφῶν ἐκάστοις ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀνεῖναι, ὅσους τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέφερον. αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπομείνας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θυσίαν τε ἔθυσσε τῇ Ἀρτεμίδι καὶ πομπὴν ἔπεμψε ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ὀπλισμένη τε καὶ ὥς ἐς μάχην ζυντεταγμένη. [3] τῇ δὲ ὕστεραία ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τε πεζῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς Θρᾶκας ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τὴν τε βασιλικὴν ἵλην παρὸς ταύτῃ τρεῖς ἄλλας ἐπὶ Μιλήτου ἐστέλλετο: καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔξω[δον] καλουμένην πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβεν ἐκλιπούσης τῆς φυλακῆς: ἐνταῦθα δὲ καταστρατοπεδεύσας ἔγνω ἀποτειχίζειν τὴν εἰσὼ πόλιν. [4] Ἠγησίστρατος γάρ, ὅτῳ ἢ φρουρὰ ἢ Μιλησίων ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπετέτραπτο, πρόσθεν γράμματα παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπεμπεν ἐνδιδοὺς τὴν Μίλητον: τότε δὲ ἀναθαρρήσας ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ οὐ μακρὰν ὄντι διασώζειν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐπενόει τὴν πόλιν. Νικάνωρ δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ναυτικὸν ἄγων ὑποφθάνει τοὺς Πέρσας τρισὶν ἡμέραις πρότερος καταπλεύσας ἢ τοὺς Πέρσας Μιλήτῳ προσχεῖν, καὶ ὁρμίζεται ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Λάδῃ: κεῖται δὲ αὕτη ἐπὶ τῇ Μιλήτῳ. [5] αἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν νῆες ὕστερήσασαι, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθον οἱ ναύαρχοι τῶν ἀμφὶ Νικάνωρα τὴν ἐν τῇ Λάδῃ προκαταγωγὴν, πρὸς τῇ Μυκάλῃ τῷ ὄρει ὠρμίσθησαν. τὴν γὰρ Λάδην τὴν νῆσον προκατελιήφει Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐ τῶν νεῶν μόνον τῇ ἐγκαθορμίσσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Θρᾶκας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων ἐς τετρακισχιλίους διαβιβάσας ἐς αὐτήν. ἦσαν δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων αἱ νῆες ἀμφὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας. [6] Παρμενίων μὲν δὴ καὶ ὥς παρήνει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ναυμαχεῖν, τὰ τε ἄλλα κρατήσιν τῷ ναυτικῷ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐπελπίζων καὶ τι καὶ θεῖον ἀνέπειθεν αὐτόν, ὅτι ἀετὸς ὦφθη καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ κατὰ πρύμναν τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεῶν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ νικήσαντας μὲν μεγάλα ὠφεληθήσεσθαι ἐς τὰ ὅλα, νικηθεῖσι δὲ οὐ παρὰ μέγα ἔσεσθαι τὸ πταῖσμα: καὶ ὥς γὰρ θαλασσοκρατεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἔφη ἐπιβῆναι ἐθέλειν τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχειν. [7] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῇ τε γνώμῃ ἀμαρτάνειν ἔφη Παρμενίωνα καὶ τοῦ σημείου τῇ οὐ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ζυμβλήσει: ὀλίγαις τε γὰρ ναυσὶ πρὸς πολλῷ πλείους ζὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ ναυμαχήσιν

καὶ οὐ μεμελετηκότι τῷ σφῶν ναυτικῷ πρὸς προησχημένον τὸ τῶν Κυπρίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων· [8] τὴν τε ἐμπειρίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἐν ἀβεβαίῳ χωρίῳ οὐκ ἐθέλειν παραδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις· καὶ ἡττηθεῖσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐ μικρὰν τὴν βλάβην ἔσεσθαι ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν πρώτην δόξαν, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας νεωτεριεῖν πρὸς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ πταίσματος τὴν ἐξαγγελίαν ἐπαρθένας. [9] ταῦτα μὲν τῷ λογισμῷ ξυντιθεῖς οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ ἀπέφαινε ναυμαχεῖν· τὸ θεῖον δὲ αὐτὸς ἄλλη ἐξηγεῖσθαι· εἶναι μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀετόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ καθήμενος ἐφαίνετο, δοκεῖν οἱ μᾶλλον τι σημαίνειν, ὅτι ἐκ γῆς κρατήσει τοῦ Περσῶν ναυτικοῦ.

[1] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Γλαύκιππος, ἀνὴρ τῶν δοκίμων ἐν Μιλήτῳ, ἐκπεμφθεὶς παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τε καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, οἷς μᾶλλον τι ἐπετέτραπτο ἢ πόλις τὰ τε τεῖχη ἔφη ἐθέλειν τοὺς Μιλησίους καὶ τοὺς λιμένας παρέχειν κοινούς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Πέρσαις καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπὶ τούτοις λύειν ἤξιον. [2] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Γλαυκίππῳ μὲν προστάσσει ἀπαλλάττεσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ Μιλησίοις ἀπαγγέλλειν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μαχουμένους ἔωθεν. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιστήσας τῷ τείχει μηχανάς, καὶ τὰ μὲν καταβαλὼν δι' ὀλίγου τῶν τειχῶν, τὰ δὲ κατασεισας ἐπὶ πολὺ προσῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπιβησομένους ἢ κατερήριπτο ἢ ἐσεσάλευτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἐφομαρτούντων καὶ μόνον οὐ θεωμένων τῶν Περσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Μυκάλης. πολιορκουμένους τοὺς φίλους σφῶν καὶ ξυμμάχους. [3] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Νικάνορα ἀπὸ τῆς Λάδης τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κατιδόντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἐπέπλεον τῶν Μιλησίων παρὰ γῆν τὴν εἰρεσίαν ποιούμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος, ἥπερ τὸ στενότατον ἦν, ἀντιπρώρους βύζην τὰς τριήρεις ὁρμίσαντες ἀποκεκλείεσαν τῷ μὲν Περσικῷ ναυτικῷ τὸν λιμένα, τοῖς Μιλησίοις δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν ὠφέλειαν. [4] ἔνθα οἱ Μιλησιοὶ τε καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι πανταχόθεν ἤδη προσκειμένων σφίσι τῶν Μακεδόνων οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ῥιπτοῦντες σφᾶς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ὑπτίων ἐς νησὶδὰ τινα ἀνώνυμον τῇ πόλει ἐπικειμένην διενήχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς κελύτεια ἐμβαίνοντες καὶ ἐπειγόμενοι ὑποφθάσαι τὰς τριήρεις τῶν Μακεδόνων τριήρων· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει ἀπώλονται. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐχομένης ἤδη τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐς τὴν νῆσον καταπεφευγότας ἐπέπλει αὐτὸς, κλίμακας φέρειν ἐπὶ τὰς πύρας τῶν τριήρων κελεύσας, ὡς κατὰ τὰ ἀπότομα τῆς νήσου, καθάπερ πρὸς τεῖχος, ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἀπόβασιν ποιησόμενος. [6] ὡς δὲ διακινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἑώρα, οἶκτος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅτι γενναῖοι τε καὶ πιστοὶ αὐτῷ ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ σπένδεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε ὡς αὐτῷ ξυστρατεύειν· ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι μισθοφόροι Ἑλλήνες ἐς τριακοσίους. αὐτοὺς δὲ Μιλησίους, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως ἔπεσον, ἀφῆκεν καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἔδωκεν. [7] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπὸ τῆς Μυκάλης ὁρμώμενοι τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐπέπλεον τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ ναυτικῷ, προκαλέσεσθαι ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἐλπίζοντες· τὰς δὲ νύκτας πρὸς τῇ Μυκάλῃ οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ὠρμίζοντο, ὅτι ὑδρεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ τῶν ἐκβολῶν διὰ μακροῦ ἠναγκάζοντο. [8] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ τὸν λιμένα μένα ἐφύλαττε τῶν Μιλησίων, ὡς μὴ βιάσαιντο οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἔσπλουν, ἐκπέμπει δ' ἐς τὴν Μυκάλην Φιλώταν, ἄγοντα τοὺς τε ἱππέας καὶ

τῶν πεζῶν τάξεις τρεῖς, παραγγείλας εἶργειν τῆς ἀποβάσεως τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. οἱ δέ, ὕδατός τε σπάνει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδεῖων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ πολιορκούμενοι ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, ἐς Σάμον ἀπέπλευσαν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπισιτισάμενοι αὐθις ἐπέπλεον τῇ Μιλήτῳ: [9] καὶ τὰς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος ἐν μετεώρῳ παρέταξαν, εἴ πῃ ἐκκαλέσαιτο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος τοὺς Μακεδόνας, πέντε δὲ αὐτῶν εἰσέπλευσαν ἐς τὸν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Λάδης νήσου καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου λιμένα, ἐλπίσαντες κενὰς καταλήψεσθαι τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου ναῦς, ὅτι τοὺς ναύτας ἀποσκεδάννυσθαι τὸ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ φρυγανισμῷ, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ξυγκομιδῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς προνομὰς ταττομένους, πεπυσμένοι ἦσαν. [10] ἀλλὰ μέρος μὲν τι ἀπὴν τῶν ναυτῶν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρόντων ξυμπληρώσας Ἀλέξανδρος δέκα ναῦς, ὡς προσπλεύσας τὰς πέντε τῶν Περσῶν κατεΐδε, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτὰς κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἐμβάλλειν ἀντιπρώρους κελεύσας. οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς πέντε ναυσὶ τῶν Περσῶν, ὡς παρ' ἐλπίδα ἀναγομένους τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶδον, ὑποστρέψαντες ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔφευγον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν. [11] καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰασσέων ναὺς ἀλίσκεται αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, οὐ ταχυναντοῦσα: αἱ δὲ τέσσαρες ἔφθασαν καταφυγεῖν ἐς τὰς οἰκείας τριήρεις. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλευσαν ἄπρακτοι ἐκ Μιλήτου οἱ Πέρσαι.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καταλῦσαι ἔγνω τὸ ναυτικὸν χρημάτων τε ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἅμα οὐκ ἀξιόμαχον ὄρων τὸ αὐτοῦ ναυτικὸν τῷ Περσικῷ, οὐκ οὐκ ἐθέλων οὐδὲ μέρει τινὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς κινδυνεύειν. ἄλλως τε ἐπενόει, κατέχων ἤδη τῷ πεζῷ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅτι οὔτε ναυτικοῦ ἔτι δέοιτο, τὰς τε παραλίους πόλεις λαβὼν καταλύσει τὸ Περσῶν ναυτικόν, οὔτε ὁπόθεν τὰς ὑπηρεσίας συμπληρώσουσιν οὔτε ὅποι τῆς Ἀσίας προσέξουσιν ἔχοντας. καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ταύτη: συνέβαλλεν, ὅτι ἐσήμηνεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς γῆς κρατῆσειν τῶν νεῶν. [2] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ Καρίας ἐστέλλετο, ὅτι ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῷ συνεστηκέναι οὐ φαύλην δύναμιν τῶν τε βαρβάρων καὶ ξένων ἐξηγγέλλετο. ὅσαι δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πόλεις Μιλήτου τε καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ, ταύτας ἐξ ἐφόδου λαβὼν καταστρατοπεδεύει πρὸς Ἀλικαρνασσῷ, ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως ἐς πέντε μάλιστα σταδίους, ὡς ἐπὶ χρονίῳ πολιορκίᾳ. [3] ἥ τε γὰρ φύσις τοῦ χωρίου ὀχυρὸν ἐποίει αὐτὸ καὶ ὅπῃ τι ἐνδεῖν ὡς πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐφαίνετο, ξύμπαντα ταῦτα Μένων τε αὐτὸς παρών, ἥδη ἀποδεδειγμένος πρὸς Δαρείου τῆς τε κάτω Ἀσίας καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμών, ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευάκει, καὶ στρατιῶται πολλοὶ μὲν ξένοι μισθοφόροι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγκατελείφθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Περσῶν αὐτῶν, αἱ τε τριήρεις ἐφόρμουν τῷ λιμένι, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν γίνεσθαι ἐς τὰ ἔργα. [4] τῇ μὲν δὴ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ προσάγοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ τείχει κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ Μύλασα φερούσας πύλας ἐκδρομὴ τε γίγνεται τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀκροβολισμός: καὶ τούτους οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνέστειλάν τε οἱ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀντεκδραμόντες καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατέκλεισαν. [5] οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐταίρων ἵππον καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου τε καὶ Περδίκκου καὶ Μελεάγρου τάξιν τὴν πεζικὴν καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας περιήλθε τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὸ πρὸς Μύνδον μέρος, τό τε τείχος κατοψόμενος, εἰ ταύτῃ ἐπιμαχώτερον τυγχάνει ὃν ἐς τὴν προσβολὴν, καὶ ἅμα

εἰ τὴν Μύνδον ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δύναται λαθὼν κατασχεῖν: ἔσεσθαι γὰρ οὐ σμικρὰν τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐς τὴν τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ πολιορκίαν τὴν Μύνδον οἰκείαν γενομένην: καὶ τι καὶ ἐνεδίδοτο αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν Μυνδίων, εἰ λάθοι νυκτὸς προσελθὼν. [6] αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας προσῆλθε τῷ τείχει: ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνεδίδοτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἔνδον, αἱ τε μηχαναὶ καὶ αἱ κλίμακες αὐτῷ οὐ παρήσαν, οἷα δὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολιορκίαν σταλέντα, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ ἐνδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως, προσήγαγε καὶ ὥς τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν φάλαγγα, ὑπορύττειν κελεύσας τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ ἕνα γε πύργον κατέβαλον οἱ Μακεδόνες, οὐ μέντοι ἐγύμνωσέ γε τὸ τεῖχος πεσών: [7] καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἅμα εὐρώστως ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν πολλοὶ ἤδη παραβεβοηθηκότες ἄπορον ἐποίησαν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν αὐτοσχεδιὸν τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κατάληψιν τῆς Μύνδου. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐπανέρχεται Ἀλεξάνδρος οὐδὲν πράξας, ὧν ἕνεκα ὠρμήθη, καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ αὐθις προσεῖχε. [8] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν τάφρον, ἣ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὁρώρυκτο αὐτοῖς, πλάτος μὲν τριάκοντα μάλιστα πηχῶν, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐχώννυε, τοῦ ῥαδίαν εἶναι τὴν προσαγωγὴν τῶν τε πύργων, ἀφ' ὧν ἔμελλε τοὺς ἀκροβολισμοὺς ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους τοῦ τείχους ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηχανῶν, αἷς κατασεῖειν ἐπενόει τὸ τεῖχος. [9] καὶ ἡ τε τάφος αὐτῷ ἐχώσθη οὐ χαλεπῶς καὶ οἱ πύργοι προσήγοντο ἤδη. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ νυκτὸς ἐκδραμόντες, ὥς ἐμπρῆσαι τοὺς τε πύργους καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι μηχαναὶ προσηγμένοι ἢ οὐ πόρρῳ τοῦ προσάγεσθαι ἦσαν, ὑπὸ τῶν φυλακῶν τε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ ὅσοι ἐν αὐτῷ ἔργῳ ἐξεγερθέντες παρεβοήθησαν οὐ χαλεπῶς κατεκλείσθησαν ἐς τὰ τεῖχη αὐθις. [10] καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἄλλοι τε ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ Ἀρραβαίου, τοῦ Ἀμύντου ἀδελφός, τῶν παρὰ Δαρεῖον αὐτομολησάντων: τῶν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιωτῶν ἀπέθανον μὲν ἐς ἑκκαίδεκα, τραυματίαι δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐς τριακοσίους, ὅτι ἐν νυκτὶ γενομένης τῆς ἐκδρομῆς ἀφυλακτότεροι ἐς τὸ τιτρώσκεσθαι ἦσαν.

[1] οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον δύο τῶν Μακεδόνων ὀπλῖται ἐκ τῆς [ὑστερον] Περδίκκου τάξεως ξυσκηνοῦντές τε καὶ ἅμα ξυμπίνοντες αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἑκάτερος ἐπὶ μέγα τῷ λόγῳ ἦγεν. ἔνθα δὴ φιλοτιμία τε ἐσπίπτει αὐτοῖς, καὶ τι καὶ ὁ οἶνος ὑπεθέρμαινεν, ὥστε ὀπλισάμενοι αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ σφῶν προσβάλλουσι τῷ τείχει κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν πρὸς Μύλασα μάλιστα τετραμμένην, ὥς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς σφῶν ῥώμης μᾶλλον τι ἢ πρὸς πολεμίους μετὰ κινδύνου τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιησόμενοι. [2] καὶ τούτους κατιδόντες τινὲς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως δύο τε ὄντας καὶ οὐ ξὺν λογισμῷ προσφερομένους τῷ τείχει ἐπεκθέουσιν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐγγὺς πελάσαντας ἀπέκτειναν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας ἠκροβολίζοντο, πλεονεκτούμενοι τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τῇ χαλεπότητι, ὅτι ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τοῖς πολεμίους ἢ ἐπιδρομῇ τε καὶ ὁ ἀκροβολισμὸς ἐγίνετο. [3] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀντεκθέουσί τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν τοῦ Περδίκκου στρατιωτῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ ἄλλοι καὶ ξυμπίπτει μάχη καρτερὰ πρὸς τῷ τείχει: καὶ κατακλείονται αὐθις πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν οἱ ἐπεκδραμόντες. παρ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἦλθε καὶ ἄλωνα ἢ πόλις. [4] τότε γὰρ τείχη ἐν τῷ τότε οὐκ ἐν ἀκριβεῖ φυλακῇ ἦν καὶ δύο πύργοι καὶ

μεσοπύργιον ἐς ἔδαφος καταπεπτωκότα οὐ χαλεπὴν ἂν τῷ στρατεύματι, εἰ ἅπαν προσήψατο τοῦ ἔργου, τὴν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος πάροδον παρέσχε, καὶ ὁ τρίτος πύργος κατασσεσισμένος οὐδὲ οὗτος χαλεπῶς ἂν ἠρίφθη ὑπορουσσόμενος· ἀλλὰ ἔφθησαν γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ πεπτωκότος τείχους ἔσωθεν πλίνθινον μηννοειδὲς ἀντοικοδομησάμενοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας. [5] καὶ τούτῳ ἐπῆγε τῇ ὕστεραία τὰς μηχανὰς Ἀλέξανδρος· καὶ ἐκδρομὴ αὐθις γίνεται τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμπρῆσαι τὰς μηχανάς. καὶ μέρος μὲν τι τῶν πλησίον τοῦ τείχους γέρρων καὶ ἐνὸς τῶν πύργων τῶν ξυλίνων κατεκαύθη, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα διεφύλαξαν οἱ περὶ Φιλώταν τε καὶ Ἑλλάνικον, οἷς ἡ φυλακὴ αὐτῶν ἐπετέτραπτο· ὥς δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεφάνη ἐν τῇ ἐκδρομῇ, τὰς τε δᾶδας, ὅσας ἔχοντες ἐκβεβοηθήκεσαν, ἀφέντες καὶ τὰ ὅπλα οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ῥίψαντες εἴσω τοῦ τείχους ἔφευγον. [6] καίτοι τὰ γε πρῶτα τῇ φύσει τε τοῦ χωρίου, ὑπερδεξίου ὄντος, ἐπεκράτουν καὶ οὐ κατὰ μέτωπον μόνον ἠκροβολίζοντο ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους τῶν μηχανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πύργων, οἳ δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἐρημιμμένου τείχους αὐτοὶ ὑπολελειμμένοι ἐκ πλαγίου τε καὶ μόνον οὐ κατὰ νότου παρεῖχον ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἐς τοὺς τῷ ἀντωκοδομημένῳ τείχει προσάγοντας.

[1] οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐπάγοντος αὐθις Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰς μηχανὰς τῷ πλινθίνῳ τῷ ἐντὸς τείχει καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφεστηκότος τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐκδρομὴ γίνεται πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἐρημιμμένον τεῖχος, ἣ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπετέτακτο, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸ Τρίπυλον, ἣ οὐδὲ πάνυ τι προσδεχομένοις τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἦν. [2] καὶ οἱ μὲν δᾶδάς τε ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐνέβαλλον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τὸ ἐξάψαι τε φλόγα καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα προκαλέσασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἅμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῶν τε ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐρρωμένως καὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων λίθων τε μεγάλων ἀφιεμένων καὶ βελῶν ἐξακοντιζομένων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεστράφησάν τε καὶ ἔφευγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. [3] καὶ φόνος ταύτῃ οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐγένετο, ὅσῳ πλείονές τε καὶ ξὺν μείζονι τῇ τόλμῃ ἐξέδραμον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ ἅμφι τῷ τείχει τῷ καταπεπτωκότι, στενωτέρας τε ἢ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν τῆς παρόδου οὔσης καὶ τῶν κατερημιμμένων τοῦ τείχους χαλεπὴν τὴν ὑπέρβασιν αὐτοῖς παρεχόντων. [4] τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ Τρίπυλον ἐκδραμοῦσιν ἀπῆντα Πτολεμαῖος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ ὁ βασιλικός, τὴν τε Ἀδαίου καὶ Τιμάνδρου ἅμα οἳ τάζιν ἄγων καὶ ἔστιν οὗς τῶν ψιλῶν· καὶ οὗτοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ χαλεπῶς ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. [5] ξυνέβη δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει κατὰ στενὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς τάφρου πεποιημένην φεύγουσι τὴν τε γέφυραν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ πλήθους ξυντριῖναι καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμπεσόντας τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ σφῶν καταπατηθέντας διαφθαρῆναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων βαλλομένους. [6] ὁ πλεῖστος δὲ φόνος περὶ ταῖς πύλαις αὐταῖς ξυνέβη, ὅτι ἡ ξύγκλεισις τῶν πυλῶν φοβερά τε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ γενομένη, δεισάντων μὴ συνεισπέσοιεν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐχόμενοι αὐτῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες, πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν φιλίων τῆς εισόδου ἀπέκλεισεν, οὗς πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς τείχεσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες διέφθειραν. [7] καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἦκεν ἁλῶναι ἡ πόλις, εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνεκαλέσατο τὸ στράτευμα, ἔτι διασῶσαι ἐθέλων τὴν Ἀλικαρνασσόν, εἰ τι φίλιον ἐνδοθεῖη ἐκ τῶν Ἀλικαρνασσέων.

ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐς χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀμφὶ τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ἐν τούτοις Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ σωματοφύλαξ καὶ Κλέαρχος ὁ τοξάρχης καὶ Ἀδαῖος ὁ χιλιάρχης, οὗτοι καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν οὐκ ἡμελημένων Μακεδόνων.

[1] ἔνθα δὴ ξυνελθόντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν, Ὀροντοβάτης τε καὶ Μέμων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων γνόντες σφᾶς τε οὐ δυναμένους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχειν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τοῦ τείχους τὸ μὲν τι καταπεπτωκὸς ἤδη ὀρῶντες, τὸ δὲ καὶ κατασεσισμένον, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς τοὺς μὲν διεφθαρμένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τετρώσθαι ἀπομάχους ὄντας, [2] ταῦτα ἐν νῷ λαβόντες ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς τὸν τε ξύλινον πύργον, ὃν αὐτοὶ ἀντφοκοδόμησαν ταῖς μηχαναῖς τῶν πολέμιων, ἐμπιπρᾶσι καὶ τὰς στοάς, ἐν αἷς τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς ἀπέκειτο. ἐνέβαλον δὲ καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις πῦρ ταῖς πλησίον τοῦ τείχους· [3] τῶν δὲ καὶ προσήψατο ἡ φλόξ ἀπὸ τε τῶν στοῶν καὶ τοῦ πύργου πολλὴ ἀπενεχθεῖσα καὶ τι καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου ταύτῃ ἐπιφέροντος· αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλμακίδα, ἄκραν οὕτω καλουμένην. [4] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη ταῦτα πρὸς τινῶν αὐτομολησάντων ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὸ πῦρ πολὺ καθεώρα αὐτὸς, καίτοι ἀμφὶ μέσας που νύκτας ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς Μακεδόνας τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐμπιπράντας τὴν πόλιν ἔκτεινεν, ὅσοι δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καταλαμβάνοιντο τῶν Ἀλικαρνασσεῶν, τούτους δὲ σώζειν παρήγγειλεν. ἤδη τε ἡὼς ὑπέφαινε καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς ἄκρας. [5] ἃς οἱ τε Πέρσαι καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι κατελήφεσαν, ταύτας μὲν ἀπέγνω πολιορκεῖν, τριβὴν τε ἐπινοῶν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἔσσεσθαι οἱ ἀμφ’ αὐτὰς τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων καὶ οὐ παρὰ μέγα εἶναι ἐξελόντι οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἤδη πᾶσαν. [6] θάψας δὲ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τὰς μὲν μηχανὰς ἐς Τράλλεις ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐταῖς τεταγμένους, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐς ἔδαφος κατασκάψας αὐτῆς τε ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Καρίας φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπὼν ξένους μὲν πεζοὺς τρισχιλίους, ἵππεας δὲ ἐς διακοσίους καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐστέλλετο. [7] τῆς δὲ Καρίας ξυμπάσης σατραπεύειν ἔταξεν Ἄδαν, θυγατέρα μὲν Ἐκατόμνω, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἰδριέως, ὃς καὶ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῇ ὢν κατὰ νόμον τῶν Καρῶν ξυνώκει. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰδριεὺς τελευτῶν ταύτῃ ἐπέτρεψε τὰ πράγματα, νενομισμένον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔτι ἀπὸ Σεμιράμεως καὶ γυναῖκας ἄρχειν ἀνδρῶν. Πιζώδαρος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκβάλλει τῆς ἀρχῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ κατεῖχε τὰ πράγματα. [8] τελευτήσαντος δὲ Πιζωδάρου Ὀροντοβάτης τὴν Καρῶν ἀρχὴν ἐκ βασιλέως πεμφθεὶς εἶχε, γαμβρὸς ὢν Πιζωδάρου. Ἄδα δὲ Ἄλινδα μόνον κατεῖχε, χωρίον τῆς Καρίας ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώτατον, καὶ ἐσβαλόντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς Καρίαν ἀπήντα, τὰ τε Ἄλινδα ἐνδιδοῦσα καὶ παῖδά οἱ τιθεμένα Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ τε Ἄλινδα αὐτῇ ἐπέτρεψε καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀλικαρνασσὸν τε ἐξεῖλε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Καρίας ἐπεκράτησεν, αὐτῇ ἄρχειν ἀπάσης ἔδωκε.

[1] τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ ἔστιν οἱ συνεστρατευμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦσαν νεωστὶ πρὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς γεγαμηκότες· καὶ τούτων ἔγνω οὐκ ἀμελητέα εἶναι οἱ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλ’ ἐκπέμπει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκ Καρίας διαχειμάσοντας ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἅμα ταῖς γυναῖξιν, ἐπιτάξας αὐτοῖς Πτολεμαῖόν τε τὸν Σελεύκου,

ἓνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν βασιλικῶν, καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Κοϊνόν τε τὸν Πολεμοκράτους καὶ Μελέαγρον τὸν Νεοπτολέμου, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν νεογάμων ἦσαν, [2] προστάξας, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοὶ τε ἐπανάωσι καὶ τοὺς μετὰ σφῶν ἐκπεμφθέντας ἐπαναγάγῳσι, καταλέξαι ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅσους πλείστους. καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τῷδε, εἴπερ τινὶ ἄλλῳ, εὐδοκίμησε παρὰ Μακεδόσιν Ἀλέξανδρος. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Κλέανδρον τὸν Πολεμοκράτους ἐπὶ ξυλλογῇ στρατιωτῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον. [3] Παρμενίωνα δὲ πέμπει ἐπὶ Σάρδεων, δούς αὐτῷ τῶν τε ἐταίρων ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμμάχους καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἄγειν· καὶ κελεύει προῖεναι ἀπὸ Σάρδεων ἐπὶ Φρυγίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Λυκίας τε καὶ Παμφυλίας ἦει, ὡς τῆς παραλίου κρατήσας ἀρχεῖον καταστήσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ ναυτικόν. [4] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν παρόδῳ Ὑπαρνα, χωρίον ὀχυρόν, φυλακὴν ἔχον ξένους μισθοφόρους, ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβεν· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ξένοι ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξῆλθον. ἔπειτα εἰσβαλὼν εἰς Λυκίαν Τελμισσέας μὲν ὁμολογία προσηγάγετο, περάσας δὲ τὸν Ξάνθον ποταμὸν Πίναρα καὶ Ξάνθον τὴν πόλιν καὶ Πάταρα ἐνδοθέντα ἔλαβε καὶ ἄλλα ἐλάττω πολισμοὶ ἐς τριάκοντα. [5] ταῦτα καταπράξας ἐν ἀκμῇ ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὴν Μιλυάδα καλουμένην χώραν ἐσβάλλει, ἣ ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας, ξυνετέλει δὲ ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν τότε, οὕτως ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου τεταγμένον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα Φασηλιτῶν πρέσβεις ἦκον περὶ φιλίας τε καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανῶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπικηρυκευόμενοι ἐπρέσβευον Λυκίων τῶν κάτω οἱ πολλοί. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Φασηλίτας τε καὶ Λυκίους παραδοῦναι τὰς πόλεις τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο στελλομένοις ἐκέλευσε· καὶ παρεδόθησαν ζύμπασαι. αὐτὸς δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Φασηλίδαν παραγενόμενος συνεξαίρει αὐτοῖς φρούριον ὀχυρόν, ἐπιτετεχισμένον τῇ χώρᾳ πρὸς Πισιδῶν, ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον τῶν Φασηλιτῶν τοὺς τὴν γῆν ἐργαζομένους.

[1] ἔτι δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Φασηλίδαν ὄντι ἐξαγγέλλεται Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀερόπου ἐπιβουλεύειν, τὰ τε ἄλλα τῶν ἐταίρων ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε Θεσσαλῶν τῆς ἵππου ἄρχοντα. ἦν μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος ἀδελφὸς Ἡρομένους τε καὶ Ἀρραβαίου τῶν ξυνεπιλαβόντων τῆς σφαγῆς τῆς Φιλίππου· [2] καὶ τότε αἰτίαν σχόντα αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι ἐν πρώτοις τε ἀφίκετο τῶν φίλων παρ' αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ τὸν θώρακα συνενδὺς συνηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐν τιμῇ ἀμφ' αὐτόν εἶχε, στρατηγόν τε ἐπὶ Θράκης στείλας καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κάλας ὁ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἵππαρχος ἐπὶ σατραπείᾳ ἐξεπέμφθη, αὐτόν ἀπέδειξεν ἄρχειν τῆς Θεσσαλικῆς ἵππου. τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐξηγγέλθη ὧδε. [3] Δαρεῖος, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμύντας αὐτομολήσας παρ' αὐτόν λόγους τέ τινας καὶ γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἐκόμισε, καταπέμπει ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Σισίνην, ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν πιστῶν, πρόφασιν μὲν παρὰ Ἀτίζῳ τὸν Φρυγίας σατράπην, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τούτῳ συνεσόμενον καὶ πίστει δώσοντα, εἰ ἀποκτείνει βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον, αὐτόν βασιλέα καταστήσειν Μακεδονίας καὶ χρυσίου τάλαντα πρὸς τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐπιδώσειν χίλια. [4] ὁ δὲ Σισίνης ἀλοὺς πρὸς Παρμενίωνος λέγει πρὸς Παρμενίωνα ὧν ἕνεκα ἀπεστάλη· καὶ τοῦτον ἐν φυλακῇ πέμπει Παρμενίων παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ

πυνθάνεται ταῦτα παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. ξυναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς φίλους βουλὴν προὔτιθει ὃ τι χρὴ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου γνῶναι. [5] καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς ἐταίροις μῆτε πάλαι εὖ βεβουλευσθαι τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ ἵππικοῦ ἀνδρὶ οὐ πιστῷ ἐπιτρέψας, νῶν τε χρῆναι αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι, πρὶν καὶ ἐπιτηδειότερον γενόμενον τοῖς Θετταλοῖς ξὺν αὐτοῖς τι νεωτερίσαι. καὶ τι καὶ θεῖον ἐφόβει αὐτούς. [6] ἔτι γὰρ πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀλικαρνασσὸν ἀναπαύεσθαι μὲν ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ, χελιδόνα δὲ περιπέτεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρύζουσαν μεγάλη καὶ τῆς εὐνῆς ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἐπικαθίζειν, θορυβωδέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἄδουσαν: [7] τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐγερθῆναι μὲν ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου, ἐνοχλοῦμενον δὲ πρὸς τῆς φωνῆς τῇ χειρὶ οὐ βαρέως ἀποσοβῆσαι τὴν χελιδόνα: τὴν δὲ τοσοῦτου ἄρα δεῖσαι ἀποφυγεῖν πληγεῖσαν, ὥστε ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καθημένην μὴ πρόσθεν ἀνεῖναι πρὶν παντελῶς ἐξεγερθῆναι Ἀλέξανδρον. [8] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ φαῦλον ποιησάμενος τὸ τῆς χελιδόνος ἀνεκοίνωσεν Ἀριστάνδρῳ τῷ Τελμισσεῖ, μάντει: Ἀρίστανδρον δὲ ἐπιβουλὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν φίλων σημαίνεσθαι αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν, σημαίνεσθαι δὲ καί, ὅτι καταφανὴς ἔσται. τὴν γὰρ χελιδόνα σύντροφόν τε εἶναι ὄρνιθα καὶ εὐνοῦν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἄλλον μᾶλλον ἢ ἄλλην ὄρνιθα. [9] ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πέρσου ξυνθéis πέμπει ὡς Παρμενίωνα Ἀμφοτερὸν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν παῖδα, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Κρατεροῦ. καὶ ξυμπέμπει αὐτῷ τῶν Περγαίων τινὰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγησομένους. καὶ ὁ Ἀμφοτερός στολὴν ἐνδὺς ἐπιχώριον, [καί] ὡς μὴ γνώριμος εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, λανθάνει ἐφικόμενος παρὰ Παρμενίωνα: [10] καὶ γράμματα μὲν οὐ κομίζει παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου: οὐ γὰρ ἔδοξε γράφειν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς τοιούτου ἐς τὸ ἐμφανές: τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ γλώσσης οἱ ἐντεταλμένα ἐξήγγειλεν, καὶ οὕτω ξυλλαμβάνεται ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἦν.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Φασηλίδος μέρος μὲν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς διὰ τῶν ἄρῶν πέμπει ἐπὶ Πέργης, ἣ ὁδοποιήκεσαν αὐτῷ οἱ Θρᾶκες χαλεπὴν ἄλλως καὶ μακρὰν οὔσαν τὴν ἀρόδον: αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἦγε τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτόν. ἔστι δὲ ταύτη ἡ ὁδὸς οὐκ ἄλλως ὅτι μὴ τῶν ἀπ' ἄρκτου ἀνέμων πνεόντων: εἰ δὲ νότοι κατέχοιεν, ἀπόρως ἔχει διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ὁδοιπορεῖν. [2] τῷ δὲ ἐκ νότων σκληροὶ βορραὶ ἐπιπνεύσαντες, οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἐξηγοῦντο, εὐμαρῇ καὶ ταχεῖαν τὴν ἀρόδον παρέσχον. ἐκ Πέργης δὲ ὡς προῆει, ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρέσβεις Ἀσπενδίων αὐτοκράτορες, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντες, φρουρὰν δὲ μὴ εἰσάγειν δεόμενοι. [3] καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς φρουρᾶς πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον, ὅσα ἠξίου: πεντήκοντα δὲ τάλαντα κελεύει τῇ στρατιᾷ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἐς μισθὸν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, οὓς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ ἔτρεφον. οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοὺς ἵππους παραδώσειν ξυνθέμενοι ἀπῆλθον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ Σίδης ἦει. [4] εἰσι δὲ οἱ Σιδηταὶ Κυμαῖοι ἐκ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος: καὶ οὗτοι λέγουσιν ὑπὲρ σφῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ὅτι, ὡς κατῆρὰν τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην οἱ πρῶτοι ἐκ Κύμης σταλέντες καὶ ἐπὶ οἰκισμῷ ἐξέβησαν, αὐτίκα τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐξελάθοντο, εὐθὺς δὲ βάρβαρον φωνὴν ἴεσαν, οὐδὲ τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων, ἀλλὰ ἰδίαν σφῶν οὕτω πρόσθεν οὔσαν τὴν φωνήν: καὶ ἔκτοτε οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους προσχώρους Σιδηταὶ ἐβαρβαρίζον. [5] καταλιπὼν δὲ

φρουρὰν ἐν Σίδῃ προΐει ἐπὶ Σύλλιον, χωρίον ὄχυρόν καὶ φρουρὰν ἔχον ξένων μισθοφόρων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων βαρβάρων. ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ Σύλλιον ἐξ ἐφόδου αὐτοσχεδίου ἠδυνήθη λαβεῖν, ἐπεὶ τ' ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τοὺς Ἀσπενδίους ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ξυγκειμένων πρᾶξαι ἐθέλοιεν, οὔτε τοὺς ἵππους παραδοῦναι τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν οὔτε ἀπαριθμῆσαι τὰ χρήματα, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅτι ἀνασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὴν πόλιν τάς τε πύλας ἀποκεκλείκασιν τοῖς παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρου καὶ τὰ τείχη, ὅπη πεπονηκότα ἦν, ἐπισκευάζουσι, ταῦτα πυθόμενος ἐπὶ Ἀσπένδου ἀνεξεύγνυνεν.

[1] Ὡκισται δὲ τῆς Ἀσπένδου τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἄκρα ὄχυρᾷ καὶ ἀποτόμῳ καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν ὁ Εὐρυμέδων ποταμὸς ῥεῖ· ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ οὐκ ὀλίγαι οἰκῆσεις καὶ τείχος περιεβέβλητο αὐταῖς οὐ μέγα. [2] τὸ μὲν δὴ τείχος εὐθύς, ὡς προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἔγνωσαν, ἐκλείπουσιν ὅσοι ἐπώκουν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας, ὅσας ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ ὤκισμένας οὐκ ἐδόκουν διαφυλάξαι ἂν δύνασθαι· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ξυμφεύγουσιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει, εἶσω τοῦ ἐρήμου τείχους παρελθὼν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς καταλελειμμέναις. πρὸς τῶν Ἀσπενδίων. [3] οἱ δὲ Ἀσπένδιοι ὡς εἶδον αὐτόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον παρ' ἐλπίδα ἦκοντα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν κύκλῳ σφῶν πάντῃ, πέμψαντες πρέσβεις ἐδέοντο ἐφ' οἷσπερ τὸ πρότερον ξυμβῆναι. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τό τε χωρίον ἰσχυρόν ἰδὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ χρόνιον πολιορκίαν παρεσκευασμένος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὲν οὐδὲ ὡς ξυνέβη πρὸς αὐτούς· [4] ὁμήρους δὲ δοῦναι σφῶν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, οὓς πρόσθεν ὠμολόγησαν, καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἀντὶ τῶν πεντήκοντα, καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ σατράπῃ τῷ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ταχθέντι καὶ φόρους ἀποφέρειν ὅσα ἔτη Μακεδόσι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας διακριθῆναι, ἣν τῶν προσχώρων οὐσαν βία κατέχειν ἐν αἰτία ἦσαν. ὡς δὲ πάντα οἱ ἐπεχώρησαν, ἀνέξευξεν ἐς Πέργην, κάκειθεν ἐς Φρυγίαν ὥρμητο· [5] ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ πορεία παρὰ Τελμισσὸν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν γένος Πισίδαι εἰσὶ βάρβαροι, χωρίον δὲ οἰκοῦσιν ὑπερύψηλον καὶ πάντῃ ἀπότομον, καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς παρὰ τὴν πόλιν χαλεπή. [6] καθήκει γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὅρος ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀποπαύεται, ἀντίπορον δὲ αὐτῷ ἄλλο ὅρος ἐστὶν οὐ μείον ἀπότομον, καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὄρη ὥσπερ πύλας ποιεῖ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, καὶ ἔστιν ὀλίγη φυλακὴ κατέχοντας τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα ἄπορον ποιεῖν τὴν πάροδον. καὶ τότε οἱ Τελμισσεῖς πανδημεὶ ἐκβεβηθηκότες ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ὄρη κατεῖχον. [7] ταῦτα δὴ ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος στρατοπεδεύεσθαι αὐτοῦ, ὅπως εἶχον, ἐκέλευε τοὺς Μακεδόνας, γνοὺς, ὅτι οὐ μενοῦσι πανδημεὶ οἱ Τελμισσεῖς ἀντιζομένους σφᾶς ἰδόντες, ἀλλ' ἀποχωρήσουσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν πλησίον σίου οὐσαν οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσον φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι. καὶ ξυνέβη, ὅπως εἶκαζεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπῆλθον, αἱ φυλακαὶ δὲ ἐγκατέμειναν. [8] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους εὐθύς ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε τοξότας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν τάξεις καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ὅσοι κουφότεροι ἐπήγαγεν. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔμειναν βαλλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἔλιπον τὸ χωρίον· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ στενὰ πρὸς τῇ πόλει κατεστρατοπέδευσε.

[1] καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' αὐτόν Σελγέων πρέσβεις. οἱ δὲ εἰσι καὶ

αὐτοὶ Πισίδαι βάρβαροι καὶ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ μάχιμοι εἰσιν: ὅτι δὲ πολέμιοι τοῖς Τελμισσεῦσιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγγανον, ὑπὲρ φιλίας πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πεπρεσβευμένοι ἦσαν. καὶ πρὸς τούτους σπένδεται Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ἐκ τούτου πιστοῖς ἐς ἅπαντα ἐχρήσατο. [2] τὴν Τελμισσὸν δὲ ἀπέγνω ἐλεῖν ἂν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Σαγαλασσοῦ ἐστέλλετο. ἦν δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ μικρὰ πόλις: Πισίδαι καὶ ταύτην ὥκουν, καὶ ἐδόκουν πάντων Πισιδῶν μαχίμων ὄντων αὐτοὶ εἶναι [οἱ] μαχιμώτατοι: καὶ τότε τὸν λόφον τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος οὐ μείον τοῦ τείχους ὀχυρὸς ἐς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι ἦν, κατελιηφότες προσέμενον. [3] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων τάττει ὥδε: ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπετέτακτο, τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς εἶχεν, ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς πεζεταίρους ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον παρατείνας, ὡς ἐκάστοις τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡ ἡγεμονία τῆς τάξεως ἐν τῇ τότε ἡμέρᾳ ἦν. [4] ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ ἐπέταξεν ἡγεμόνα Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀρραβαίου. προετάχθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρως οἱ τε τοξόται καὶ οἱ Ἀγριᾶνες, τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Θρᾶκες, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σιτάλκης: οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς αὐτῷ οὐκ ὠφέλιμοι ἐν τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ ἦσαν. τοῖς Πισίδαις δὲ καὶ Τελμισσεῖς προσβεβηθηκότες ξυνετάξαντο. [5] ἤδη τε οἱ ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον προσβεβληκότες τῷ ὄρει, ὅπερ κατεῖχον οἱ Πισίδαι, κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀποτομώτατον τῆς ἀνόδου ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι λόχοις κατὰ κέρας ἐκάτερον, ἢ σφίσι μὲν εὐπροσοδώτατον ἦν, τοῖς πολεμίοις δὲ χαλεπωτάτη ἡ πρόσβασις. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοξότας, οἷα δὴ οὔτε ἀκριβῶς ὀπλισμένους καὶ πρώτους πελάσαντας, ἐτρέψαντο, οἱ δὲ Ἀγριᾶνες ἔμειναν. [6] ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν Μακεδόνων προσῆγε καὶ πρὸ αὐτῆς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφαίνετο. ὡς δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, γυμνοὶ τε οἱ βάρβαροι ὄντες ὀπλίταις προσεφέροντο καὶ πάντα κατατιτρωσκόμενοι ἐπιπτον [δὲ], ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγκλίνουσιν: [7] καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους,... κοῦφοι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἔμπειροι τῶν χωρίων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεχώρουν: καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες διὰ βαρύτητα τῶν ὅπλων καὶ ἀπειρίαν τῶν ὁδῶν οὐ θαρραλέοι ἐς τὸ διώκειν ἦσαν. [8] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐχόμενος τῶν φευγόντων τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν αἰρεῖ κατὰ κράτος. τῶν δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ Κλέανδρός τε ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν τοξοτῶν ἀποθνήσκει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄμφι τοὺς εἴκοσιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πισίδας ἤγε: καὶ τὰ μὲν τινα τῶν φρουρίων βία ἐξεῖλε, τὰ δὲ ὁμολογία προσηγάγετο.

[1] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦι ἐπὶ Φρυγίας παρὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἣ ὄνομα Ἀσκανία, ἐν ἣ ἅλεις πῆγνυνται αὐτόματοι, καὶ τούτοις χρῶνται οἱ ἐπιχώριοι οὐδὲ θαλάσσης τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ δέονται: καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Κελαινὰς πεμπτᾶιος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς Κελαιναῖς ἄκρα ἦν πάντῃ ἀπότομος, καὶ ταύτην φυλακὴ κατεῖχεν ἐκ τοῦ σατράπου τῆς Φρυγίας Κᾶρες μὲν χίλιοι, Ἕλληνες δὲ μισθοφόροι ἑκατόν. [2] καὶ οὗτοι πρεσβεδοῦνται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτό σφισι βοήθεια ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ξυνέκειτο, φράσαντες τὴν ἡμέραν, ὅτι παραδώσουσι τὸ χωρίον. καὶ ἔδοξε ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὠφελιμώτερα ἢ πολιορκεῖν ἄπορον πάντῃ προσφέρεισθαι τὴν ἄκραν. [3] πρὸς μὲν δὴ ταῖς Κελαιναῖς φυλακὴν καταλείπει στρατιώτας ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. μέινας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ σατράπην ἀποδείξας Φρυγίας Ἀντίγονον τὸν Φιλίππου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς

συμμάχους ἀντ' ἐκείνου στρατηγὸν Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου ἐπιτάξας, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Γορδίου ἐστέλλετο. καὶ Παρμενίῳ ἐπέστειλεν, ἄγοντα ἅμα οἷ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκεῖσε ἀπαντᾶν· καὶ ἀπήντα ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει Παρμενίων. [4] καὶ οἱ νεόγαμοι δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας σταλέντες εἰς Γόρδιον ἦκον καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἄλλῃ στρατιὰ καταλεχθεῖσα, ἣν ἤγε Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ Σελεύκου καὶ Κοῖνος ὁ Πολεμοκράτους καὶ Μελέαγρος ὁ Νεοπτολέμου, πεζοὶ μὲν Μακεδόνες τρισχίλιοι, ἵππεῖς δὲ ἐς τριακοσίους καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἵππεῖς διακόσιοι, Ἑλείων δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ πενήκοντα, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀλκίας Ἑλεῖος. [5] τὸ δὲ Γόρδιον ἔστι μὲν τῆς Φρυγίας τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου, κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ· τοῦ δὲ Σαγγαρίου αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐκ Φρυγίας εἰσὶν, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρακῶν τῶν Βιθυνῶν χώρας ἐξίησιν ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεία παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφίκετο, δεόμενοι Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεῖναι σφισι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οἱ ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ ποταμῷ ἐλήφθησαν Ἀθηναίων ξυστρατευόμενοι τοῖς Πέρσais καὶ τότε ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς δισχιλίοις δεδεμένοι ἦσαν· [6] καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἄπρακτοι ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπῆλθον. οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔτι ξυνεστῶτος τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃν πολέμου ἀνεῖναι τι τοῦ φόβου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὅσοι ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι στρατεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐκ ἀπηξίωσαν· ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνεται, ἐπειδὴν τὰ παρόντα καλῶς γένηται, τότε ἥκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβευομένους.

BOOK II.

[1] ἐκ δὲ τούτου Μένων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμὼν ἐκ βασιλέως Δαρείου καθεστηκὼς καὶ τῆς παραλίου ξυμπάσης, ὡς ἐς Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀποστρέψων τὸν πόλεμον, Χίον μὲν λαμβάνει προδοσίᾳ ἐνδοθεῖσαν, ἔνθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Λέσβου πλεύσας, ὡς οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι, τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τῆς Λέσβου προσηγάγετο. [2] ταύτας δὲ παραστησάμενος καὶ προσχὼν τῇ Μιτυλήνῃ τὴν μὲν πόλιν χάρακι διπλῷ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν ἀπειτείχισε, στρατόπεδα δὲ πέντε ἐποικοδομησάμενος τῆς γῆς ἐκράτει οὐ χαλεπῶς. καὶ μέρος μὲν τι τῶν νεῶν τὸν λιμένα αὐτῶν ἐφύλασσε, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Λέσβου τὸ Σίγριον, ἵνα ἢ προσβολὴ μάλιστα ἐστὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τε Χίου καὶ ἀπὸ Γεραιστοῦ καὶ Μαλέας ὀκλάσιν, ἀποστείλας τὸν παράπλουν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν, ὡς μή τινα ὠφέλειαν κατὰ θάλασσαν γίγνεσθαι τοῖς Μιτυληναῖοις. [3] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ αὐτὸς μὲν νόσῳ τελευτᾷ, καὶ εἶπερ τι ἄλλο καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ τότε ἔβλαψε τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα. Αὐτοφραδάτης δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος ὁ Ἀρταβάζου, ὅτῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε τελευτῶν ὁ Μένων τὴν ἀδελφιδῇ αὐτοῦ ὄντι, οὗτοι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ οὐκ ἄρρώστως προσέκειντο. [4] καὶ οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι τῆς τε γῆς εἰργόμενοι καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐφορμούσαις φρουρούμενοι πέμπσαντες παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ὁμολογίας ἐποίησαντο, τοὺς μὲν ξένους τοὺς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου σφίσι κατὰ συμμαχίαν ἦκοντας ἀπελθεῖν, Μιτυληναῖους δὲ καθελεῖν μὲν τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρόν σφισι γενομένας στήλας, ξυμμάχους δὲ εἶναι Δαρείου κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου γενομένην πρὸς βασιλέα Δαρεῖον, τοὺς φυγάδας δὲ αὐτῶν κατιέναι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν τότε ὄντων, ὅτε ἔφευγον. [5] ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἡ ξύμβασις τοῖς Μιτυληναῖοις πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας ξυνέβη. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Αὐτοφραδάτης, ὡς παρῆλθον ἅπας εἰσω τῆς πόλεως, φρουρὰν τε ἐς αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγον καὶ φρουράρχον ἐπ' αὐτῇ Λυκομήδην Ῥόδιον, καὶ τύραννον ἐγκατέστησαν τῇ πόλει Διογένην, ἓνα τῶν φυγάδων, χρήματά τε εἰσέπραξαν τοὺς Μιτυληναῖους τὰ μὲν βία ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιβαλόντες.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραζάμενοι Φαρνάβαζος μὲν ἔπλει ἐπὶ Λυκίας ἄγων τοὺς ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους, Αὐτοφραδάτης δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καταπέμπει Δαρεῖος Θυμῶνδαν τὸν Μέντορος, αὐτὸν μὲν τοὺς ξένους παρὰ Φαρναβάζου παραληψόμενον καὶ ἀνάξοντα παρὰ βασιλέα, Φαρναβάζῳ δὲ ἐροῦντα ἄρχειν ὅσων Μένων ἦρχεν. [2] καὶ παραδὼς τούτῳ τοὺς ξένους Φαρνάβαζος ἔπλει παρ' Αὐτοφραδάτην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, δέκα μὲν ναῦς στέλλουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους Δατάμην ἄνδρα Πέρσην ἄγοντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Τενέδου ἔπλευσαν: κατακομισθέντες δὲ τῆς Τενέδου εἰς τὸν Βόρειον καλούμενον λιμένα πέμπουσι παρὰ τοὺς Τενεδίους καὶ κελεύουσι τὰς στήλας τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας γενομένας σφίσι, ταύτας μὲν καθελεῖν, πρὸς Δαρεῖον δὲ ἄγειν τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν ἐπὶ Ἀνταλκίδου Δαρεῖω συνέθεντο. [3] Τενεδίοις δὲ τὰ μὲν τῆς εὐνοίας ἐς Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐποίει μᾶλλον, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι ἄπορον

ἄλλως ἐδόκει ὅτι μὴ προσχωρήσαντας τοῖς Πέρσαις σῶζεσθαι: ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ Ἥγελόχῳ, ὅτῳ προσετέτακτο ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐθις ξυναγαγεῖν δύναμιν ναυτικήν, τοσαύτη ξυνηγμένη ἦν ὥς δι' ὀλίγου προσδοκᾶν ἔσσεσθαι ἂν σφισι παρ' αὐτοῦ τινα ὠφέλειαν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ ἄμφι Φαρνάβαζον τοὺς Τενεδίους φόβῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐθελοντὰς παρεστήσαντο. [4] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐτύγγανε μὲν ξυναγαγὼν ἐξ Εὐβοίας τε καὶ Πελοποννήσου ναῦς μακρὰς ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τεταγμένος, ὥς εἶναι τινα ταῖς τε νήσοις φυλακὴν καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, εἰ, καθάπερ ἐξηγγέλλετο, ἐπιπλέοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι: πυθόμενος δὲ Δατάμην περὶ Σίφνον ὀρμεῖν δέκα ναυσίν, αὐτὸς ἔχων πεντεκαίδεκα νυκτὸς ἀνάγεται ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐρίπῳ: [5] καὶ προσχὼν ἔωθεν Κύθῳ τῇ νήσῳ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ αὐλίζεται, ὥς σαφέστερόν τε διαπυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ τῶν δέκα νεῶν καὶ ἅμα ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερώτερον προσπεσεῖν τοῖς Φοίνιξιν: ὥς δὲ ἔμαθε σαφῶς τὸν Δατάμην ζῆν ταῖς ναυσίν ἐν Σίφνῳ ὀρμοῦντα, ἐπιπλεύσας ἔτι νυκτὸς ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἔω καὶ ἀπροσδοκίτοις ἐπιπεσὼν ὁκτὼ μὲν ναῦς αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔλαβε, Δατάμης δὲ μετὰ δυοῖν τριήροιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσμίξει τῶν ἅμα Πρωτέα νεῶν ὑπεκφυγὼν ἀπεσώθη πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὥς ἐς Γόρδιον παρῆλθε, πόθος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἀνελθόντα ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ βασιλεία ἦν τὰ Γορδίου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Μίδου, τὴν ἅμαξαν ἰδεῖν τὴν Γορδίου καὶ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τῆς ἀμάξης τὸν δεσμόν. [2] λόγος δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐκείνης παρὰ τοῖς προσχώροις πολὺς κατεῖχε, Γόρδιον εἶναι τῶν πάλαι Φρυγῶν ἄνδρα πένητα καὶ ὀλίγην εἶναι αὐτῷ γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ζεύγη βοῶν δύο: καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀροτριᾶν, τῷ δὲ ἀμαξεύειν τὸν Γόρδιον. [3] καὶ ποτε ἀροῦντος αὐτοῦ ἐπιστῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ζυγὸν ἀετὸν καὶ ἐπιμεῖναι ἔστε ἐπὶ βουλυτὸν καθήμενον: τὸν δὲ ἐκπλαγέντα τῇ ὄψει ἰέναι κοινώσοντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τοὺς Τελμισσέας τοὺς μάντις: εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς Τελμισσέας σοφοὺς τὰ θεῖα ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ σφισιν ἀπὸ γένους δεδόσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ γυναιξίν καὶ παισὶ τὴν μαντείαν. [4] προσάγοντα δὲ κόμῃ τινὶ τῶν Τελμισσέων ἐντυχεῖν παρθένῳ ὕδρευομένη καὶ πρὸς ταύτην εἰπεῖν ὅπως οἱ τὸ τοῦ ἀετοῦ ἔσχε: τὴν δέ, εἶναι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τοῦ μαντικοῦ γένους, θύειν κελεῦσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐπανελθόντα ἐς τὸν τόπον αὐτόν. καὶ, δεηθῆναι γὰρ αὐτῆς Γόρδιον τὴν θυσίαν ξυνεπιπομένην οἱ αὐτὴν ἐξηγησάσθαι, θῦσαι τε ὅπως ἐκείνη ὑπετίθετο τὸν Γόρδιον καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι ἐπὶ γάμῳ τῇ παιδί καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτοῖν παῖδα Μίδαν ὄνομα. [5] ἤδη τε ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν Μίδαν καλὸν καὶ γενναῖον καὶ ἐν τούτῳ στάσει πιέζεσθαι ἐν σφίσιν τοὺς Φρύγας, καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς χρησμὸν, ὅτι ἅμαξα ἄξει αὐτοῖς βασιλέα καὶ ὅτι οὗτος αὐτοῖς καταπαύσει τὴν στάσιν. ἔτι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων βουλευομένοις ἔλθεῖν τὸν Μίδαν ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἐπιστῆναι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτῇ ἀμάξῃ. [6] τοὺς δὲ ξυμβalόντας τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦτον ἐκείνον γνῶναι ὄντα, ὄντινα ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔφραζεν, ὅτι ἄξει ἡ ἅμαξα: καὶ καταστῆσαι μὲν αὐτοὺς βασιλέα τὸν Μίδαν, Μίδαν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν στάσιν καταπαῦσαι, καὶ τὴν ἅμαξαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἀναθεῖναι χαριστήρια τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀετοῦ τῇ πομπῇ. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις καὶ τότε περὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐμυθεύετο, ὅστις λύσειε τοῦ ζυγοῦ τῆς ἀμάξης τὸν δεσμόν, τοῦτον χρῆναι

ἄρξει τῆς Ἀσίας. [7] ἦν δὲ ὁ δεσμὸς ἐκ φλοιοῦ κρανίας καὶ τούτου οὔτε τέλος οὔτε ἀρχὴ ἐφαίνετο. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχεν ἐξευρεῖν λύσιν τοῦ δεσμοῦ, ἄλυτον δὲ περιδεῖν οὐκ ἤθελε, μὴ τίνα καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς κίνησιν ἐργάσεται, οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν, ὅτι παίσας τῷ ξίφει διέκοψε τὸν δεσμὸν καὶ λελύσθαι ἔφη: Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ λέγει ἐξελόντα τὸν ἔστορα τοῦ ῥυμοῦ, ὃς ἦν τύλος διαβεβλημένος διὰ τοῦ ῥυμοῦ διαμπᾶξ, ξυνέχων τὸν δεσμόν, ἐξελκύσαι ἔξω τοῦ ῥυμοῦ τὸν ζυγόν. [8] ὅπως μὲν δὴ ἐπράχθη τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ δεσμῷ τούτῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐκ ἔχω ἰσχυρίσασθαι. ἀπηλλάγη δ' οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμάξης αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὡς τοῦ λογίου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ λύσει τοῦ δεσμοῦ ξυμβεβηκότος. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης βρονταί τε καὶ σέλας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπεσήμηναν: καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔθυε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς τὰ τε σημεῖα καὶ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὴν λύσιν.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπ' Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατικῆς ἐστέλλετο: κάκεῖ αὐτῷ πρεσβεία ἀφικνεῖται Παφλαγόνων, τό τε ἔθνος ἐνδιδόντων καὶ ἐς ὁμολογίαν ξυμβαινόντων: ἐς δὲ τὴν χώραν ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει μὴ ἐσβαλεῖν ἐδέοντο. [2] τούτοις μὲν δὴ προστάσσει Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπακοῦειν Κάλα τῷ σατράπῃ τῷ Φρυγίας. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Καππαδοκίας ἐλάσας ξύμπασαν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλυνος ποταμοῦ προσηγάγετο καὶ ἔτι ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἄλυν πολλήν: καταστήσας δὲ Καππαδοκῶν Σαβίκταν σατράπην αὐτὸς προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τὰς Κιλικίας. [3] καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρου τοῦ ξὺν Ξενοφῶντι στρατόπεδον, ὡς κατεχομένας τὰς πύλας φυλακαῖς ἰσχυραῖς εἶδε, Παρμενίωνα μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλείπει σὺν ταῖς τάξεσι τῶν πεζῶν, ὅσοι βαρύτερον ὠπλισμένοι ἦσαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀμφὶ πρώτην φυλακὴν ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας προῆγε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ὡς οὐ προσδεχομένοις τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐπιπυσεῖν. [4] καὶ προσάγων μὲν οὐκ ἔλαθεν, ἐς ἴσον δὲ αὐτῷ κατέστη ἡ τόλμα. οἱ γὰρ φύλακες αἰσθόμενοι Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν προσάγοντα λιπόντες τὴν φυλακὴν ὥχοντο φεύγοντες. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἔφ' ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰς πύλας κατέβαιναν ἐς τὴν Κιλικίαν. [5] καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ Ἀρσάμης ὅτι πρόσθεν μὲν ἐπενόει διασώζειν Πέρσαις τὴν Ταρσόν, ὡς δὲ ὑπερβεβληκότα ἤδη τὰς πύλας ἐπύθετο Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκλιπεῖν ἐν νῷ ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν: δεδιέναι οὖν τοὺς Ταρσέας μὴ ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν τραπεῖς οὕτω τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῇ Ταρσοῦ ποιήσεται. [6] ταῦτα ἀκούσας δρόμῳ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ταρσὸν τοὺς τε ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν ὅσοι κουφότατοι, ὥστε ὁ Ἀρσάμης μαθὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν σπουδῇ φεύγει ἐκ τῆς Ταρσοῦ παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον οὐδὲν βλάβας τὴν πόλιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς μὲν Ἀριστοβούλῳ λέλεκται, ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐνόσησεν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Κύδνον [τὸν] ποταμὸν λέγουσι ῥίψαντα νήξασθαι, ἐπιθυμήσαντα τοῦ ὕδατος, ἰδρῶντα καὶ καύματι ἐχόμενον. ὁ δὲ Κύδνος ῥέει διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως: οἷα δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ταύρου ὄρους τῶν πηγῶν οἱ ἀνισχουσῶν καὶ διὰ χώρου καθαροῦ ῥέων, ψυχρὸς τέ ἐστι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρὸς: [8] σπασμῷ τε οὖν ἔχεσθαι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ θερμαῖς ἰσχυραῖς καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ ξυνεχεῖ: καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἰατροὺς οὐκ οἶεσθαι εἶναι βιώσιμον, Φίλιππον δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνα, ἱατρὸν, ξυνόντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τὰ τε ἀμφὶ ἱατρικὴν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πιστευόμενον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀδόκιμον ἐν τῷ στρατῷ ὄντα, καθῆραι ἐθέλειν Ἀλέξανδρον φαρμάκῳ: καὶ τὸν

κελεύειν καθῆραι. [9] τὸν μὲν δὴ παρασκευάζειν τὴν κύλικα, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρῳ δοθῆναι ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ Παρμενίωνος φυλάξασθαι Φίλιππον: ἀκούειν γὰρ διεφθάρθαι ὑπὸ Δαρείου χρήμασιν ὥστε φαρμάκῳ ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον. τὸν δὲ ἀναγνόντα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἔτι μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα αὐτὸν μὲν λαβεῖν τὴν κύλικα ἐν ἧ ἦν τὸ φάρμακον, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δὲ τῷ Φιλίππῳ δοῦναι ἀναγνῶναι. [10] καὶ ὁμοῦ τὸν τε Ἀλέξανδρον πίνειν καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος. Φίλιππον δὲ εὐθὺς ἔνδηλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι καλῶς οἱ ἔχει τὰ τοῦ φαρμάκου: οὐ γὰρ ἐκπλαγῆναι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μόνον παρακαλέσαι Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα οἱ πείθεσθαι ὅσα ἐπαγγέλλοιτο: σωθήσεσθαι γὰρ πειθόμενον. [11] καὶ τὸν μὲν καθαρθῆναι τε καὶ ρᾶτσαι αὐτῷ τὸ νόσημα, Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι πιστός ἐστιν αὐτῷ φίλος, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ τοῖς ἄμφ’ αὐτὸν, ὅτι αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς φίλοις βέβαιος εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον τυγχάνει ὢν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ἔρρωμένος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Παρμενίωνα μὲν ἐμπει ἐπὶ τὰς

[1] ἄλλας πύλας, αἱ δὴ ὀρίζουσι τὴν Κιλικίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων χώραν, προκαταλαβεῖν καὶ φυλάσσειν τὴν πάροδον, δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας, ὧν Σιτάλκης ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δὲ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ ὕστερος ἄρας ἐκ Ταρσοῦ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἐς Ἀγχιάλον πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται. ταύτην δὲ Σαρδανάπαλον κτίσαι τὸν Ἀσσύριον λόγος: καὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεμελίοις τῶν τειχῶν δῆλη ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε πόλις κτισθεῖσα καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐλθοῦσα δυνάμεως. [3] καὶ τὸ μνημα τοῦ Σαρδανάπαλου ἐγγὺς ἦν τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Ἀγχιάλου: καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφειστήκει ἐπ’ αὐτῷ Σαρδανάπαλος συμβεβληκῶς τὰς χεῖρας ἀλλήλαις ὥς μάλιστα ἐς κρότον συμβάλλονται, καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπεγέγραπτο αὐτῷ Ἀσσύρια γράμματα: [4] οἱ μὲν Ἀσσύριοι καὶ μέτρον ἔφασκον ἐπεῖναι τῷ ἐπιγράμματι, ὁ δὲ νοὺς ἦν αὐτῷ ὃν ἔφραζε τὰ ἔπη, ὅτι Σαρδανάπαλος ὁ Ἀνακυνδαράξου παῖς Ἀγχιάλον καὶ Ταρσὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐδείματο. σὺ δέ, ὃ ξένε, ἔσθιε καὶ πῖνε καὶ παῖζε, ὥς τᾶλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα οὐκ ὄντα τούτου ἄξια: τὸν ψόφον αἰνισσόμενος, ὃνπερ αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ τῷ κρότῳ ποιοῦσι: καὶ τὸ παῖζε ῥαδιουργότερον ἐγγεγράφθαι ἔφασαν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ὀνόματι. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀγχιάλου ἐς Σόλους ἀφίκετο: [5] καὶ φρουρὰν ἐσήγαγεν ἐς Σόλους καὶ ἐπέβαλεν αὐτοῖς τάλαντα διακόσια ἀργυρίου ζημίαν, ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας μᾶλλον τι τὸν νοῦν εἶχον. [6] ἔνθεν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων τρεῖς τάξεις, τοὺς τοξότας δὲ πάντας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἐξελαύνει ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ ὄρη κατέχοντας Κίλικας. καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις τοὺς μὲν βία ἐξελών, τοὺς δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ παραστησάμενος ἐπανῆκεν ἐς τοὺς Σόλους. [7] καὶ ἐνταῦθα μανθάνει Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Ἄσανδρον ὅτι ἐκράτησαν Ὀροντοβάτου τοῦ Πέρσου, ὃς τήν τε ἄκραν τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ ἐφύλασσε καὶ Μύνδον καὶ Καῦνον καὶ Θήραν καὶ Καλλίπολιν κατεῖχε: προσήκτο δὲ καὶ Κῶ καὶ Τριόπιον. τοῦτον ἡττησθαι ἔγραφον μάχῃ μεγάλῃ: καὶ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν τῶν ἄμφ’ αὐτὸν πεζοὺς ἐς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς πεντήκοντα, ἀλῶναι δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν χιλίων. [8] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν Σόλοις θύσας τε τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ πομπεύσας αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα καὶ λαμπάδα ἐπιτελέσας καὶ ἀγῶνα διαθείς γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικὸν Σολεῦσι μὲν

δημοκρατεῖσθαι ἔδωκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναξέζας ἐς Ταρσὸν τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας ἀπέστειλεν Φιλῶτα δοὺς ἄγειν διὰ τοῦ Ἀλη[ν]ίου πεδίου ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πύραμον, [9] αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς πεζοῖς καὶ τῇ ἴλῃ τῇ βασιλικῇ ἐς Μάγαρσον ἦκεν καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Μαγαρσίδι ἔθυσεν. ἔνθεν δὲ ἐς Μαλλὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ Ἀμφιλόχῳ ὅσα ἦρωι ἐνήγισε· καὶ στασιάζοντας καταλαβὼν τὴν στάσιν αὐτοῖς κατέπαυσε· καὶ τοὺς φόρους, οὓς βασιλεῖ Δαρεῖῳ ἀπέφερον, ἀνῆκεν, ὅτι Ἀργεῖων μὲν Μαλλῶται ἄποικοι ἦσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπ' Ἀργους τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν εἶναι ἡξίου.

[1] ἔτι δὲ ἐν Μαλλῷ ὄντι αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται Δαρεῖον ἐν Σώχοις ζῆν τῇ πάσῃ δυνάμει στρατοπεδεύειν. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτός ἐστι μὲν τῆς Ἀσσυρίας γῆς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐς δύο μάλιστα σταθμούς. ἔνθα δὴ ξυναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐταίρους φράζει αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐξηγγελμένα ὑπὲρ Δαρείου τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς Δαρείου. οἱ δὲ αὐτόθεν ὡς εἶχεν ἄγειν ἐκέλευον. [2] ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς διέλυσε τὸν ξύλλογον, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ προ[σ]ῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον τε καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. δευτεραῖος δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰς πύλας ἐστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς Μυριάνδρῳ πόλει· καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς χειμῶν ἐπιγίγνεται σκληρὸς καὶ ὕδωρ τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πνεῦμα βίαιον· τοῦτο κατέσχευεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Ἀλέξανδρον. [3] Δαρεῖος δὲ τέως μὲν ζῆν τῇ στρατιᾷ διέτριβεν, ἐπιλεξάμενος τῆς Ἀσσυρίας γῆς πεδίον πάντῃ ἀναπεπταμένον καὶ τῷ τε πλήθει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιτήδειον καὶ ἐνιπάσασθαι τῇ ἵππῳ ζύμφορον. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ξυνεβούλευεν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπολείπειν Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀντιόχου, ὁ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτόμολος· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν πρὸς τοῦ πλήθους τε καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τῶν Περσῶν. καὶ ἔμνευε Δαρεῖος. [4] ὡς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὴ μὲν [ἦ] ἐν Ταρσῷ τριβὴ ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ ἐγίνετο, οὐκ ὀλίγη δὲ ἐν Σόλοις, ἵνα ἔθυε τε καὶ ἐπόμπευε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς Κίλικας διέτριψεν ἐξελάσας, τοῦτο ἔσφηλεν Δαρεῖον τῆς γνώμης· καὶ αὐτός τε, ὃ τί περ ἡδιστον ἦν δοξασθέν, ἐς τοῦτο οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπήχθη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' ἡδονὴν ξυνόντων τε καὶ ξυνεσπομένων ἐπὶ κακῷ τοῖς αἰεὶ βασιλεύουσιν ἐπαιρόμενος ἔγνω μηκέτι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐθέλειν προϊέναι τοῦ πρόσω, ἀλλ' ὁκνεῖν γὰρ πυνθανόμενον ὅτι αὐτὸς προσάγοι· [5] καταπατήσιν τε τῇ ἵππῳ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν στρατιάν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν αὐτῷ ἐπαίροντες ἔλεγον· [6] καίτοι γε Ἀμύντας ἡξεν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἰσχυρίζετο, ὅπου ἂν πύθηται Δαρεῖον ὄντα, καὶ αὐτοῦ προσμένειν ἐκέλευεν. ἀλλὰ τὰ χεῖρω μᾶλλον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραντίκῳ ἡδίῳ ἀκοῦσαι ἦν, ἔπειθε· καὶ τι καὶ δαιμόνιον τυχὸν ἦγεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χώρον, οὗ μῆτε ἐκ τῆς ἵπου πολλὴ ὠφέλεια αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, μῆτε ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτοῦ τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἀκοντίων τε καὶ τοξευμάτων, μηδὲ τὴν λαμπρότητα αὐτὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιδεῖξαι ἡδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν εὐμαρῶς τὴν νίκην παρέδωκεν. [7] ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἡδὴ καὶ Πέρσας πρὸς Μακεδόνων ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς Περσῶν ἀφηρεθήσαν, πρὸς Μήδων δὲ ἔτι ἔμπροσθεν Ἀσσύριοι.

[1] ὑπερβαλὼν δὴ τὸ ὄρος Δαρεῖος τὸ κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς Ἀμανικὰς καλουμένας ὡς ἐπὶ Ἰσὸν προῆγε· καὶ ἐγένετο κατόπιν Ἀλεξάνδρου λαθῶν. τὴν δὲ Ἰσὸν κατασχών, ὅσους διὰ νόσον ὑπολελειμμένους αὐτοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατέλαβε, τούτους χαλεπῶς αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐς δὲ τὴν

ὕστεραίαν προὔχωρει ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πίναρον. [2] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἤκουσεν ἐν τῷ ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ ὄντα Δαρεῖον, ἐπεὶ οὐ πιστὸς αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος ἐφαίνετο, ἀναβιβάσας εἰς τριακόντορον τῶν ἐταίρων τινὰς ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω ἐπὶ Ἰσόν, κατασκευομένους εἰ τὰ ὄντα ἐξαγγέλλεται. οἱ δὲ ἀναπλεύσαντες τῇ τριακοντόρῳ, ὅτι κολπώδης ἦν ἡ ταύτῃ θάλασσα, μᾶλλον τι εὐπετῶς κατέμαθον αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι Δαρεῖον. [3] ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας στρατηγοὺς τε καὶ ἱλάρχας καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἤδη σφίσι καλῶς κεκινδυνευμένων καὶ ὅτι πρὸς νενικημένους ὁ ἀγὼν νενικηκόσιν αὐτοῖς ἔσται καὶ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὑπὲρ σφῶν στρατηγεῖ ἄμεινον, ἐπὶ νοῦν Δαρεῖω ἀγαγὼν καθεῖρξαι τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς εὐρυχωρίας ἐς τὰ στενόπορα, ἵνα σφίσι μὲν ξύμμετρον τὸ χωρίον ἀναπτύξαι τὴν φάλαγγα, τοῖς δὲ ἀρχεῖον τὸ πλῆθος [ὅτι] ἔσται τῇ μάχῃ, οὔτε τὰ σώματα οὔτε τὰς γνώμας παραπλησίους. [4] Μακεδόνας τε γὰρ Πέρσας καὶ Μήδους, ἐκ πάνυ πολλοῦ τρυφῶσιν, αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς πόνοις τοῖς πολεμικοῖς πάλοι ἤδη μετὰ κινδύνων ἀσκουμένους, ἄλλως τε καὶ δούλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐλευθέρους, εἰς χεῖρας ἤξειν· ὅσοι τε Ἕλληνες Ἕλλησιν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν μαχεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ξὺν Δαρεῖω ἐπὶ μισθῷ καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ πολλῷ κινδυνεύοντας, τοὺς δὲ ξὺν σφίσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐκόντας ἀμυνομένους· [5] βαρβάρων τε αὖ Θρᾷκας καὶ Παίονας καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας τοὺς εὐρωστοτάτους τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ μαχιμωτάτους πρὸς τὰ ἀπονώτατά τε καὶ μαλακώτατα τῆς Ἀσίας γένη ἀντιτάξεσθαι· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντιστρατηγεῖν Δαρεῖω. [6] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐς πλεονεξίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐπέξηει. τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ὅτι μεγάλα ἔσται σφίσι τοῦ κινδύνου ἐπεδείκνυν. οὐ γὰρ τοὺς σατράπας τοὺς Δαρείου ἐν τῷ τότε κρατήσιν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ ταχθεῖσαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς δισμυρίους ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους, ἀλλὰ Περσῶν τε ὃ τι περ ὄφελος καὶ Μήδων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη Πέρσας καὶ Μήδους ὑπήκοα ἐποιεῖ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ αὐτὸν μέγαν βασιλέα παρόντα, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ὑπολειφθήσεται σφισιν ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ ἀγῶνι ὅτι μὴ κρατεῖν τῆς Ἀσίας ξυμπάσης καὶ πέρας τοῖς πολλοῖς πόνοις ἐπιθεῖναι. [7] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ τῶν τε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ξὺν λαμπρότητι ἤδη πεπραγμένων ὑπεμίμησεν καὶ εἰ δὴ τῷ ἰδίῳ τι διαπρεπὲς ἐς κάλλος τετολμημένον, ὀνομαστὶ ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἀνακαλῶν. καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὡς ἀνεπαχθέστατα ἐπέξηει. [8] λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ τῶν ἅμα Ξενοφῶντι μυρίων ἐς μνήμην ἔλθεῖν, ὡς οὐδὲν τι οὔτε κατὰ πλῆθος οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἀξίωσιν σφίσιν ἐπεουκότες, οὐδὲ ἱππέων αὐτοῖς παρόντων Θεσσαλῶν, οὐδὲ Βοιωτῶν ἢ Πελοποννησίων, οὐδὲ Μακεδόνων ἢ Θρακῶν, οὐδὲ ὅση ἄλλη σφίσιν ἵππος ξυντέτακται, οὐδὲ τοξοτῶν ἢ σφενδονητῶν, ὅτι μὴ Κρητῶν ἢ Ῥοδίων ὀλίγων, καὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶντος αὐτοσχεδιασθέντων, [9] οἱ δὲ βασιλέα τε ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι αὐτῇ ἐτρέψαντο καὶ ἔθνη ὅσα κατιόντων ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον καθ' ὁδὸν σφισιν ἐπεγένετο νικῶντες ἐπῆλθον· ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ἐς παράκλησιν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ ἡγεμόνος παραινεῖσθαι εἰκός. οἱ δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν δεξιούμενοί τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπαίροντες ἄγειν ἤδη ἐκέλευον.

[1] ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν δειπνοποιεῖσθαι παραγγέλλει, προπέμπει δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τῶν τε ἱππέων ὀλίγους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν προκατασκευασμένους τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ὀπίσω [ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας]: καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιάν πᾶσαν ἦει, ὡς κατασχεῖν αὖθις τὰς πύλας. [2] ὡς δὲ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐκράτησεν αὖθις τῶν παρόδων, ἀνέπαυε τὴν στρατιάν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πετρῶν, προφυλακὰς ἀκριβεῖς καταστησάμενος. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἔω κατῆι ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν: καὶ ἕως μὲν πάντῃ στενόπορα ἦν τὰ χωρία, ἐπὶ κέρως ἦγεν, ὡς δὲ διεχώρει ἐς πλάτος, ἀνέπτυσεν αἰεὶ τὸ κέρας ἐς φάλαγγα, ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τάξιν παράγων, τῇ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. [3] οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς αὐτῷ τέως μὲν κατόπιν τῶν πεζῶν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν προήεσαν, συνέτασεν ἤδη τὴν στρατιάν ὡς ἐς μάχην, πρώτους μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῷ κέρως πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῶν πεζῶν τό τε ἄγλημα καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἐχομένην δὲ τούτων τὴν Κοίνου τάξιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὴν Περδίκκου. οὗτοι μὲν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιῷ ἀρξαμένῳ τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. [4] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου πρώτη μὲν ἡ Ἀμύντου τάξις ἦν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Πτολεμαίου, ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ἡ Μελεάγρου. τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου τοῖς πεζοῖς μὲν Κρατερὸς ἐπετέτακτο ἄρχειν, τοῦ δὲ ξύμπαντος εὐωνύμου Παρμενίων ἡγεῖτο: καὶ παρήγγελτο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπολείπειν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅτι πάντῃ ὑπερφαλαγγήσειν αὐτῶν διὰ πλῆθος ἤμελλον. [5] Δαρεῖος δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐξηγγέλθη αὐτῷ προσάγων ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐς μάχην, τῶν μὲν ἱππέων διαβιβάζει πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Πινάρου ἐς τρισμυρίους μάλιστα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ μετὰ τούτων τῶν ψιλῶν ἐς δισμυρίους, ὅπως τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν καθ' ἡσυχίαν συντάξειε. [6] καὶ πρώτους μὲν τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἔταξεν ἐς τρισμυρίους κατὰ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τῶν Καρδᾶκ[κ]ων καλουμένων ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐς ἐξακισμυρίους: ὀπλῖται δὲ ἦσαν καὶ οὗτοι. τοσοῦτους γὰρ ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἀπλῆς ἐδέχετο τὸ χωρίον, ἵνα ἐτάσσοντο. [7] ἐπέταξε δὲ καὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σφῶν κατὰ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου δεξιὸν ἐς δισμυρίους: καὶ τούτων ἔστιν οἱ κατὰ νώτου ἐγένοντο τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιᾶς. τὸ γὰρ ὄρος ἵνα ἐπετάχθησαν πῇ μὲν διεχώρει ἐς βάθος καὶ κολπῶδές τι αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάσῃ ἐγίνετο, ἔπειτα ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν προῖδον τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τεταγμένους κατόπιν τοῦ δεξιῷ κέρων τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐποίει. [8] τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος αὐτοῦ ψιλῶν τε καὶ ὀπλιτῶν, κατὰ ἔθνη συντεταγμένον ἐς βάθος οὐκ ὠφέλιμον, ὅπισθεν ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μισθοφόρων καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ φάλαγγος τεταγμένου βαρβαρικοῦ ἐλέγετο γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα ξὺν Δαρείῳ στρατιὰ μάλιστα ἐς ἐξήκοντα μυριάδας μαχίμους εἶναι. [9] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ πρόσω ἰόντι τὸ χωρίον διέσχεν ὀλίγον ἐς πλάτος, παρήγαγε τοὺς ἱππέας, τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καλουμένους καὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα ἅμα οἱ ἔταξε, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον πέμπει ὡς Παρμενίωνα. [10] Δαρεῖος δέ, ὡς συντεταγμένη ἤδη ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ, τοὺς ἱππέας, οὕστινας πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τῷδε προτετάχει ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς αὐτῷ ἡ ἔκταξις τῆς στρατιᾶς γένοιτο, ἀνεκάλεσεν ἀπὸ

ξυνθήματος. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ κατὰ Παρμενίωνα ἔταξεν, ὅτι ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τι ἱππάσιμα ἦν, μέρος δέ τι αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον πρὸς τὰ ὄρη παρήγαγεν. [1] ὥς δὲ ἀχρεῖοι ἐνταῦθα διὰ στενότητα τῶν χωρίων ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ τούτων τοὺς πολλοὺς παριππεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας σφῶν ἐκέλευσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ Δαρεῖος τὸ μέσον τῆς πάσης τάξεως ἐπεῖχεν, καθάπερ νόμος τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι τετάχθαι: καὶ τὸν νοῦν τῆς τάξεως ταύτης Ξενοφῶν ὁ τοῦ Γρύλου ἀναγέγραφεν.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος κατιδὼν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ἵππον μετακεχωρηκυῖαν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὥς πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, αὐτῷ δὲ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους μόνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν ξυμμάχων ἱππείας ταύτῃ τεταγμένους, πέμπει κατὰ τάχος τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἱππείας ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον, κελεύσας μὴ πρὸ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς πάσης τάξεως παριππεῦσαι, τοῦ μὴ καταφανεῖς τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι μεταχωροῦντας, ἀλλὰ κατόπιν τῆς φάλαγγος ἀφανῶς διελθεῖν. [2] προέταξε δὲ τῶν μὲν ἱππέων κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τοὺς προδρόμους, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Πρωτόμαχος, καὶ τοὺς Παίονας, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀρίστων, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τοὺς τοξότας, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀντίοχος: τοὺς δὲ Ἀγριάνας, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀτταλος, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ κατὰ νότου ἔταξεν, ὥστε κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτῷ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐς δύο κέρατα διέχουσιν τετάχθαι, τὸ μὲν ὥς πρὸς Δαρειὸν τε καὶ τοὺς πέρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς πάντας Πέρσας, τὸ δὲ ὥς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει κατὰ νότου σφῶν τεταγμένους. [3] τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου προετάχθησαν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν οἱ τε Κρήτες τοξόται καὶ οἱ Θρᾶκες, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σιτάλκης, πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἡ ἵππος ἢ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον. οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι ξένοι πᾶσιν ἐπετάχθησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε πυκνὴ αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐφαίνετο, πολλὸν τε ταύτῃ υπερφαλαγγήσιν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδόκουν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐκέλευσε δύο ἵλας τῶν ἐταίρων, τὴν τε Ἀνθεμουσίαν, ἣς ἰλάρχης ἦν Περοΐδας ὁ Μενεσθέως, καὶ τὴν Λευγαίαν καλουμένην, ἣς ἡγεῖτο Παντόρδανος ὁ Κλεάνδρου, ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἀφανῶς παρελθεῖν. [4] καὶ τοὺς τοξότας δὲ καὶ μέρος τῶν Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων ἔστιν οὗς κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ μετώπου παραγαγὼν ἐξέτεινεν ὑπὲρ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν κέρας τὴν φάλαγγα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὄρους τεταγμένοι οὔτε κατήεσαν, ἐκδρομῆς τε ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ὀλίγων κατὰ πρόσταξιν Ἀλεξάνδρου γενομένης ῥαδίως ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπωρείας ἀνασταλέντες ἐς τὸ ἄκρον ἀνέφυγον, ἔγνω καὶ τοῖς κατ’ αὐτοὺς τεταγμένοις δυνατὸς ὦν χρήσασθαι ἐς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς φάλαγγος: ἐκείνοις δὲ ἱππείας

[1] οὕτω δὴ τεταγμένους χρόνον μὲν τινα προῆγεν ἀναπαύων, ὥστε καὶ πάντῃ ἔδοξε σχολαία γενέσθαι αὐτῷ ἡ πρόσοδος: τοὺς γὰρ βαρβάρους, ὅπως τὰ πρῶτα ἐτάχθησαν, οὐκέτι ἀντεπῆγε Δαρεῖος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς ὄχθαις, πολλαχῇ μὲν ἀποκρήμινους οὖσαις, ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ χάρακα παρατείνας αὐταῖς ἵνα εὐεφοδώτερα ἐφαίνετο, οὕτως ἔμενεν: καὶ ταύτῃ εὐθὺς δῆλος ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀμφ’ Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένος. [2] ὥς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦν τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἐνταῦθα παριππεύων πάντῃ Ἀλέξανδρος παρεκάλει ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίγνεσθαι, οὐ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μόνον τὰ ὀνόματα ξὺν τῷ πρόποντι κόσμῳ ἀνακαλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς ὀνομαστὶ καὶ τῶν

ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὅσοι κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἢ τινα ἀρετὴν γνωριμώτεροι ἦσαν: καὶ πανταχόθεν βοή ἐγίνετο μὴ διατρίβειν, ἀλλὰ ἐσβάλλειν ἐς τοὺς πολέμιους. [3] ὁ δὲ ἦγεν ἐν τάξει ἔτι, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, καίπερ ἐν ἀπόπτῳ ἤδη ἔχων τὴν Δαρείου δύναμιν, βάδην, τοῦ μὴ διασπασθῆναι τι ἐν τῇ ξυντονωτέρᾳ πορείᾳ κυμῆναν τῆς φάλαγγος: ὡς δὲ ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγίνοντο, πρῶτοι δὴ οἱ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τεταγμένοι δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλον, ὡς τῇ τε ὀξύτητι τῆς ἐφόδου ἐκπλήξαι τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ τοῦ θάσσον ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας ὀλίγα πρὸς τῶν τοξοτῶν βλάπτεσθαι. καὶ ξυνέβη ὅπως εἴκασεν Ἀλέξανδρος. [4] εὐθὺς γὰρ ὡς ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, τρέπονται τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος οἱ τῷ ἀριστερῷ κέρα ἐπιτεταγμένοι: καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν λαμπρῶς ἐνίκα Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες οἱ μισθοφόροι οἱ ξὺν Δαρείῳ, ἧ διέσχε τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡ φάλαγξ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρα παραρραγεῖσα, [5] ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν σπουδῇ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμβάλων καὶ ἐν χερσὶ τὴν μάχην ποιήσας ἐξώθει ἤδη τοὺς ταύτῃ τεταγμένους τῶν Περσῶν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῶν Μακεδόνων οὔτε τῇ ἴσῃ σπουδῇ ἦσαντο τοῦ ἔργου καὶ πολλαχῇ κρημνώδεσι ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐντυγχάνοντες τὸ μέτωπον τῆς φάλαγγος οὐ δυνατοὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει διασώσασθαι, — ταύτῃ ἐμβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἢ μάλιστα διεσπασμένην αὐτοῖς τὴν φάλαγγα κατεῖδον. [6] καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐνταῦθα καρτερόν ἦν, τῶν μὲν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπώσασθαι τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τὴν νίκην τοῖς ἤδη φεύγουσι σφῶν ἀνασώσασθαι, τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ τῆς τε Ἀλεξάνδρου ἤδη φαινομένης εὐπραγίας μὴ λειφθῆναι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς φάλαγγος, ὡς ἀμάχου δὴ ἐς τὸ τότε διαβεβοημένης, μὴ ἀφανίσαι. καὶ τι καὶ τοῖς γένεσι τῷ τε Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ Μακεδονικῷ φιλοτιμίας ἐνέπεσεν ἐς ἀλλήλους. [7] καὶ ἐνταῦθα πίπτει Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ Σελεύκου, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς εἴκοσι μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατὸν τῶν οὐκ ἡμελημένων Μακεδόνων.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τάξεις, τετραμμένους ἤδη τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς τῶν Περσῶν ὀρῶντες, ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τε τοὺς μισθοφόρους τοὺς Δαρείου καὶ τὸ πονοῦμενον σφῶν ἐπικάμψαντες ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπώσαντο αὐτούς, καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρερρωγὸς τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος ὑπερφαλαγγήσαντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια ἐμβεβληκότες ἤδη ἔκοπτον τοὺς ξένους: [2] καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν κατὰ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς τεταγμένοι οὐκ ἔμειναν ἐντὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπιδιαβάντες εὐρώστως ἐνέβαλον ἐς τὰς Ἰλας τῶν Θετταλῶν. καὶ ταύτῃ ξυνέστη ἵππομαχία καρτερά, οὐδὲ πρόσθεν ἐνέκλιναν οἱ Πέρσαι πρὶν Δαρεῖόν τε πεφευγότα ἦσθοντο καὶ πρὶν ἀπορραγῆναι σφῶν τοὺς μισθοφόρους συγκοπέντας ὑπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος. [3] τότε δὲ ἤδη λαμπρά τε καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἡ φυγὴ ἐγίνετο: καὶ οἱ τε τῶν Περσῶν ἵπποι ἐν τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ἐκακοπάθουν βαρέως ὠλισμμένους τοὺς ἀμβάτας σφῶν φέροντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς κατὰ στενὰς ὁδοὺς πλήθει τε πολλοὶ καὶ πεφοβημένως ξὺν ἀταξίᾳ ἀποχωροῦντες οὐ μείον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καταπατούμενοι ἢ πρὸς τῶν διωκόντων πολέμιων ἐβλάπτοντο. καὶ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ εὐρώστως αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειντο, ὥστε οὐ μείων ἢ τῶν πεζῶν φόνος ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐγίνετο. [4] Δαρεῖος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπ'

Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφοβήθη τὸ κέρας τὸ εὐώνυμον καὶ ταύτῃ ἀπορρηγνύμενον κατεῖδε τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοπέδου, εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος ξὺν τοῖς πρώτοις ἔφευγε. [5] καὶ ἔστε μὲν ὁμαλοῖς χωρίοις ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἐπετιύχανεν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος διεσώζετο, ὡς δὲ φάραγγί τε καὶ ἄλλαις δυσχωρίαις ἐνέκυρσε, τὸ μὲν ἄρμα ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸν κἀνδυν ἐκδύς· ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸ τόξον ἀπολείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος· αὐτὸς δὲ ἵππου ἐπιβὰς ἔφευγε· καὶ ἡ νύξ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἐπιγενομένη ἀφείλετο αὐτὸν τὸ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἁλῶναι. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἔστε μὲν φάος ἦν ἀνὰ κράτος ἐδίωκεν, ὡς δὲ συνεσκοτάζε τε ἦδη καὶ τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ἀφανῇ ἦν, εἰς τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἀπετρέπετο ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τὸ μέντοι ἄρμα τοῦ Δαρείου ἔλαβε καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν κἀνδυν καὶ τὸ τόξον, [7] καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ δίωξις βραδυτέρα αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ παραρρήξει τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπιστρέψας καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ πρόσθεν ἐς τὸ διώκειν ἐτράπετο πρὶν τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους τοὺς ξένους καὶ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἱππικὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπωσθέντας κατεῖδε. [8] τῶν δὲ Περσῶν ἀπέθανον Ἀρσάμης μὲν Ῥεομίθρης καὶ Ἀτιζύης τῶν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ ἡγήσαμένων τοῦ ἱππικοῦ· ἀποθνήσκει δὲ καὶ Σαυάκης ὁ Αἰγύπτου σατράπης καὶ Βουβάκης τῶν ἐντίμων Περσῶν· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος εἰς δέκα μάλιστα μυριάδας καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἱππεῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, ὥστε λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ξυνεπισπόμενος τότε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοὺς μετὰ σφῶν διώκοντας Δαρεῖον, ὡς ἐπὶ φάραγγί τινι ἐν τῇ διώξει ἐγένοντο, ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν διαβῆναι τὴν φάραγγα. [9] τό τε στρατόπεδον τὸ Δαρείου εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔάλω καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή, αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Δαρείου, καὶ υἱὸς Δαρείου νήπιος· καὶ θυγατέρες δύο ἔάλωσαν καὶ ἄλλαι ἀμφ' αὐτάς Περσῶν τῶν ὁμοτίμων γυναῖκες οὐ πολλάί. οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τὰς γυναῖκας σφῶν ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ ἐς Δαμασκὸν ἔτυχον ἐσταλκότες· [10] ἐπεὶ καὶ Δαρεῖος τῶν τε χρημάτων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ ἐς πολυτελῆ διάιταν καὶ στρατευομένῳ ὁμως συνέτεται πεπόμφει ἐς Δαμασκόν, ὥστε ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι οὐ πλείονα ἢ τρισχίλια τάλαντα ἔάλω. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν Δαμασκῷ χρήματα ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἔάλω ὑπὸ Παρμενίωνος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο σταλέντος, τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίους Νικοκράτους μηνὸς Μαιμακτηρῶνος.

[1] τῇ δὲ ὕστεραίᾳ, καίπερ τετρωμένος τὸν μηρὸν ξίφει Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ δὲ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐπῆλθε, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ξυναγαγὼν ἔθαψε μεγαλοπρεπῶς ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ ἐκτεταγμένη ὡς λαμπρότατα ἐς πόλεμον· καὶ λόγῳ τε ἐπεκόσμησεν ὅσοις τι διαπρεπὲς ἔργον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἢ αὐτὸς ξυνέγνω εἰργασμένον ἢ ἀκοῇ συμφωνούμενον ἔμαθεν, καὶ χρημάτων ἐπιδόσει ὡς ἐκάστους ξὺν τῇ ἀξίᾳ ἐτίμησεν. [2] καὶ Κιλικίας μὲν ἀποδεικνύει σατράπην Βάλακρον τὸν Νικάνορος, ἓνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν βασιλικῶν, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου ἐς τοὺς σωματοφυλάκας κατέλεξε Μένητα τὸν Διονυσίου· ἀντὶ δὲ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σελεύκου τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Πολυέρχοντα τὸν Σιμμίου ἄρχειν ἀπέδειξε τῆς ἐκείνου τάξεως, καὶ Σολεῦσι τὰ τε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ ἔτι ἐνδεᾶ ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιβληθέντων Σφίσι χρημάτων, ἀνήκεν καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀπέδωκεν. [3] ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Δαρείου οὐδὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ τῶν παιδῶν ἡμέλησεν. ἀλλὰ λέγουσί τινες τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου γραψάντων τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτῆς, ἥ ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως τῆς Δαρείου ἐπανήκεν, ἐς

τὴν σκηνὴν παρελθόντα αὐτὸν τὴν Δαρεῖου, ἥτις αὐτῷ ἐξηρημένη ἦν, ἀκοῦσαι γυναικῶν οἰμωγὴν καὶ ἄλλον τοιοῦτον θόρυβον οὐ πόρρω τῆς σκηνῆς: [4] πυθέσθαι οὖν αἰτίνες γυναῖκες καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου οὕτως ἐγγὺς παρασκηνοῦσι: καὶ τίνα ἐξαγγεῖλαι, ὅτι: ὃ βασιλεῦ, ἡ μήτηρ τε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Δαρείου καὶ οἱ παῖδες, ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη αὐταῖς ὅτι τὸ τόξον τε τοῦ Δαρείου ἔχεις καὶ τὸν κἀνδυν τὸν βασιλικὸν καὶ ἡ ἄσπις ὅτι κεκόμισται ὀπίσω ἡ Δαρείου, ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεῶτι Δαρεῖῳ ἀνοιμώζουσιν. [5] ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὰς Λεοννάτον, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐντειλάμενον φράσαι ὅτι ζῇ Δαρεῖος, τὰ δὲ ὄπλα καὶ τὸν κἀνδυν ὅτι φεύγων ἀπέλιπεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι μόνον ἔχει Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ Λεοννάτον παρελθόντα ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν τὰ τε περὶ Δαρείου εἰπεῖν καὶ ὅτι τὴν θεραπείαν αὐταῖς συγχωρεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον καὶ καλεῖσθαι βασιλίσσας, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ ἔχθραν οἱ γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Δαρεῖον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς [6] τῆς Ἀσίας διαπεπολεμῆσθαι ἐννόμως. ταῦτα μὲν Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος λέγουσι: λόγος δὲ ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸν Ἡφαιστίῳ μόνῳ τῶν ἐταίρων: καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Δαρείου ἀμφιγνοήσασαν ὅστις ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶη αὐτοῖν, ἐστάλθαι γὰρ ἅμφω τῷ αὐτῷ κόσμῳ, τὴν δὲ Ἡφαιστίῳ προσελθεῖν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, ὅτι μείζων ἐφάνη ἐκεῖνος. [7] ὡς δὲ ὁ Ἡφαιστίων τε ὀπίσω ὑπεχώρησε καὶ τις τῶν ἀμφοῖν αὐτῇν, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δείξας, ἐκεῖνον ἔφη εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν μὲν καταιδεσθῆσαν τῇ διαμαρτίᾳ ὑποχωρεῖν, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ οὐ φάναι αὐτὴν ἀμαρτεῖν: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρον. [8] καὶ ταῦτα ἐγὼ οὐθ' ὡς ἀληθῆ οὔτε ὡς πάντῃ ἄπιστα ἀνέγραψα. ἀλλ' εἴτε οὕτως ἐπράχθη, ἐπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς τε ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας κατοικτίσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν ἐταῖρον πίστεως καὶ τιμῆς: εἴτε πιθανὸς δοκεῖ τοῖς συγγράψασιν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς καὶ ταῦτα ἂν πράξας καὶ εἰπὼν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον.

[1] Δαρεῖος δὲ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ξὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς ἀμφοῖν αὐτὸν ἔφυγε, τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναλαμβάνων ἀεὶ τῶν τε Περσῶν τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἔχων τοὺς πάντας, ὡς ἐπὶ Θάψακόν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν σπουδῇ ἤλαυνεν, ὡς τάχιστα μέσον αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Εὐφράτην ποιῆσαι. [2] Ἀμύντας δὲ ὁ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Θυμώνδας ὁ Μέντορος καὶ Ἀριστομήδης ὁ Φεραῖος καὶ Βιάνωρ ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, ξυμπάντες οὗτοι αὐτόμολοι, μετὰ τῶν ἀμφοῖν αὐτοὺς στρατιωτῶν ὡς ὀκτακισχιλίων εὐθὺς ὡς τεταγμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰ ὄρη φεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς Τρίπολιν τῆς Φοινίκης: [3] καὶ ἐνταῦθα καταλαβόντες τὰς ναῦς νενεωλκημένας ἐφ' ὧν πρόσθεν ἐκ Λέσβου διακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν, τούτων ὅσαι μὲν ἱκαναὶ σφισιν ἐς τὴν κομιδὴν ἐδόκουν, ταύτας καθελκύσαντες, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις κατακαύσαντες, ὡς μὴ παρασχεῖν ταχεῖαν σφῶν τὴν δίωξιν, ἐπὶ Κύπρου ἔφευγον καὶ ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἵνα περ ὀλίγον ὕστερον πολυπραγμονῶν τι Ἀμύντας ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων. [4] Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Αὐτοφραδάτης τέως μὲν περὶ τὴν Χίον διέτριβον: καταστήσαντες δὲ φρουρὰν τῆς Χίου τὰς μὲν τινὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐς Κῶν καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσὸν ἔστειλαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ ταῖς ἄριστα πλεούσαις ἀναγαγόμενοι ἐς Σίφνον κατέσχον. καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ἀφικνεῖται Ἄγις ὁ

Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ μιᾷς τριήρους, χρήματά τε αἰτήσων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ δύναμιν ναυτικήν τε καὶ πεζικὴν ὅσιν πλείστην ἀξιώσων συμπέμψαι οἱ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. [5] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀγγελία αὐτοῖς ἔρχεται τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Ἰσῶ γενομένης. ἐκπλαγέντες δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα Φαρνάβαζος μὲν σὺν δώδεκα τριήρεσι καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ξένων ζὺν χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις ἐπὶ Χίου ἐστάλη, δείσας μὴ τι πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς ἥττης οἱ Χῖοι νεωτερίσωσιν. [6] Ἄγις δὲ παρ' Αὐτοφραδάτου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου λαβὼν τριάκοντα καὶ τριήρεις δέκα, ταύτας μὲν Ἰππίαν ἄξοντα ἀποστέλλει παρὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀγησίλαον ἐπὶ Ταίναρον· καὶ παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, διδόντα τοῖς ναύταις ἐντελῇ τὸν μισθὸν πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ Κρήτης, ὡς τὰ ἐκεῖ καταστησόμενον. αὐτὸς δὲ τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ὑπέμενεν, ὕστερον δὲ εἰς Ἀλικαρνασσὸν παρ' Αὐτοφραδάτην ἀφίκετο. [7] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σατράπην μὲν Συρία τῇ κοιλῇ Μένωνα τὸν Κερδίμμη ἐπέταξε δοὺς αὐτῷ εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας τοὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων ἱππέας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Φοινίκης ἦει. καὶ ἀπαντᾷ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Στράτων ὁ Γηροστράτου παῖς τοῦ Ἀραδίων τε καὶ τῶν Ἀράδω προσοίκων βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ Γηρόστρατος αὐτὸς μετ' Αὐτοφραδάτου ἔπλει ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τε τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ οἱ τῶν Κυπρίων βασιλεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ Αὐτοφραδάτη ζυνέπλεον. [8] Στράτων δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐντυχὼν στεφανοῖ χρυσοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τε Ἀραδὸν αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον καὶ τὴν Μάραθον τὴν καταντικρὺ τῇ Ἀράδου ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ὥκισμένην, πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, καὶ Σιγῶνα καὶ Μαριάμμην πόλιν καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τῆς σφῶν ἐπικρατείας ἐνδίδωσιν.

[1] ἔτι δὲ ἐν Μαράθῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος ἀφίκοντο παρὰ Δαρείου πρέσβεις, ἐπιστολὴν τε κομίζοντες Δαρείου καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης δεησόμενοι ἀφείναι Δαρεῖφ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας. [2] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὅτι Φιλίππῳ τε πρὸς Ἀρτοξέρξην φιλία καὶ ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο καί, ἐπειδὴ Ἀρσῆς ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρτοξέρξου ἐβασίλευσεν, ὅτι Φίλιππος ἀδικίας πρῶτος ἐς βασιλέα Ἀρσῆν ἤρξεν οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐκ Περσῶν παθόν. ἐξ οὗ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεύει Περσῶν, οὔτε πέμψαι τινὰ Ἀλέξανδρον παρ' αὐτὸν ἐς βεβαίωσιν τῆς πάλαι οὔσης φιλίας τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας, διαβῆναι τε ζὺν στρατιᾷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐργάσασθαι Πέρσας. [3] τούτου ἕνεκα καταβῆναι αὐτὸς τῇ χώρᾳ ἀμυνῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρῶαν ἀνασώσων. τὴν μὲν δὴ μάχην ὡς θεῶν τῷ ἔδοξεν οὕτω κριθῆναι, αὐτὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς παρὰ βασιλέως γυναῖκά τε τὴν αὐτοῦ αἰτεῖν καὶ μητέρα καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἀλόντας, καὶ φιλίαν ἐθέλειν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ξύμμαχος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων πέμπειν ἡξίου Ἀλέξανδρον παρ' αὐτὸν ζὺν Μενίσκῳ τε καὶ Ἀρσίμῳ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τοῖς ἐκ Περσῶν ἤκουσι τοὺς τὰ πιστὰ ληγομένους τε καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου δώσοντας. [4] πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιγράφει Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ξυμπέμπει τοῖς παρὰ Δαρείου ἐλθοῦσι Θέρσιππον, παραγγείλας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δοῦναι Δαρεῖφ, αὐτὸν δὲ μὴ διαλέγεσθαι ὑπὲρ μηδενός. ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολή ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔχει ὧδε· οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι ἐλθόντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα κακῶς ἐποίησαν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν προηδικημένοι· ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμὼν κατασταθεὶς καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι βουλόμενος Πέρσας διέβην ἐς τὴν

Ἀσίαν, ὑπαρξάντων ὑμῶν. [5] καὶ γὰρ Περινηθίοις ἐβοηθήσατε, οἱ τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα ἡδίκουν, καὶ εἰς Θράκην, ἧς ἡμεῖς ἤρχομεν, δύναμιν ἔπεμψεν Ὁχος. τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλεύσαντων, οὓς ὑμεῖς συνετάξατε, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐκομπάσατε, καὶ Ἀρσῆν ἀποκτείναντός σου μετὰ Βαγώου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντος οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Περσῶν νόμον, ἀλλὰ ἀδικοῦντος Πέρσας, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας γράμματα οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια διαπέμποντος, [6] ὅπως πρὸς με πολεμῶσι, καὶ χρήματα ἀποστέλλοντος πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πόλεων οὐδεμιᾶς δεχομένης, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ λαβόντων, καὶ παρὰ σοῦ πεμφθέντων τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλους διαφθειράντων καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κατεσκεύασα, διαλύειν ἐπιχειρούντων — ἐστράτευσα ἐπὶ σὲ ὑπάρξαντος σοῦ τῆς ἔχθρας. [7] ἐπεὶ δὲ μάχῃ νενίκηκα πρότερον μὲν τοὺς σοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ σατράπας, νῦν δὲ σὲ καὶ τὴν μετὰ σοῦ δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔχω τῶν θεῶν μοι δόντων, ὅσοι τῶν μετὰ σοῦ παραταξαμένων μὴ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέθανον, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐμὲ κατέφυγον, τούτων ἐπιμέλομαι καὶ οὐκ ἄκοντες παρ' ἐμοί εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ ἐκόντες ξυστρατεύονται μετ' ἐμοῦ. [8] ὥς οὖν ἐμοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης κυρίου ὄντος ἦκε πρὸς ἐμέ. εἰ δὲ φοβῇ μὴ ἐλθὼν πάθῃς τι ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἄχαρι, πέμπε τινὰς τῶν φίλων τὰ πιστὰ ληψομένους. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς με τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ εἰ ἄλλο τι θέλεις αἶτει καὶ λάμβανε. ὃ τι γὰρ ἂν πείθῃς ἐμὲ ἔσται σοι. [9] καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ὅταν πέμπῃς παρ' ἐμὲ, ὡς πρὸς βασιλέα τῆς Ἀσίας πέμπε, μηδὲ [ᾧ] ἐξ ἴσου ἐπίστελλε, ἀλλ' ὡς κυρίῳ ὄντι πάντων τῶν σῶν φράζε εἰ τοῦ δέῃ: εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγὼ βουλεύσομαι περὶ σοῦ ὡς ἀδικοῦντος. εἰ δ' ἀντιλέγῃς περὶ τῆς βασιλείας, ὑπομείνας ἔτι ἀγώνισαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ μὴ φεῦγε, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σὲ πορεύσομαι οὐ ἂν ἦς.

[1] πρὸς μὲν Δαρεῖον ταῦτ' ἐπέστειλεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθεν τὰ τε χρήματα ὅσα σὺν Κωφῆνι τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἀποπεπόμφει εἰς Δαμασκὸν Δαρεῖος ὅτι ἐάλωκε, καὶ ὅσοι Περσῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὰ ἐγκατελείφθησαν ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ βασιλικῇ κατασκευῇ ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι ἐάλωσαν, ταῦτα μὲν ὀπίσω κομίσαντα ἐς Δαμασκὸν Παρμενίωνα φυλάσσειν ἐκέλευε. [2] τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ πρὸς Δαρεῖον πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἀφιγμένοι ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτους ἐάλωκέναι ἔμαθεν, παρ' αὐτὸν πέμπειν ἐκέλευεν. ἦσαν δὲ Εὐθυκλῆς μὲν Σπαρτιάτης, Θεσσαλίσκος δὲ Ἰσμνίου καὶ Διονυσόδωρος Ὀλυμπιονίκης Θηβαῖοι, Ἰφικράτης δὲ ὁ Ἰφικράτους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναῖος. [3] καὶ οὗτοι ὡς ἦκον παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, Θεσσαλίσκον μὲν καὶ Διονυσόδωρον καίπερ Θηβαίους ὄντας εὐθὺς ἀφῆκεν, τὸ μὲν τι κατοικτίσει τῶν Θηβῶν, τὸ δὲ ὅτι συγγνωστὰ δεδρακέναι ἐφαίνοντο, ἡνδραποδισμένης ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων τῆς πατρίδος σφίσιν τε ἦντινα ἡδύναντο ὠφέλειαν εὕρισκόμενοι καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ Δαρείου: [4] ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοῖν ἐπιεικῇ ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Θεσσαλίσκον μὲν αἰδοῖ τοῦ γένους ἀφιέναι εἶπεν, ὅτι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Θηβαίων ἦν, Διονυσόδωρον δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων. Ἰφικράτην δὲ φιλίᾳ τε τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως καὶ μνήμῃ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς ζῶντά τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐτίμησε καὶ νόσω τελευτήσαντος τὰ ὅσῃ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τοῖς πρὸς γένους ἀπέπεμψεν. [5] Εὐθυκλέα δὲ

Λακεδαιμόνιον τε ὄντα, πόλεως περιφανῶς ἐχθρᾶς ἐν τῷ τότε, καὶ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ εὕρισκόμενον ἐς ξυγγνώμην ὃ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ εἶχεν, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἐπὶ μέγα εὐτύχει, καὶ τοῦτον ἀφῆκεν. [6] ἐκ Μαράθου δὲ ὀρμηθεὶς Βύβλον τε λαμβάνει ὁμολογίᾳ ἐνδοθεῖσαν καὶ Σιδῶνα αὐτῶν Σιδωνίων ἐπικαλεσαμένων κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Περσῶν καὶ Δαρειοῦ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ προὐχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ Τύρον· καὶ ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρέσβεις Τυρίων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐσταλμένοι ὡς ἐγνωκότων Τυρίων πράσσειν ὃ τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλῃ Ἀλέξανδρος. [7] ὁ δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν ἐπαινέσας καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις 'καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐν Τύρῳ οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Τυρίων παῖς. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀζέμιλκος μετ' Αὐτοφραδάτου ἔπλει ἐκέλευσεν ἐπανελθόντας φράσαι Τυρίοις, ὅτι ἐθέλοι παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν θῆσαι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ.

[1] ἔστι γὰρ ἐν Τύρῳ ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους παλαιότατον ὃν μνήμη ἀνθρωπίνῃ διασώζεται, οὐ τοῦ Ἀργεῖου Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης· πολλαῖς γὰρ γενεαῖς πρότερον τιμᾶται ἐν Τύρῳ Ἡρακλῆς ἢ Κάδμον ἐκ Φοινίκης ὀρμηθέντα Θήβας κατασχεῖν καὶ τὴν παῖδα Κάδμῳ τὴν Σεμέλῃν γενέσθαι, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς Διόνυσος γίγνεται. [2] Διόνυσος μὲν δὴ τρίτος ἂν ἀπὸ Κάδμου εἴη, κατὰ Λάβδακον τὸν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου παῖδα, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ὁ Ἀργεῖος κατ' Οἰδίποδα μάλιστα τὸν Λαΐου. σέβουσι δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἄλλον Ἡρακλέα, οὐχ ὄνπερ Τύριοι ἢ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ λέγει Ἡρόδοτος, [3] ὅτι τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν Ἡρακλέα ἄγουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Διόνυσον τὸν Διὸς καὶ Κόρης σέβουσιν, ἄλλον τοῦτον Διόνυσον· καὶ ὁ Ἰακχος ὁ μυστικὸς τοῦτῳ Διονύσῳ, οὐχὶ τῷ Θηβαίῳ, ἐτάδετα. [4] ὡς τὸν γε ἐν Ταρτησῶ πρὸς Ἰβήρων τιμώμενον Ἡρακλέα, ἵνα καὶ στήλαί τινες Ἡρακλέους ὀνομασμέναι εἰσι, δοκῶ ἐγὼ τὸν Τύριον εἶναι Ἡρακλέα, ὅτι Φοινίκων κτίσμα ἢ Ταρτησὸς καὶ τῷ Φοινίκων νόμῳ ὃ τε νεὼς πεποιήται τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐκεῖ καὶ αἱ θυσίαι θύονται. [5] Γηρυόνην δέ, ἐφ' ὅντινα ὁ Ἀργεῖος Ἡρακλῆς ἐστάλη πρὸς Εὐρυσθέως τὰς βοῦς ἀπελάσαι τὰς Γηρυόνου καὶ ἀγαγεῖν ἐς Μυκῆνας, οὐδὲν τι προσήκειν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἰβήρων Ἐκαταῖος ὁ λογοποιὸς λέγει, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ νησὸν τινα Ἐρύθειαν τῆς ἔξω τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης σταλῆναι Ἡρακλέα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς περὶ Ἀμπρακίαν τε καὶ Ἀμφιλόχους βασιλέα γενέσθαι Γηρυόνην καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης ἀπελάσαι Ἡρακλέα τὰς βοῦς, οὐδὲ τοῦτο φαῦλον ἄθλον τιθέμενον. [6] οἶδα δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἔτι εὐβοτον τὴν ἡπειρον ταύτην καὶ βοῦς τρέφουσιν καλλίστας· καὶ ἐς Εὐρυσθέα τῶν μὲν ἐξ Ἠπείρου βοῶν κλέος ἀφῆχθαι καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἠπείρου τὸ ὄνομα τὸν Γηρυόνην οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος τίθεται· τῶν δὲ ἐσχάτων τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἰβήρων οὐτ' ἂν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ ὄνομα γινώσκων Εὐρυσθέα, οὔτε εἰ βοῦς καλαὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ νέμονται, εἰ μὴ τις τὴν Ἥραν τοῦτοις ἐπάγων, ὡς αὐτὴν ταῦτα Ἡρακλεῖ δι' Εὐρυσθέως ἐπαγγέλλουσιν, τὸ οὐ πιστὸν τοῦ λόγου ἀποκρύπτειν ἐθέλοι τῷ μύθῳ. [7] τοῦτῳ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Τυρίῳ ἔφη ἐθέλειν θῆσαι Ἀλέξανδρος. ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλη ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν πρέσβων εἰς τὴν Τύρον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔδοξε σφισι ποιεῖν ὃ τι περ ἐπαγγέλλοι Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐς δὲ τὴν πόλιν μήτε τινὰ Περσῶν μήτε Μακεδόνων δέχεσθαι, ὡς τοῦτο ἔς τε τὰ παρόντα τῷ λόγῳ εὐπρεπέστατον καὶ ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν κρίσιν, ἄδηλον ἔτι οὔσαν,

ἀσφαλέστατον σφίσι γνωσόμενοι. [8] ὥς δὲ ἐξηγγέλη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Τύρου, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις πρὸς ὀργὴν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ συναγαγὼν τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ταξιάρχας καὶ ἱλάρχας ἔλεξεν ὧδε. ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ ζύμμαχοι, ἡμῖν οὕτε τὴν ἐπ’

[1] Αἰγύπτου πορείαν ἀσφαλῆ ὁρῶ θαλασσοκρατούντων Περσῶν, Δαρεῖόν τε διώκειν ὑπολειπομένους αὐτὴν τε ὀπίσω τὴν τῶν Τυρίων πόλιν ἀμφίβολον καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἐχομένας πρὸς Περσῶν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀσφαλὲς ἔς τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ἐς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ πράγματα, [2] μή ποτε ἄρα ἐπικρατήσαντες αὐθις τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ χωρίων οἱ Πέρσαι, προχωρησάντων ἡμῶν ζὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὥς ἐπὶ Βαβυλωνά τε καὶ Δαρεῖον, αὐτοὶ ζὺν πλείονι στόλῳ μετ[αγ]άγοιεν τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἡμῖν πολεμούντων, τῆς δὲ Ἀθηναίων πόλεως φόβῳ μᾶλλον τι ἢ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν κατεχομένης. [3] ἐξαιρεθείσης δὲ Τύρου ἢ τε Φοινίκη ἔχοιτο ἂν πᾶσα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ὅπερ πλεῖστόν τε καὶ κράτιστον τοῦ Περσικοῦ, τὸ Φοινίκων, παρ’ ἡμᾶς μεταχωρήσειν εἰκός· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξονται οὕτε οἱ ἐρέται οὐθ’ οἱ ἐπιβάται Φοινίκες ἐχομένων σφίσι τῶν πόλεων αὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων πλέοντες κινδυνεύειν· Κύπρος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἢ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἡμῖν προσχωρήσει ἢ ἐξ ἐπίπλου εὐμαρῶς ληφθήσεται. [4] καὶ ταῖς τε ἐκ Μακεδονίας ναυσὶ καὶ ταῖς Φοινίσσαις πλεόντων ἡμῶν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ Κύπρου ἅμα προσγενομένης θαλασσοκρατοῦμέν τε ἂν βεβαίως καὶ ὁ ἐς Αἴγυπτον στόλος εὐμαρῶς ἡμῖν ἐν ταῦτῳ γίγνεται. Αἴγυπτον δὲ παραστησαμένοις ὑπὲρ τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς οἰκείας οὐδὲν ἔτι ὑποπτον ὑπολείπεται, τόν τε ἐπὶ Βαβυλωνος στόλον μετὰ τοῦ ἐς τὰ οἴκοι ἀσφαλοῦς καὶ ζὺν μείζονι ἅμα ἀξιώσει ποιησόμεθα ἀποτετμημένοι τὴν τε θάλασσαν Περσῶν ζύμπασαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Εὐφράτου γῆν.

[1] ταῦτα λέγων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπειθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ Τύρῳ· καί τι καὶ θεῖον ἀνέπειθεν αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐνὺπνιον αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐδόκει αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ τείχει προσάγειν τῶν Τυρίων, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα δεξιοῦσθαι τε αὐτόν καὶ ἀνάγειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τοῦτο ἐξηγεῖτο Ἀρίστανδρος ὥς ζὺν πόνῳ ἁλωσομένην τὴν Τύρον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔργα ζὺν πόνῳ ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ καὶ μέγα ἔργον τῆς Τύρου ἢ πολιορκία ἐφαίνετο. [2] νῆσός τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ πόλις ἦν καὶ τείχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς πάντῃ ὠχύρωτο καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρὸς τῶν Τυρίων μᾶλλον τι ἐν τῷ τότε ἐφαίνετο, τῶν τε Περσῶν ἔτι θαλασσοκρατούντων καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Τυρίοις νεῶν ἔτι πολλῶν περιουσῶν. [3] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ὁμως ἐκράτησε, χῶμα ἐγὼν χωννύναι ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. ἔστι δὲ πορθμὸς τεναγώδης τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης βραχέα καὶ πηλώδη αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, ἵνα τὸ βαθύτατον τοῦ διάπλου, τριῶν μάλιστα ὀργυιῶν τὸ βάθος. ἀλλὰ λίθων τε πολλῶν ἀφθονία ἦν καὶ ὕλης, ἥντινα τοῖς λίθοις ἄνωθεν ἐπεφόρουσαν, χάρακές τε οὐ χαλεπῶς κατεπήγνυντο ἐν τῷ πηλῷ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πηλὸς ζύνδεσμος τοῖς λίθοις ἐς τὸ ἐπιμένειν ἐγίγνετο. [4] καὶ προθυμία τῶν τε Μακεδόνων ἐς τὸ ἔργον καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου πολλή ἦν παρόντος τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστα ἐξηγουμένου καὶ τὰ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπαίροντος, τὰ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι τοὺς τι ἐκπρεπέστερον κατ’ ἀρετὴν πονομένους ἐπικουφίζοντος. ἀλλ’ ἔστε μὲν τὸ πρὸς τῇ ἡπείρῳ

ἐχώννυτο, οὐ χαλεπῶς προϋχώνει τὸ ἔργον, ἐπὶ βάθος τε ὀλίγον χωννύμενον καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐξείργοντος. [5] ὥς δὲ τῷ τε βαθυτέρῳ ἤδη ἐπέλαζον καὶ ἅμα τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ ἐγγὺς ἐγίνοντο, ἀπὸ τε τῶν τειχῶν ὑψηλῶν ὄντων βαλλόμενοι ἐκακοπάθουν, ἅτε καὶ ἐπ' ἐργασία μᾶλλον τι ἢ ὥς ἐς μάχην ἀκριβῶς ἐσταλμένοι, καὶ ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ χώματος ἐπιπλέοντες οἱ Τύριοι, ἅτε δὴ θαλασσοκρατοῦντες ἔτι, ἄπορον πολλαχῇ τὴν πρόσχωσιν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐποιοῦν. [6] καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες πύργους ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ χώματος, ὃ τι περ προκεχωρήκει αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἐπέστησαν δύο καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς πύργοις. προκαλύμματα δὲ δέρρεις καὶ διφθέραι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, ὥς μήτε πυρφόροις βέλεσιν ἀπὸ τείχους βάλλεσθαι, τοῖς τε ἐργαζομένοις προβολὴν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ εἶναι πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα: ἅμα τε ὅσοι προσπλέοντες τῶν Τυρίων ἔβλαπτον τοὺς χωννύντας, ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων βαλλόμενοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνασταλήσεσθαι ἔμελλον. οἱ δὲ Τύριοι πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιμηχανῶνται τοιόνδε.

[1] ναῦν ἱπαγωγὸν κλημάτων τε ξηρῶν καὶ ἄλλης ὕλης εὐφλέκτου ἐμπλήσαντες δύο ἰστοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πρώρᾳ καταπηγνύουσι καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ περιφράσσουσιν ἐς ὅσον μακρότατον ὥς φορυτόν τε ταύτη καὶ δᾶδας ὅσας πλείστας δέξασθαι: πρὸς δὲ πίσσαν τε καὶ θεῖον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τὸ παρακαλέσαι μεγάλῃν φλόγα ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐπεφόρησαν. [2] παρέτειναν δὲ καὶ κεραίαν διπλὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰστοῖς ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐξήρτησαν ἐν λέβησιν ὅσα ἐπιχυθέντα ἢ ἐπιβληθέντα ἐπὶ μέγα τὴν φλόγα ἐξάψειν ἔμελλεν, ἔρματά τε ἐς τὴν πρύμναν ἐνέθεσαν, τοῦ ἐξᾶραι ἐς ὕψος τὴν πρῶραν πιεζομένης κατὰ πρύμναν τῆς νεῶς. [3] ἔπειτα ἄνεμον τηρήσαντες ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα ἐπιφέροντα ἐξάψαντες τριήρεσι τὴν ναῦν κατ' οὐρὰν εἴλκον. ὥς δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἤδη τῷ τε χώματι καὶ τοῖς πύργοις πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ὕλην καὶ ὥς βιαιότατα ἅμα ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἐπανελκύσαντες τὴν ναῶν ἐνσείουσιν ἄκρῳ τῷ χώματι: αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ νηὶ καιομένη ἤδη ἐξενήξαντο οὐ χαλεπῶς. [4] καὶ ἐντούτῳ ἢ τε φλοῖξ πολλὴ ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πύργοις καὶ αἱ κεραῖαι περικλασθεῖσαι ἐξέχεαν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ὅσα ἐς ἔξαψιν τῆς φλογὸς παρεσκευασμένα ἦν. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν τριήρων πλησίον τοῦ χώματος ἀνακωχεύοντες ἐτόξευον ἐς τοὺς πύργους, ὥς μὴ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι πελάσαι ὅσοι σβεστήριόν τι τῇ φλογὶ ἐπέφερον. [5] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κατεχομένων ἤδη ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τῶν πύργων ἐκδραμόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πολλοὶ καὶ ἐς κελήτια ἐμβάντες ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἐποκείλαντες τοῦ χώματος τὸν τε χάρακα οὐ χαλεπῶς διέεσπασαν τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ προβεβλημένον καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ξυμπάσας κατέφλεξαν, ὅσας μὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς πῦρ ἐπέσχευ. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τό τε χῶμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου ἀρξαμένουσιν πλατύτερον χωννύναι, ὥς πλείονας δέξασθαι πύργους, καὶ τοὺς μηχανοποιούς μηχανὰς ἄλλας κατασκευάζειν ἐκέλευσεν. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο, αὐτὸς τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἐπὶ Σιδῶνος ἐστάλη, ὥς ἀθροίσων ἐκεῖ ὅσαι ἤδη ἦσαν αὐτῷ τριήρεις, ὅτι ἀπορώτερα τὰ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐφαίνετο θαλασσοκρατούντων τῶν Τυρίων. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γηρόστρατος τε ὁ Ἀράδου βασιλεὺς

[1] καὶ Ἐνυλος ὁ Βύβλου ὥς ἔμαθον τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐχομένας, ἀπολιπόντες Αὐτοφραδάτην τε καὶ τὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ νέας παρ'

Ἀλέξανδρον ζὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀφίκοντο καὶ αἱ τῶν Σιδωνίων τριήρεις σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὥστε Φοινίκων μὲν νῆες ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα αὐτῷ παρεγένοντο. [2] ἦκον δὲ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ἐκ Ῥόδου τριήρεις ἧ τε περίπολος καλουμένη καὶ ζὺν ταύτῃ ἄλλαι ἐννέα, καὶ ἐκ Σόλων καὶ Μαλλοῦ τρεῖς τρεῖς καὶ Λύκiai δέκα, ἐκ Μακεδονίας δὲ πεντηκόντορος, ἐφ' ἧς Πρωτέας ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐπέπλει. [3] οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ οἱ τῆς Κύπρου βασιλεῖς ἐς τὴν Σιδῶνα κατέσχον ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν μάλιστα καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε ἦσαν τὴν κατ' Ἰσὸν Δαρείου ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη πᾶσα ἐχομένη ἤδη ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφόβει αὐτούς. καὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἔδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἄδειαν τῶν πρόσθεν, ὅτι ὑπ' ἀνάγκης μᾶλλον τι ἢ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν σφῶν ἐδόκουν ζυνταχθῆναι τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν. [4] ἐν ᾧ δὲ αἱ τε μηχαναὶ αὐτῷ ζυνεπήγνυντο καὶ αἱ νῆες ὥς εἰς ἐπίπλουν τε καὶ ναυμαχίας ἀπόπειραν ἐξηρτύνοντο, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τε ἱππέων ἴλας ἔστιν ἃς καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνὰς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπ' Ἀραβίας στέλλεται εἰς τὸν Ἀντιλίβανον καλούμενον τὸ ὄρος. [5] καὶ τὰ μὲν βίᾳ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐξελόν, τὰ δὲ ὁμολογία παραστησάμενος ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις ἐπανήγεν ἐς τὴν Σιδῶνα, καὶ καταλαμβάνει Κλέανδρον τὸν Πολεμοκράτους ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἦκοντα καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ μισθοφόρους Ἑλληνας ἐς τετρακισχίλους. [6] ὥς δὲ συνετέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἐπιβιβάσας τοῖς καταστρώμασι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὅσοι ἱκανοὶ ἐδόκουν ἐς τὸ ἔργον, εἰ μὴ διέκπλοις μᾶλλον τι ἢ ἐν χερσὶν ἡ ναυμαχία γίνοιτο, ἄρας ἐκ τῆς Σιδῶνος ἐπέπλει τῇ Τύρῳ ζυντεταγμέναις ταῖς ναυσὶν, αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, ὃ δὴ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος αὐτῷ ἀνείχε, καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ οἱ τε Κυπρίων βασιλεῖς καὶ ὅσοι Φοινίκων, πλὴν Πνυταγόρου. οὗτος δὲ καὶ Κρατερὸς τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας εἶχον τῆς πάσης τάξεως. [7] τοῖς δὲ Τυρίοις πρότερον μὲν ναυμαχεῖν ἐγνωσμένον ἦν, εἰ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπιπλέοι σφίσιν Ἀλέξανδρος, τότε δὲ πλῆθος νεῶν πολὺ ἀπροσδοκῆτως κατιδόντες 'οὐ γάρ πω πεπυσμένοι ἦσαν τὰς τε Κυπρίων ναῦς καὶ τὰς [8] Φοινίκων ζυμπάσας Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχοντά καὶ ἅμα ζυντεταγμένως τοῦ ἐπίπλου γιγνομένου 'ὀλίγον γὰρ πρὶν προσχεῖν τῇ πόλει ἀνεκώχευσαν ἔτι πελάγιοι αἱ ζὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ νῆες, εἴ πως ἄρα ἐς ναυμαχίαν τοὺς Τυρίους προκαλέσαιντο, ἔπειτα οὕτως ζυνταξάμενοι, ὥς οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο, πολλῷ τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἐπέπλεον' — ταῦτα ὀρῶντες οἱ Τύριοι ναυμαχεῖν μὲν ἀπέγνωσαν, τριήρεσι δὲ ὅσας τῶν λιμένων τὰ στόματα ἐδέχοντο βύζην τὸν ἔσπλουν φραζάμενοι ἐφύλασσον, ὥς μὴ ἐς τῶν λιμένων τινὰ ἐγκαθορμισθῆναι τῶν πολεμίων τὸν στόλον. [9] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὥς οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο οἱ Τύριοι, ἐπέπλει τῇ πόλει: καὶ ἐς μὲν τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς Σιδῶνος βιάζεσθαι ἀπέγνω διὰ στενότητα τοῦ στόματος καὶ ἅμα ἀντιπύρωις τριήρεσι πολλαῖς ὀρῶν πεφραγμένον τὸν ἔσπλουν, τρεῖς δὲ τὰς ἐξωτάτω ἐφορμούσας τῷ στόματι τριήρεις προσπεσόντες οἱ Φοινίκες καὶ ἀντίπυρροι ἐμβαλόντες καταδύουσιν: οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπενήξαντο ἐς τὴν γῆν φιλίαν οὔσαν. [10] τότε μὲν δὴ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ποιητοῦ χώματος κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἵνα σκέπη τῶν ἀνέμων ἐφαίνετο, οἱ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὠρμίσαντο: τῇ δὲ ὕστεραίᾳ τοὺς μὲν Κυπρίους ζὺν ταῖς σφετέραις ναυσὶ καὶ Ἀνδρομάχῳ τῷ ναυάρχῳ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐκ Σιδῶνος φέροντα ἐκέλευσεν ἐφορμεῖν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς δὲ Φοινίκας κατὰ τὸν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ

χώματος τὸν πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ἀνέχοντα, ἵνα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ σκηνὴ ᾦν.

[1] ἤδη δὲ καὶ μηχανοποιῶν αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἕκ τε Κύπρου καὶ Φοινίκης ἀπάσης συλλελεγμένων μηχαναὶ πολλαὶ συμπεπηγμέναι ἦσαν, αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππαγωγῶν νεῶν, ὥς ἐκ Σιδῶνος ἅμα οἱ ἐκόμισεν, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων ὅσαι αὐτῶν οὐ ταχυναντοῦσαι ἦσαν. [2] ὥς δὲ παρεσκεύαστο ἡδη ξύμπαντα, προσήγον τὰς μηχανὰς κατὰ τε τὸ ποιητὸν χῶμα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ τείχους προσορμιζομένων τε καὶ ἀποπειρωμένων τοῦ τείχους. [3] οἱ δὲ Τύριοι ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἐπάλξεων τῶν κατὰ τὸ χῶμα πύργους ξυλίνους ἐπέστησαν, ὥς ἀπομάχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ εἴ πῃ ἄλλη αἱ μηχαναὶ προσήγοντο, βέλεσί τε ἡμύνοντο καὶ πυρφόροις οἰστοῖς ἐβαλλον αὐτάς τὰς ναῦς, ὥστε φόβον παρέχειν τοῖς Μακεδόσι πελάζειν τῷ τείχει. [4] ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ κατὰ τὸ χῶμα τό τε ὕψος εἰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα πόδας καὶ ἐς πλάτος ξύμμετρον λίθοις μεγάλοις ἐν γύψῳ κειμένοις ξυμπεπηγότα. ταῖς δὲ ἱππαγωγαῖς τε καὶ ταῖς τριήρεσι τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὅσαι τὰς μηχανὰς προσήγον τῷ τείχει, καὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εὐπορον ἐγίγνετο πελάζειν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι λίθοι πολλοὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος προβεβλημένοι ἐξεῖργον αὐτῶν τὴν ἐγγὺς προσβολήν. [5] καὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος ἔγνω ἐξελκύσαι ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης· ἠνύετο δὲ χαλεπῶς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, οἷα δὴ ἀπὸ νεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς βεβαίου γιγνόμενον· ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ Τύριοι ναῦς καταφράξαντες παρὰ τὰς ἀγκύρας ἐπῆγον τῶν τριήρων καὶ ὑποτέμνοντες τὰς σχοίνους τῶν ἀγκυρῶν ἄπορον τὴν προσόρμισιν ταῖς πολεμίαις ναυσὶν ἐποίουν. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τριακοντόρους πολλὰς ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον φράζας ἐπέστησεν ἐγκαρσίας πρὸ τῶν ἀγκυρῶν, ὥς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναστέλλεσθαι τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν νεῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ὕφαλοι κολυμβηταὶ τὰς σχοίνους αὐτοῖς ὑπέτεμνον. οἱ δὲ ἀλύσεσιν ἀντὶ σχοίνων εἰς τὰς ἀγκύρας χρώμενοι, οἱ Μακεδόνες, καθίεσαν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι πλέον τοῖς κολυμβηταῖς γίνεσθαι. [7] ἐξάπτοντες οὖν βρόχους τῶν λίθων ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος ἀνέσπων αὐτοὺς ἔξω τῆς θαλάσσης, ἔπειτα μηχαναῖς μετεωρίσαντες κατὰ βάθους ἀφίεσαν, ἵνα οὐκέτι προβεβλημένοι βλάψειν ἔμελλον. ὅπου δὲ καθαρὸν πεποιήτο τῶν προβόλων τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἡδη ταύτῃ αἱ νῆες προσεῖχον. [8] οἱ δὲ Τύριοι πάντῃ ἄποροι γιγνόμενοι ἔγνωσαν ἐπίπλουν ποιήσασθαι ταῖς Κυπρίαις ναυσὶν, αἱ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα ἐφώρμουν τὸν ἐς Σιδῶνα τετραμμένον· ἐκ πολλοῦ δὴ καταπετάσαντες τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ἰστίοις, τοῦ μὴ καταφανῆ γενέσθαι τῶν τριήρων τὴν πλήρωσιν, ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας, ὅποτε οἱ τε ναῦται ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς πόλεως ναυτικοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπεχώρει, πληρώσαντες πεντήρεις μὲν τρεῖς καὶ τετρήρεις ἴσας, [9] τριήρεις δὲ ἐπτὰ ὥς ἀκριβεστάτοις τε τοῖς πληρώμασι καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν καταστροφμάτων μάχεσθαι μέλλουσιν εὐοπλοτάτοις καὶ ἅμα εὐθαρσεστάτοις ἐς τοὺς ναυτικούς ἀγῶνας, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀτρέμα τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ ἐπὶ μιᾷς νεῶν ἐξέπλεον ἄνευ κελευστῶν τὰς κώπας παραφέροντες· ὥς δὲ ἐπέστρεφον ἡδη ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυπρίους καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ καθορᾶσθαι ἦσαν, τότε δὴ ξὺν βοῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐγκελευσμῷ ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἅμα τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ ξυντόνω ἐπεφέροντο.

[1] ξυνέβη δὲ ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποχωρῆσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν

σκηνήν, οὐ διατρίψαντα δὲ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς δι' ὀλίγου ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπανελθεῖν. [2] οἱ δὲ Τύριοι προσπεσόντες ἀπροσδοκίτως ταῖς ναυσὶν ὁρμούσαις καὶ ταῖς μὲν πάντα κεναῖς ἐπιτυχόντες, τῶν δ' ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν βοήν καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν χαλεπῶς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων πληρουμένων, τὴν τε Πνυταγόρου τοῦ βασιλέως πεντήρη εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐμβολῇ κατέδυσαν καὶ τὴν Ἀνδροκλέους τοῦ Ἀμαθουσίου καὶ τὴν Πασικράτους τοῦ Κουριέως, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξωθοῦντες ἔκοπτον. [3] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἦσθετο τὸν ἐκπλουν τῶν Τυρίων τριήρων, τὰς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν ζῶν αὐτῶν νεῶν, ὅπως ἐκάστη πληρωθεῖη, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἀνακωχεῦν ἔταξεν, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἄλλαι ἐκπλεύσειαν τῶν Τυρίων νῆες· αὐτὸς δὲ πεντήρεις τε τὰς ζῶν αὐτῶ ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τῶν τριήρων ἐς πέντε μάλιστα, ὅσαι ἔφθισαν αὐτῷ κατὰ τάχος πληρωθεῖσαι, περιέπλει τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκπεπλευκότας τῶν Τυρίων. [4] οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, τὸν τε ἐπίπλουν τῶν πολεμίων κατιδόντες καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, βοῇ τε ἐπανάγειν ἐνεκελεύοντο τοῖς ἐκ τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐξακουστὸν ἦν ὑπὸ θορύβου ξυνεχομένων ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, σημείοις ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπεκάλουν ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. οἱ δὲ ὅπῃ ποτε αἰσθόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἔφρουγον. [5] καὶ ὀλίγα μὲν τῶν νεῶν φθάνουσιν ὑπεκφυγοῦσαι, ταῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ἐμβαλοῦσαι αἱ ζῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἄπλους ἐποίησαν, πεντήρης δὲ τις καὶ τετρήρης αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἐλήφθησαν. φόνος δὲ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν οὐ πολλὸς ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ ἦσθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς ναῦς ἀπηνήξαντο οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐς τὸν λιμένα. [6] ὡς δὲ οὐδεμία ἔτι τοῖς Τυρίοις ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ὠφέλεια ἦν, ἐπῆγον ἤδη οἱ Μακεδόνες τὰς μηχανὰς τῷ τείχει αὐτῶν. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ χῶμα προσαγόμεναι διὰ ἰσχὺν τοῦ τείχους οὐδὲν ἦνουν ὃ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς Σιδῶνα τετραμμένον τῆς πόλεως τῶν νεῶν τινὰς τῶν μηχανοφόρων προσῆγον. [7] ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτη ἦνυεν, ἐς τὸ πρὸς νότον αὐτῷ ἄνεμον καὶ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ἀνέχον τεῖχος μετῆι πάντα ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον κατεσείσθη τε τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ τι καὶ κατηρίφθη αὐτοῦ παραρραγόν. τότε μὲν δὴ ὅσον ἐπιβαλὼν γεφύρας ἢ ἐρήριπτο τοῦ τείχους ἀπεπειράθη ἐς ὀλίγον τῆς προσβολῆς· καὶ οἱ Τύριοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεκρούσαντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας.

[1] τρίτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμέρας νημεῖαν τε φυλάξας καὶ παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν τάξεων ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπῆγε τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν τὰς μηχανὰς. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν κατέσεισε τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ μέγα, ὡς δὲ ἀποχρῶν εἰς πλάτος ἐφάνη τὸ παρερρηγμένον, τὰς μὲν μηχανοφόρους ναῦς ἐπανάγειν ἐκέλευσεν· [2] ὁ δὲ δύο ἄλλας ἐπῆγεν, αἱ τὰς γεφύρας αὐτῷ ἔφερον, ἃς δὴ ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπενόει τῷ κατερρηγμένῳ τοῦ τείχους. καὶ τὴν μὲν μίαν τῶν νεῶν οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ἔλαβον, ἣ ἐπετέτακτο Ἀδμητος, τὴν ἐτέραν δὲ ἡ Κοίνου τάξις οἱ πεζέταιροι καλούμενοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ζῶν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς ἐπιβήσεσθαι τοῦ τείχους ἢ παρῑκοὶ ἔμελλεν. [3] τὰς τριήρεις δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐπιπλεῖν κατὰ τοὺς λιμένας ἀμφοτέρους ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ πως πρὸς σφᾶς τετραμμένων τῶν Τυρίων βιάσαιντο τὸν ἔσπλουν· ὅσαι δὲ αὐτῶν βέλῃ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βαλλόμενα εἶχον ἢ ὅσαι τοξότας ἐπὶ τῶν καταστροφμάτων ἔφερον, ταύτας δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν κύκλῳ

περιπλεούσας τὸ τεῖχος ἐποκέλλειν τε ὅπῃ παρείκοι καὶ ἀνακωχεύειν ἐντὸς βέλους, ἔστε τὸ ἐποκεῖλαι ἄπορον γίγνοιτο, ὡς πανταχόθεν βαλλομένους τοὺς Τυρίους ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἀμφιβόλους γίγνεσθαι. [4] ὡς δὲ αἱ τε νῆες αἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσέσχον τῇ πόλει καὶ αἱ γέφυραι ἐπεβλήθησαν τῷ τείχει ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ εὐρώστως κατὰ ταύτας ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος. ὁ τε γὰρ Ἄδμητος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ τότε ἐγένετο καὶ ἅμα Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπετο αὐτοῖς, τοῦ τε ἔργου αὐτοῦ καρτερῶς ἀπτόμενος καὶ θεατῆς τῶν ἄλλων ὅτῳ τι λαμπρὸν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ἐτολμᾷτο. [5] καὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτον ἥ ἐπετέτακτο Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλήφθη τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀποκρουσθέντων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν Τυρίων, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον βεβαίῳ τε καὶ ἅμα οὐ πάντῃ ἀποτόμῳ τῇ προσβάσει ἐχρήσαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες. καὶ Ἄδμητος μὲν πρῶτος ἐπιβὰς τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγκελευόμενος ἐπιβαίνειν βληθεὶς λόγχῃ ἀποθνήσκει αὐτοῦ: [6] ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχε τὸ τεῖχος ξὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις. ὡς δὲ εἶχοντο αὐτῷ πύργοι τε ἔστιν οἱ καὶ μεταπύργια, αὐτὸς μὲν παρῆει διὰ τῶν ἐπάλλξεων ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια, ὅτι ταύτῃ εὐπορωτέρα ἐφαίνετο ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἢ κάθοδος.

[1] οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, οἱ τε Φοίνικες κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς Αἰγύπτου, καθ' ὄνπερ καὶ ἐφορμοῦντες ἐτύγγανον, βιασάμενοι καὶ τὰ κλεῖθρα διασπάσαντες ἔκοπτον τὰς ναῦς ἐν τῷ λιμένι, ταῖς μὲν μετεώροις ἐμβάλλοντες, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξωθοῦντες, καὶ οἱ Κύπριοι κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον λιμένα τὸν ἐκ Σιδῶνος φέροντα οὐδὲ κλεῖθρον τοῦτόν γε ἔχοντα εἰσπλεύσαντες εἷλον εὐθὺς ταύτῃ τὴν πόλιν. [2] τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Τυρίων τὸ μὲν τεῖχος, ὡς ἐχόμενον εἶδον, ἐκλείπουσιν, ἄθροισθέντες δὲ κατὰ τὸ Ἀγηνόριον καλούμενον ἐπέστρεψαν ταύτῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς ἐπὶ τούτους χωρήσας τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ μαχομένους διέφθειρεν αὐτῶν, τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσιν ἐφείπετο. [3] καὶ φόνος ἦν πολὺς, τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος ἐχόντων ἤδη τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς Κοίνου τάξεως παρεληλυθυίας ἐς αὐτήν. ὀργῇ γὰρ ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ πᾶν οἱ Μακεδόνες, τῆς τε πολιορκίας τῇ τριβῇ ἀχθόμενοι καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες τινὰς αὐτῶν οἱ Τύριοι πλέοντας ἐκ Σιδῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβιβάσαντες, ὅπως ἄποπτον εἶη ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, σφάζαντες ἔρριψαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. [4] ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν Τυρίων ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ ἐν τῇ τότε προσβολῇ Ἄδμητός τε ὁ πρῶτος ἔλων τὸ τεῖχος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ εἴκοσι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν: ἐν δὲ τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ μάλιστα ἐς τετρακοσίους. [5] τοῖς δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καταφυγοῦσιν ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῶν τε τῶν Τυρίων οἱ μάλιστα ἐν τέλει. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀζέμιλκος καὶ Καρχηδονίων τινὲς θεωροὶ ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους κατὰ δὴ τι[να] νόμιμον παλαιὸν εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἀφικόμενοὶ τούτοις ξύμπασιν ἄδειαν δίδωσιν Ἀλέξανδρος: τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἠνδραποδίσε, καὶ ἐπράθησαν Τυρίων τε καὶ τῶν ξένων ὅσοι ἐγκατελήφθησαν μάλιστα ἐς τρισμυρίους. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἔθυσέ τε καὶ πομπὴν ἔστειλε ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὠπλισμένη: καὶ αἱ νῆες ξυνεπόμεπυσαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ λαμπάδα ἐποίησε: καὶ τὴν μηχανήν, ἥ τὸ τεῖχος κατεσείσθη, ἀνέθηκεν ἐς τὸν νεῶν καὶ τὴν ναῦν τὴν Τυρίαν τὴν ἱερὰν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἦντινα ἐν τῷ ἐπίπλῳ ἔλαβε, καὶ ταύτην τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ

ἀνέθηκεν καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ, ἥ αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἢ ὅτου δὴ ἄλλου ποιήσαντος, οὐκ ἄξιον μνήμης τὸ ἐπίγραμμα: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸ ἀναγράψαι ἀπηξίωσα, Τύρος μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐάλω ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νικήτου Ἀθήνησι μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος.

[1] ἔτι δὲ ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Τύρου ξυνεχομένου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφίκοντο παρὰ Δαρείου πρέσβεις ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπαγγέλλοντες μύρια μὲν τάλαντα ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς τε καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν παίδων δοῦναι ἐθέλειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Δαρεῖον: τὴν δὲ χώραν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἔστε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου εἶναι: γήμαντα δὲ τὴν Δαρείου παῖδα Ἀλέξανδρον φίλον τε εἶναι Δαρεῖῳ καὶ ξύμμαχον. [2] καὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ ξυλλόγῳ τῶν ἐταίρων ἀπαγγελθέντων Παρμενίωνα μὲν λέγουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰπεῖν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἂν Ἀλέξανδρος ὢν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡγάπησεν καταλύσας τὸν πόλεμον μηκέτι τὸ πρόσω κινδυνεύειν: Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ Παρμενίوني ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν, εἴπερ Παρμενίων ἦν, οὕτως ἔπραξεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρός ἐστιν, ἀποκρινεῖσθαι Δαρεῖῳ ἅπερ δὴ καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο. [3] ἔφη γὰρ οὔτε χρημάτων δεῖσθαι παρὰ Δαρείου οὔτε τῆς χώρας λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τῆς πάσης τὸ μέρος: εἶναι γὰρ τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν: γῆμαί τε εἰ ἐθέλοι τὴν Δαρείου παῖδα, γῆμαι ἂν καὶ οὐ διδόντος Δαρείου: ἐκέλευέ τε αὐτὸν ἥκειν, εἴ τι εὐρέσθαι ἐθέλοι φιλάνθρωπον παρ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσε Δαρεῖος, τὰς μὲν ξυμβάσεις ἀπέγνω τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐν παρασκευῇ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου αὐτὸς ἦν. [4] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἔγνω ποιεῖσθαι τὸν στόλον. καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας προσκεχωρηκότα ἤδη, εὐνοῦχος δέ τις, ὃ ὄνομα ἦν Βάτις, κρατῶν τῆς Γαζαίων πόλεως, οὐ προσεῖχεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀλλὰ Ἀραβάς τε μισθωτοὺς ἐπαγαγόμενος καὶ σῖτον ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευακῶς διαρκῇ ἐς χρόνιον πολιορκίαν καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ πιστεῦον μήποτε ἂν βία ἀλῶναι, ἔγνω μὴ δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει Ἀλέξανδρον.

[1] ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Γάζα τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἴκοσι μάλιστα σταδίου, καὶ ἔστι ψαμμώδης καὶ βαθεῖα ἐς αὐτὴν ἡ ἄνοδος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἡ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τεναγώδης πᾶσα. μεγάλη δὲ πόλις ἡ Γάζα ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ χώματος ὑψηλοῦ ὄκιστο καὶ τεῖχος περιεβέβλητο αὐτῇ ὀχυρόν. ἐσχάτη δὲ ὤκειτο ὡς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτον ἐκ Φοινίκης ἰόντι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐρήμου. [2] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τῇ μὲν πρώτη κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἢ μάλιστα ἐπίμαχον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ μηχανὰς συμπηγνύναι ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ δὲ μηχανοποιοὶ γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυντο ἄπορον εἶναι βίᾳ ἐλεῖν τὸ τεῖχος διὰ ὕψος τοῦ χώματος. [3] ἀλλὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ αἰρετέον ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅσῳ ἀπορώτερον: ἐκπλήξειν γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ ἔργον τῷ παραλόγῳ ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐλεῖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι οἱ λεγόμενον ἔς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἐς Δαρεῖον. ἐδόκει δὴ χῶμα ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως χωννύναι, ὡς ἐξ ἴσου ἀπὸ τοῦ χωσθέντος ἐπάγεσθαι τὰ μηχανὰς τοῖς τείχεσι. καὶ ἐχώννυτο κατὰ κατὰ τὸ νότιον μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος, ἵνα ἐπιμαχώτερα ἐφαίνετο. [4] ὡς δὲ ἐδόκει ἐξηρθαι συμμέτρως τὸ χῶμα, μηχανὰς ἐπιστήσαντες οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐπῆγον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Γαζαίων. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ θύοντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐστεφανωμένῳ τε καὶ κατάρχεσθαι μέλλοντι τοῦ πρώτου ἱερείου κατὰ νόμον τῶν τις σαρκοφάγων ὀρνίθων ὑπερπετόμενος

ὕπὲρ τοῦ βωμοῦ λίθον ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὄντινα τοῖν ποδοῖν ἔφερε. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤρετο Ἀρίστανδρον τὸν μάντιν, ὃ τι νοοῖ ὁ οἰωνός. ὁ δὲ ἀποκρίνεται ὅτι: ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὴν μὲν πόλιν αἰρήσεις, αὐτῷ δέ σοι φυλακτέα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος τέως μὲν πρὸς ταῖς μηχαναῖς

[1] ἔξω βέλους αὐτὸν εἶχεν: ὥς δὲ ἐκδρομὴ τε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καρτερὰ ἐγίνετο καὶ πῦρ τε ἐπέφερον ταῖς μηχαναῖς οἱ Ἄραβες καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀμυνομένους κάτωθεν αὐτοὶ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τοῦ χωρίου ἔβαλλόν τε καὶ ὤθουν κατὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ χῶματος, ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἐκὼν ἀπειθεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μάντει ἡ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσε τῆς μαντείας, ἀλλ' ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς παρεβοήθει, ἵνα μάλιστα ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Μακεδόνες. [2] καὶ τούτους μὲν ἔσχε τὸ μὴ οὐκ αἰσχυρὰ φυγῇ ὡσθῆναι κατὰ τοῦ χῶματος, αὐτὸς δὲ βάλλεται καταπέλτη διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος διαμπαῖς καὶ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸν ὦμον. ὥς δὲ ἔγνω τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸ τραῦμα ἀληθεύσαντα Ἀρίστανδρον, ἐχάρη, ὅτι καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὴ αἰρήσειν ἐδόκει Ἀριστάνδρου ἔνεκα. [3] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ τραῦμα ἐθεραπεύετο χαλεπῶς: ἀφικνοῦνται δ' αὐτῷ μετὰπεμπτοὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης αἱ μηχαναί, αἷς Τύρον εἴλε. καὶ χῶμα χωννύναι ἐν κύκλῳ πάντοθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐκέλευσεν, εὗρος μὲν ἐς δύο σταδίους, ὕψος δὲ ἐς πόδας πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους. [4] ὥς δὲ αἱ τε μηχαναὶ αὐτῷ ἐποιήθησαν καὶ ἐπαχθεῖσαι κατὰ τὸ χῶμα κατέσεισαν τοῦ τεῖχους ἐπὶ πολὺ, ὑπνόμων τε ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ὀρυσσομένων καὶ τοῦ χοῦ ἀφανῶς ἐκφερομένου τὸ τεῖχος πολλαχῇ ἠρείπετο ὑφίζανον κατὰ τὸ κενούμενον, τοῖς τε βέλεσιν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατεῖχον οἱ Μακεδόνες ἀναστέλλοντες τοὺς προμαχομένους τῶν πύργων, ἐς μὲν τρεῖς προσβολὰς οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθνησκόντων τε αὐτοῖς πολλῶν καὶ τιτρωσκομένων ὅμως ἀντείχον. [5] τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν φάλαγγα πάντοθεν προσαγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ μὲν ὑπορυσσόμενον τὸ τεῖχος καταβάλλει, τῇ δὲ παιόμενον ταῖς μηχαναῖς κατασεῖει ἐπὶ πολὺ, ὥς μὴ χαλεπὴν ταῖς κλίμαξιν τὴν προσβολὴν κατὰ τὰ ἐρηριμμένα ἐνδοῦναι. [6] αἱ τε οὖν κλίμακες προσήγοντο τῷ τείχει καὶ ἕρις πολλὴ ἦν τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὅσοι τι ἀρετῆς μετεποιοῦντο, ὅστις πρῶτος αἰρήσει τὸ τεῖχος: καὶ αἰρεῖ πρῶτος Νεοπτόλεμος τῶν ἐταίρων τοῦ Αἰακιδῶν γένους: ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἄλλαι καὶ ἄλλαι τάξεις ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀνέβαινον. [7] ὥς δὲ ἅπας παρήλθόν τινες ἐντὸς τοῦ τεῖχους τῶν Μακεδόνων, κατασχίσαντες ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας πύλας, ὅσαις ἕκαστοι ἐπετύγχανον, δέχονται εἰσὼ τὴν στρατιὰς πᾶσαν. οἱ δὲ Γαζαῖοι καὶ τῆς πόλεως σφισιν ἤδη ἐχομένης ξυνεστηκότες ὅμως ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἀπέθανον πάντες αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ὥς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν: παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξηνδραπόδισεν αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος. τὴν πόλιν δὲ ξυνοικίσας ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων ἐχρήτο ὅσα φρουρίῳ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.

BOOK III.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου, ἵνα περ τὸ πρῶτον ὠρμήθη, ἐστέλλετο, καὶ ἐβδόμη ἡμέρα ἀπὸ τῆς Γάζης ἐλαύνων ἦκεν εἰς Πηλούσιον τῆς Αἰγύπτου. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς παρέπλει αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ὡς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὰς ναῦς ἐν Πηλουσίῳ ὁρμούσας. [2] Μαζάκης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης, ὃς ἦν σατράπης Αἰγύπτου ἐκ Δαρείου καθεστηκώς, τήν τε ἐν Ἰσσοῦ μάχην ὅπως συνέβη πεπυσμένος καὶ Δαρεῖον ὅτι αἰσχρὰ φυγὴ ἔφυγεν, καὶ Φοινίκην τε καὶ Συρίαν καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας τὰς πολλὰ ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐχόμενα, αὐτῷ τε οὐκ οὔσης δυνάμεως Περσικῆς, ἐδέχετο ταῖς τε πόλεσι φιλίως καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον. [3] ὁ δὲ εἰς μὲν Πηλούσιον φυλακὴν εἰσήγαγε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀναπλεῖν κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κελεύσας ἔστε ἐπὶ Μέμφιν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἐφ' Ἡλιούπολιν ἦει, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Νεῖλον, καὶ ὅσα καθ' ὁδὸν χωρία ἐνδιδόντων τῶν ἐνοικούντων κατασχὼν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ἀφίκετο ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν· [4] ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διαβὰς τὸν πόρον ἦκεν ἐς Μέμφιν· καὶ θύει ἐκεῖ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τῷ Ἄπιδι καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν· ἦκον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ ταῦτα τεχνῖται ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. ἐκ δὲ Μέμφιος κατέπλει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τὴν βασιλικὴν ἵλην τὴν τῶν ἐταίρων. [5] ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Κάνωβον καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαρίαν περιπλεύσας ἀποβαίνει, ὅτου νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρεια πόλις ᾠκισται, Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπώνυμος. καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὁ χώρος κάλλιστος κτίσαι ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν καὶ γενέσθαι ἂν εὐδαίμονα τὴν πόλιν. πόθος οὖν λαμβάνει αὐτὸν τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ σημεῖα τῇ πόλει ἔθηκεν, ἵνα τε ἀγορὰν ἐν αὐτῇ δεῖμασθαι ἔδει καὶ ἱερὰ ὅσα καὶ θεῶν ὄντων, τῶν μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν, Ἰσίδος δὲ Αἰγυπτίας, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἧ περιβεβλησθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύετο, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἐφαίνετο.

[1] λέγεται δὲ τις καὶ τοιόσδε λόγος, οὐκ ἄπιστος ἔμοιγε· ἐθέλειν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον καταλείπειν αὐτὸν τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ τειχισμοῦ τοῖς τέκτοσιν, οὐκ εἶναι δὲ ὅτῳ τὴν γῆν ἐπιγράφουσιν· τῶν δὴ τεκτόνων τινὰ ἐπιφρασθέντα, ὅσα ἐν τεύχεσιν ἄλφита οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκόμιζον ξυναγαγόντα ἐπιβάλλειν τῇ γῇ, ἵνα περ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑψηγεῖτο, καὶ τὸν κύκλον οὕτω περιγραφῆναι τοῦ περιτειχισμοῦ, ὄντινα τῇ πόλει ἐποίει. [2] τοῦτο δὲ ἐπιλεξαμένους τοὺς μάντις καὶ μάλιστα δὴ Ἀρίστανδρον τὸν Τελμισσέα, ὃς δὴ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀληθεῦσαι ἐλέγετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, φάναι εὐδαίμονα ἔσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καρπῶν εἵνεκα. [3] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἠγέλοχος κατέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Τενεδίους τε ἀποστάντας Περσῶν σφίσι προσθέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄκοντας Πέρσαις προσχωρῆσαι καὶ Χίων ὅτι δὴ ὁ δῆμος ἐπηγάγετο σφᾶς βία τῶν κατεχόντων τὴν πόλιν, οὓς Αὐτοφραδάτης τε καὶ Φαρνάβαζος ἐγκατέστησαν· [4] ἀλῶναι δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ Φαρνάβαζον ἐγκαταληφθέντα καὶ Ἀριστόνικον Μηθυμναῖον τὸν τύραννον ἐσπλεύσαντα ἐς τὸν λιμένα τῆς Χίου ξὺν ἡμιολίαις ληστρικαῖς πέντε, ὑπὸ σφῶν ἐχόμενον τὸν λιμένα οὐ γνόντα, ἀλλ' ἐξαπατηθέντα γὰρ πρὸς

τῶν τὰ κλειῖθρα ἔχόντων τοῦ λιμένος, ὅτι τὸ Φαρναβάζου ἄρα ναυτικὸν ὄρμεϊ ἐν αὐτῷ: [5] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ληστὰς πάντας αὐτοῦ κατακοπῆναι πρὸς σφῶν, Ἀριστόνικον δὲ ἦγε παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδην τὸν Χίων καὶ Φησίνον καὶ Μεγαρέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι τῆς τε ἀποστάσεως τῆς Χίων ξυνεπελάβοντο καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε τὰ πράγματα τῆς νήσου βίᾳ εἶχον: [6] καὶ Μιτυλήνην δὲ Χάρητα ἔχοντα ὅτι ἀφείλετο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐν Λέσβῳ πόλεις καὶ αὐτὰς ὁμολογίᾳ προσηγάγετο, Ἀμφοτερὸν δὲ σὺν ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Κῷ ἔπεμψεν: ἐπικαλεῖσθαι γὰρ σφᾶς τοὺς Κῶν: καὶ αὐτὸς καταπλεύσας ὅτι εὗρε τὴν Κῷ πρὸς Ἀμφοτεροῦ ἤδη ἔχομένην. [7] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσοι αἰχμαῶτοι ἦγεν Ἡγέλοχος, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἀπέδρα ἐν Κῷ λαθὼν τοὺς φύλακας. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τυράννους μὲν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐς τὰς πόλεις πέμπει χρήσασθαι ὅπως ἐθέλοιεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀπολλωνίδην τοὺς Χίους ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν Αἰγυπτίαν ξὺν φυλακῇ ἀκριβεῖ ἔπεμψεν.

[1] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ πόθος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν παρ' Ἀμμωνα ἐς Λιβύην, τὸ μὲν τι τῷ θεῷ χρησόμενον, ὅτι ἀτρεκὲς ἐλέγετο εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ Ἀμμωνος καὶ χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ Περσέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Γοργόνα ὅτε πρὸς Πολυδέκτου ἐστέλλετο, τὸν δὲ ὅτε παρ' Ἀνταῖον ἦει εἰς Λιβύην καὶ παρὰ Βούσιριν εἰς Αἴγυπτον. [2] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ φιλοτιμία ἦν πρὸς Περσέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα, ἀπὸ γένους τε ὄντι τοῦ ἀμφοῖν καὶ τι καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς γενέσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐς Ἀμμωνα ἀνέφερε, καθάπερ οἱ μῦθοι τὴν Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Περσέως ἐς Δία. καὶ οὖν παρ' Ἀμμωνα ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐστέλλετο, ὥς καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀτρεκέστερον εἰσόμενος ἢ φήσων γε ἐγνωκέναι. [3] μέχρι μὲν δὴ Παραιονίου παρὰ θάλασσαν ἦει δι' ἐρήμου, οὐ μέντοι δι' ἀνδρόν τῆς χώρας, σταδίου ἐς χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους, ὥς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν ἐτράπετο, ἵνα τὸ μαντεῖον ἦν τοῦ Ἀμμωνος. ἔστι δὲ ἐρήμη τε ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ψάμμος ἡ πολλὴ αὐτῆς καὶ ἄνυδρος. [4] ὕδωρ δὲ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολὺ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνηνέχθη. ἀνηνέχθη δὲ ἐς τὸ θεῖον καὶ τόδε: ἄνεμος νότος ἐπὰν πνεύσῃ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χώρῳ, τῆς ψάμμου ἐπιφορεῖ κατὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ ἀφανίζεται τῆς ὁδοῦ τὰ σημεῖα οὐδὲ ἔστιν εἰδέναι ἵνα χρὴ πορεύεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει τῇ ψάμμῳ, ὅτι σημεῖα οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν οὔτε που ὄρος οὔτε δένδρον οὔτε γήλοφοι βέβαιοι ἀνεστηκότες, οἷς τισιν οἱ ὁδῖται τεκμαίροντο ἂν τὴν πορείαν, καθάπερ οἱ ναῦται τοῖς ἄστροις: ἀλλὰ ἐπλανᾶτο γὰρ ἡ στρατιὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀμφίβολοι ἦσαν. [5] Πτολεμαῖος μὲν δὴ ὁ Λάγου λέγει δράκοντας δύο ἰέναι πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος φωνὴν ἰέντας, καὶ τούτοις Ἀλέξανδρον κελεῦσαι ἔπεσθαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας πιστεῦσαντας τῷ θεῷ, τοὺς δὲ ἡγήσασθαι τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν τε ἐς τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ ὀπίσω αὐθις: [6] Ἀριστόβουλος δέ, καὶ ὁ πλείων λόγος ταύτῃ κατέχει, κόρακας δύο προπετομένους πρὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς, τούτους γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν θεῖόν τι ξυνεπέλαβεν αὐτῷ ἔχω ἰσχυρίσασθαι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς ταύτῃ ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἀτρεκὲς τοῦ λόγου ἀφείλοντο οἱ ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐξηγησάμενοι.

[1] ὁ δὲ χώρος, ἵναπερ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι, τὰ μὲν κύκλῳ πάντα ἔρημα καὶ ψάμμον τὸ πᾶν ἔχει καὶ ἄνυδρον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὀλίγος ὢν ὅσον γὰρ πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ ἐς πλάτος διέχει ἐς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα

σταδίους ἔρχεται κατάπλεως ἐστὶν ἡμέρων δένδρων, ἐλαῶν καὶ φοινίκων, καὶ ἔνδροσος μόνος τῶν πέριξ. [2] καὶ πηγὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνίσχει οὐδέν τι εἰκοῦα ταῖς πηγαῖς, ὅσαι ἄλλαι ἐκ γῆς ἀνίσχουσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ μεσημβρία ψυχρὸν τὸ ὕδωρ γευσαμένω τε καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀψαμένω οἷον ψυχρότατον: ἐγκλίναντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐς ἐσπέραν θερμότερον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἔτι θερμότερον ἔστε ἐπὶ μέσας τὰς νύκτας, μέσων δὲ νυκτῶν ἑαυτοῦ θερμότατον: ἀπὸ δὲ μέσων νυκτῶν ψύχεται ἐν τάξει, καὶ ἔωθεν ψυχρὸν ἤδη ἐστί, ψυχρότατον δὲ μεσημβρίας: καὶ τοῦτο ἀμείβει ἐν τάξει ἐπὶ ἐκάστη [τῇ] ἡμέρᾳ. [3] γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλες αὐτόματοι ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ ὀρυκτοί: καὶ τούτων ἔστιν οὗς ἐς Αἴγυπτον φέρουσι τῶν ἱερέων τινὲς τοῦ Ἀμμωνος. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου στέλλωνται, ἐς κοιτίδας πλεκτὰς ἐκ φοίνικος ἐσβαλόντες δῶρον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποφέρουσιν ἢ εἴ τῳ ἄλλῳ. [4] ἔστι δὲ μακρὸς τε ὁ χόνδρος ἥδη δὲ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τρεῖς δακτύλους· καὶ καθαρὸς ὥσπερ κρύσταλλος: καὶ τούτῳ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις χρῶνται, ὡς καθαρωτέρῳ τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἁλῶν, Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἀμελῶς ἔχουσιν. [5] ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν τε χῶρον ἐθαύμασε καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐχρήσατο: καὶ ἀκούσας ὅσα αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἦν, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἀνέξευξεν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου, ὡς μὲν Ἀριστόβουλος λέγει, τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδόν, ὡς δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ἄλλην εὐθείαν ὡς ἐπὶ Μέμφιν.

[1] εἰς Μέμφιν δὲ αὐτῷ πρεσβεῖαί τε πολλαὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦκον, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντινα ἀτυχήσαντα ὧν ἐδεῖτο ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ στρατιὰ παραγίγνεται παρὰ μὲν Ἀντιπάτρου μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἐς τετρακοσίους, ὧν ἠγεῖτο Μενόιτας ὁ Ἥγησάνδρου, ἐκ Θράκης δὲ ἱππεῖς ἐς πεντακοσίους, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ Εὐνίκου. [2] ἐνταῦθα θύει τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πομπεύει ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικόν. καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνταῦθα ἐκόσμησε: δύο μὲν νομάρχας Αἰγύπτου κατέστησεν Αἰγυπτίους, Δολόασπιν καὶ Πέτισιν, καὶ τούτοις διένειμε τὴν χώραν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν: Πετίσιος δὲ ἀπειπαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν Δολόασπις ἐκδέχεται πᾶσαν. [3] φρουράρχους δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐν Μέμφει μὲν Πανταλέοντα κατέστησε τὸν Πυθωναῖον, ἐν Πηλουσίῳ δὲ Πολέμωνα τὸν Μεγακλέους Πελλαῖον: τῶν ξένων δὲ ἄρχειν Λυκίδαν Αἰτωλόν, γραμματέα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ξένων Εὐγνώστον τὸν Ξενοφάντου τῶν ἐταίρων: ἐπισκόπους δὲ αὐτῶν Αἰσχύλον τε καὶ Ἐφιππον τὸν Χαλκιδέως. [4] Λιβύης δὲ τῆς προσχώρου ἄρχειν δίδωσιν Ἀπολλώνιον Χαρίνου, Ἀραβίας δὲ τῆς πρὸς Ἡρώων πόλει Κλεομένην τὸν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος: καὶ τούτῳ παρηγγέλλετο τοὺς μὲν νομάρχας εἶναι ἄρχειν τῶν νομῶν τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς καθάπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθειστικήει, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκλέγειν παρ' αὐτῶν τοὺς φόρους: οἱ δὲ ἀποφέρειν αὐτῷ ἐτάχθησαν. [5] στρατηγούς δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ κατέστησεν, ἦντινα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὑπελείπετο, Πευκέσταν τε τὸν Μακαρτάτου καὶ Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου, ναύαρχον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν Πολέμωνα τὸν Θηραμένους: σωματοφύλακα δὲ ἀντὶ Ἀρρύβα [τὸν] Λεοννάτον τὸν % Ὀνάσου ἔταξεν: Ἀρρύβας γὰρ νόσφ' ἀπέθανεν. [6] ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἄρχων τῶν τοξοτῶν, καὶ ἀντὶ τούτου ἄρχειν ἐπέστησε τοῖς τοξόταις Ὀμβρίωνα Κρήτα. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τοὺς πεζοὺς, ὧν Βάλακρος ἠγεῖτο, ἐπεὶ Βάλακρος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὑπελείπετο, Κάλανον κατέστησεν ἠγεμόνα. [7] κατανεῖμαι δὲ λέγεται ἐς πολλοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν τε

φύσιν τῆς χώρας θαυμάσας καὶ τὴν ὀχυρότητα, ὅτι οὐκ ἀσφαλές οἱ ἐφαίνετο ἐνὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ἄρχειν Αἰγύπτου πάσης. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μοι δοκοῦσι παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μαθόντες ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν Αἴγυπτον καὶ μηδένα τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐκπέμπειν ὑπαρχον Αἰγύπτου, ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἱππέας σφίσι ζυντελούντων.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἥρι ὑποφαίνονται ἐκ Μέμφιος ἥει ἐπὶ Φοινίκης: καὶ ἐγεφυρώθη αὐτῷ ὃ τε κατὰ Μέμφιν πόρος τοῦ Νείλου καὶ αἱ διώρυχες αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι. ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς Τύρον, καταλαμβάνει ἐνταῦθα ἦκον αὐτῷ ἤδη καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. ἐν Τύρῳ δὲ αὐθις θύει τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν. [2] ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται παρ' αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἡ Πάραλος πρέσβεις ἄγουσα Διόφαντον καὶ Αχιλλέα: ζυνεπρέσβευον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Πάραλοι ζύμπαντες. καὶ οὗτοι τῶν τε ἄλλων ἔτυχον ὧν ἕνεκα ἐστάλησαν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀφῆκεν Ἀθηναίοις ὅσοι ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐάλωσαν. [3] τὰ δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ὅτι αὐτῷ νενεωτερίσθαι ἀπήγγελλτο, Ἀμφοτερόν πέμπει βοηθεῖν Πελοποννησίων ὅσοι ἐς τε τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον βέβαιοι ἦσαν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐ κατήκουον. Φοίνιξι δὲ καὶ Κυπρίοις προσετάχθη ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἄλλας πρὸς αἷς ἔχοντα Ἀμφοτερόν ἔπεμπε στέλλειν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου. [4] αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη ἄνω ὥρματο ὥς ἐπὶ Θάψακόν τε καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, ἐν Φοινίκη μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν φόρων τῇ ζυλλογῇ καταστήσας Κοίραν Βεροιαῖον, Φιλόξενον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου ἐκλέγειν. τῶν ζὺν αὐτῷ δὲ χρημάτων τὴν φυλακὴν ἀντὶ τούτων ἐπέτρεψεν Ἀρπάλῳ τῷ Μαχάτῳ ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἦκοντι. [5] Ἀρπαλος γὰρ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἔφυγε, Φιλίππου ἔτι βασιλεύοντος, ὅτι πιστὸς ἦν, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔφυγε καὶ Νέαρχος ὁ Ἀνδροτίμου καὶ Ἐριγύτιος ὁ Λαρίχου καὶ Λαομέδων ὁ τούτου ἀδελφός, ὅτι ὑποπτα ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς Φίλιππον, ἐπειδὴ Εὐρυδίκην γυναῖκα ἠγάγετο Φίλιππος, Ὀλυμπιάδα δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μητέρα ἡτίμασε. [6] τελευτήσαντος δὲ Φιλίππου κατελθόντας ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὅσοι δι' αὐτὸν ἔφευγον Πτολεμαῖον μὲν σωματοφύλακα κατέστησεν, Ἀρπαλον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων, ὅτι αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα ἐς τὰ πολέμια ἀχρεῖον ἦν, Ἐριγύτιον δὲ ἱπάρχην τῶν ζυμμάχων, Λαομέδοντα δὲ τὸν τούτου ἀδελφόν, ὅτι δίγλωσσος ἦν ἐς τὰ βαρβαρικὰ γράμματα, ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις βαρβάροις, Νέαρχον δὲ σατραπεύειν Λυκίας καὶ τῆς ἐχομένης Λυκίας χώρας ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος. [7] ὀλίγον δὲ πρόσθεν τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Ἰσῳ γενομένης ἀναπεισθεὶς πρὸς Ταυρίσκου ἀνδρὸς κακοῦ Ἀρπαλος φεύγει ζὺν Ταυρίσκῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ταυρίσκος παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἡπειρώτην ἐς Ἰταλίαν σταλεὶς ἐκεῖ ἐτελεύτησεν, Ἀρπάλῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι ἡ φυγὴ ἦν. ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος πείθει αὐτὸν κατελθεῖν πίστει δούς οὐδέν οἱ μείον ἔσσεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ: οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἐπανελθόντι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων αὐθις ἐτάχθη Ἀρπαλος. ἐς Λυδίαν δὲ σατράπην Μένανδρον ἐκπέμπει τῶν ἐταίρων: [8] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ξένοις, ὧν ἠγεῖτο Μένανδρος, Κλέαρχος αὐτῷ ἐτάχθη. ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀρίμματος σατράπην Συρίας Ἀσκληπιόδωρον τὸν Εὐνίκου ἀπέδειξεν, ὅτι Ἀρίμματος βλακεῦσαι ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ, ἥντινα ἐτάχθη παρασκευάσαι τῇ στρατιᾷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἄνω. καὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς Θάψακον Ἀλέξανδρος μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος

[1] ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀριστοφάνους· καὶ καταλαμβάνει δυοῖν γεφύραιν ἐξευγμένον τὸν πόρον. καὶ γὰρ καὶ Μαζαῖος, ὅτῳ ἡ φυλακὴ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ Δαρείου ἐπετέτραπτο, ἱππέας μὲν ἔχων περὶ τρισχιλίους, πεζοὺς δὲ ... καὶ τούτων Ἑλλήνας μισθοφόρους δισχιλίους, τέως μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐφύλασσε, [2] καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐ ξυνεχῆς ἡ γέφυρα ἐξευγμένη ἦν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ὄχθην τοῖς Μακεδόσι, δειμαίνουσι μὴ ἐπιθοῖντο οἱ ἀμφὶ Μαζαῖον τῇ γεφύρᾳ ἵνα ἐπαύετο· Μαζαῖος δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν ἤδη προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον, ὥχετο φεύγων ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ. καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς ἔφυγε Μαζαῖος ἐπεβλήθησαν αἱ γέφυραι τῇ ὄχθῃ τῇ πέραν καὶ διέβη ἐπ' αὐτῶν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ἀλέξανδρος. [3] ἔνθεν δὲ ἐχώρει ἄνων, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τὰ ὄρη, διὰ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καλουμένης χώρας. οὐκ εὐθεῖαν δὲ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἦγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὁρμηθεὶς, ὅτι τὴν ἐτέραν ἰόντι εὐπορώτερα τὰ ξύμπαντα τῷ στρατῷ ἦν, καὶ χιλὸς τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνειν καὶ τὸ καῦμα οὐχ ὡσαύτως ἐπιφλέγον. [4] ἄλόντες δὲ τινες κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαρείου στρατεύματος κατασκοπῆς ἔνεκα ἀπεσκεδασμένων ἐξήγγειλαν, ὅτι Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ κάθηται ἐγνωκῶς εἶργειν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἰ διαβαίνει· καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ στρατιὰν πολὺν μείζονα ἢ ξὺν ἣ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἐμάχετο. [5] ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἦι σπουδῇ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο, οὔτε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον καταλαμβάνει οὔτε τὴν φυλακὴν, ἦντινα ἀπολελοῖπει Δαρεῖος, ἀλλὰ διαβαίνει τὸν πόρον, χαλεπῶς μὲν δι' ὀξύτητα τοῦ ῥοῦ, οὐδενὸς δὲ εἶργοντος. ἐνταῦθα ἀναπαύει τὸν στρατόν· καὶ τῆς σελήνης τὸ πολὺ ἐκλιπὲς ἐγένετο· [6] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔθυε τῇ τε σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ τῇ γῇ, ὅταν τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο λόγος εἶναι κατέχει. καὶ ἐδόκει Ἀριστάνδρῳ πρὸς Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου εἶναι τῆς σελήνης τὸ πάθημα καὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ μηνὸς ἔσεσθαι ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν νίκην σημαίνεισθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [7] ἄρας δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἦι διὰ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας χώρας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἔχων τὰ Γορδυνηῶν ὄρη, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Τίγρητα. τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως οἱ πρόδρομοι αὐτῷ ἐξαγγέλλουσιν, ὅτι ἱππεῖς οὗτοι πολέμιοι ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον φαίνονται, ὅσοι δὲ, οὐκ ἔχειν εἰκάσαι. ξυντάξας οὖν τὴν στρατιὰν προὐχώρει ὡς ἐς μάχην· καὶ ἄλλοι αὖ τῶν προδρόμων προσελάσαντες ἀκριβέστερον οὗτοι κατιδόντες ἔφασκον δοκεῖν εἶναι σφισιν οὐ πλείους ἢ χιλίους τοὺς ἱππέας.

[1] ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν τε βασιλικὴν ἵλην καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων μίαν καὶ τῶν προδρόμων τοὺς Παίονας ἤλαυνε σπουδῇ, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην στρατιὰν βάδην ἔπεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν ἱππεῖς κατιδόντες τοὺς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὀξέως ἐπάγοντας ἔφευγον ἀνὰ κράτος. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος διώκων ἐνέκειτο· [2] καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἀπέφυγον, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν, ὅσοις οἱ ἵπποι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἔκαμον, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας αὐτοῖς ἵπποις ἔλαβον· καὶ παρὰ τούτων ἔμαθον, ὅτι οὐ πόρρω εἴη Δαρεῖος ξὺν δυνάμει πολλῇ. [3] Βεβοηθήκεσαν γὰρ Δαρεῖῳ Ἰνδῶν τε ὅσοι Βακτρίοις ὁμοιοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ Βάκτριοι καὶ Σογδιανοί· τούτων μὲν πάντων ἡγεῖτο Βῆσσος ὁ τῆς Βακτριῶν Χώρας σατράπης. εἶποντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Σάκαι — Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐποικούντων Σκυθῶν — οὐχ ὑπήκοοι οὗτοι Βῆσσου, ἀλλὰ

κατὰ συμμαχίαν τὴν Δαρειού: ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Μαυάκης: αὐτοὶ δὲ ἰπποτοξόται ἦσαν. [4] Βαρσαέντης δὲ Ἀραχωτῶν σατράπης Ἀραχωτούς τε ἤγε καὶ τοὺς ὀρείους Ἰνδοὺς καλουμένους. Σατιβαρζάνης δὲ ὁ Ἀρείων σατράπης Ἀρείους ἤγεν. Παρθυαίους δὲ καὶ Ὑρκανίους καὶ Τοπείρους, τοὺς πάντας ἱππέας, Φραταφέρνης ἤγεν. Μήδων δὲ ἡγεῖτο Ἀτροπάτης ξυνετάττοντο δὲ Μήδοις Καδούσιοι τε καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Σακεσῖναι. [5] τοὺς δὲ προσοίκους τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ Ὀροντοβάτης καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης καὶ Ὁρξίνης ἐκόσμου. Οὗζιοι δὲ καὶ Σουσianoὶ ἡγεμόνα παρείχοντο Ὁξάθρην τὸν Ἀβουλίτου. Βουλάρης δὲ Βαβυλωνίων ἡγεῖτο. οἱ δ' ἀνάσπαστοι Κᾶρες καὶ Σιττακηνοὶ σὺν Βαβυλωνίοις ἐτετάχατο. Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ὀρόντης καὶ Μιθραύστης ἦρχε, καὶ Ἀριάκης Καππαδοκῶν. [6] Σύρους δὲ τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς κοίλης καὶ ὅσοι τῆς μετὰ τῶν ποταμῶν Συρίας Μαζαῖος ἤγεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ ἡ πᾶσα στρατιὰ ἡ Δαρειού ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν μυριάδας, καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια, ἐλέφαντες δὲ οὐ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα μάλιστα Ἰνδοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἦσαν. [7] ζὺν ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει ἐστρατοπεδεύκει Δαρεῖος ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις πρὸς ποταμῷ Βουμήλῳ, ἀπέχων Ἀρβήλων τῆς πόλεως ὅσον ἑξακοσίους σταδίους, ἐν χώρῳ ὁμαλῷ πάντῃ. καὶ καὶ ὅσα ἀνώμαλα αὐτοῦ ἐς ἱππασίαν, ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ οἱ Πέρσαι τοῖς τε ἄρμασιν ἐπελαύνειν εὐπετὴ πεποιήκεσαν καὶ τῇ ἵπῳ ἱππάσιμα. ἦσαν γάρ οἱ ἀνέπειθον Δαρεῖον ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς Ἴσῳ γενομένης μάχης, ὅτι ἄρα ἐμειονέκτησε τῶν χωρίων τῇ στενότητι: καὶ Δαρεῖος οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπέιθετο.

[1] ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλη Ἀλέξανδρῳ πρὸς τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν Περσῶν ὅσοι ἐάλωσαν, ἔμεινεν αὐτοῦ ἵνα ἐξηγγέλη ἡμέρας τέσσαρας: καὶ τὴν [τε] στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνέπαυσε, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον τάφρῳ τε καὶ χάρακι ἐτείχισεν. ἔγνω γὰρ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα ἀπολείπειν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ζὺν τοῖς μαχίμοις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ ὅπλα φέρουσιν ἰέναι ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα. [2] ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν δύναμιν νυκτὸς ἤγεν ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν μάλιστα, ὡς ἅμ' ἡμέρα προσμῖζαι τοῖς βαρβάροις. Δαρεῖος δέ, ὡς προσηγγέλη αὐτῷ προσάγων ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐκτάσσει τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐς μάχην: καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤγεν ὡσαύτως τεταγμένους. καὶ ἀπεῖχε μὲν ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατόπεδα ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίους, οὐ μὴν πῶ καθεώρων ἀλλήλους: γήλοφοι γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ ἐπίπροσθεν ἀμφοῖν ἦσαν [3] ὡς δὲ ἀπεῖχεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὅσον ἐς τριάκοντα σταδίους καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἤδη τῶν γηλόφων ἦι αὐτῷ ὁ στρατός, ἐνταῦθα, ὡς εἶδε τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἔστησε τὴν αὐτοῦ φάλαγγα: καὶ συγκαλέσας αὐ τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ ἱλάρχας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τε καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ξένων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐβουλεύετο, εἰ αὐτόθεν ἐπάγοι ἤδη τὴν φάλαγγα, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι ἄγειν ἐκέλευον, ἢ καθάπερ Παρμενίῳν [καλῶς] ἐδόκει, τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ καταστρατοπεδεύειν, [4] κατασκέψασθαι δὲ τὸν τε χῶρον ξύμπαντα, εἰ δὴ τι ὑποπτον αὐτοῦ ἢ ἄπορον, ἢ εἴ πῃ τάφροι ἢ σκόλοπες καταπεπηγότες ἀφανεῖς, καὶ τὰς τάξεις τῶν πολεμίων ἀκριβέστερον κατιδεῖν. καὶ νικᾷ Παρμενίων τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύουσιν αὐτοῦ ὅπως τεταγμένοι ἔμελλον ἰέναι ἐς τὴν μάχην. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ψιλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἐταίρους περιήει

ἐν κύκλῳ σκοπῶν τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν, ἵνα τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ ἔσῃ εὐχρηστὸν. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ καὶ ξυγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, αὐτοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι παρακαλεῖσθαι πρὸς οὐδὲν τὸν ἀγῶνα· πάλαι γὰρ εἶναι δι' ἀρετὴν τε τὴν σφῶν παρακεκλημένους καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλὰκις ἤδη καλῶν ἔργων ἀποδεδειγμένους. [6] τοὺς κατὰ σφῶν δὲ ἐκάστους ἐξορμᾶν ἡξίου, λοχαγόν τε λοχίτας καὶ ἱλάρχη τὴν ἰλὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον καὶ ταξιάρχους τὰς τάξεις, τοὺς τε ἡγεμόνας τῶν πεζῶν τὴν φάλαγγα ἕκαστον τὴν οἱ ἐπιτετραμμένην, ὥς ἐν τῇδε τῇ μάχῃ οὐχ ὑπὲρ Κοίλης Συρίας ἢ Φοινίκης, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, ὥς πρόσθεν, μαχομένους, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ξυμπάσης Ἀσίας, οὐστὶνας χρὴ ἄρχειν, ἐν τῷ τότε κριθησόμενον. [7] οὐκ οὐκ τὴν ἐς τὰ καλὰ ἐξόρμησιν διὰ πολλῶν ἀναγκαίαν αὐτοῖς εἶναι οἴκοθεν τοῦτο ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ κόσμου τε ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ὅπως τις καθ' αὐτὸν ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ σιγῆς ἀκριβοῦς, ὁπότε σιγῶντας ἐπιέναι δέοι, καὶ αὐτὸν λαμπρὰς τῆς βοῆς, ἵνα ἐμφοῖται καλόν, καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ ὥς φοβερωτάτου, ὁπότε ἐπαλαλάξαι καιρὸς, [8] αὐτοὶ τε ὅπως ὀξέως κατακούουσιν τῶν [τε] παραγγελλομένων καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὸν ὅπως ἐς τὰς τάξεις ὀξέως παραδιδῶνται τὰ παραγγέλματα· ἐν τε τῷ καθ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστον καὶ τὸ πᾶν μεμνησθαι ξυγκινδυνεύον τε ἀμελουμένῳ καὶ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἐκπονουμένῳ ξυνορθούμενον.

[1] ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα οὐ πολλὰ παρακαλέσας τε καὶ ἀντιπαρακληθεὶς πρὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ σφίσι, δειπνοποιεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε τὸν στρατόν. Παρμενίων δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀφικόμενος παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν, νύκτωρ παρήναι ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Πέρσαις· ἀπροσδοκήτοις τε γὰρ καὶ ἀνατεταραγμένοις καὶ ἅμα ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερωτέροις ἐπιθήσεσθαι. [2] ὁ δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀποκρίνεται, ὅτι καὶ ἄλλοι κατήκουον τῶν λόγων, αἰσχροὺς εἶναι κλέψαι τὴν νίκην, ἀλλὰ φανερώς καὶ ἄνευ σοφίσματος χρῆναι νικῆσαι Λέξανδρον. καὶ τὸ μεγαλήγορον αὐτοῦ τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπέρογκον μᾶλλον τι ἢ εὐθαρσὲς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐφαίνετο· δοκεῖν δ' ἔμοιγε, καὶ λογισμῷ ἀκριβεῖ ἐχρήσατο ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε· [3] ἐν νυκτὶ γὰρ τοῖς τε ἀποχρώντως καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεῶς πρὸς τὰς μάχας παρεσκευασμένοις πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου ξυμβάντα τοὺς μὲν ἐσφηλε, τοὺς κρείσσοντας, τοῖς χείροσι δὲ παρὰ τὰ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐλπισθέντα τὴν νίκην παρέδωκεν. αὐτῷ τε κινδυνεύοντι τὸ πολὺ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις σφαλερὰ ἢ νύξ κατεφαίνετο, καὶ ἅμα ἡσσηθέντι τε αὐτῷ τῇ Δαρειῷ τὴν ξυγῶρησιν τοῦ χείροσι ὄντι χειρόνων ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ λαθραία τε καὶ νυκτερινὴ ἐκ σφῶν ἐπίθεσις ἀφηρεῖτο, [4] εἴ τί τι ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου πταῖσμα σφίσι ξυμπέσοι, τοῖς μὲν πολέμοις τὰ κύκλῳ φίλια καὶ αὐτοῖς τῆς χώρας ἔμπειροι, σφεῖς δὲ ἄπειροι ἐν πολέμοις τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὧν οὐ μικρὰ μοῖρα οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἦσαν, ξυνεπιθησόμενοι ἐν νυκτὶ μὴ ὅτι πταίσασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ μὴ παρὰ πολὺ νικῶντες φαίνοντο. τούτων τε τῶν λογισμῶν ἕνεκα ἐπαίνῳ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῦ ἐξ τὸ φανερόν ὑπερόγκου οὐ μείων.

[1] Δαρεῖος δὲ καὶ ὁ ξὺν Δαρειῷ στρατὸς οὕτως ὅπως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐτάξαντο ἔμειναν τῆς νυκτὸς ξυντεταγμένοι, ὅτι οὔτε στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς περιεβέβλητο ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἅμα ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ σφίσι νύκτωρ ἐπιθοῖντο οἱ πολέμοι. [2] καὶ εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκάκωσε τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐν τῷ τότε τὰ πράγματα, ἡ στάσις ἢ πολλή ἢ ξὺν τοῖς ὅλοις καὶ τὸ δέος, ὃ τὴν περ φιλεῖ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων

κινδύνων γίνεσθαι, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παραντίκα σχεδιασθέν, ἀλλ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ μελετηθέν τε καὶ τὰς γνώμας αὐτοῖς δουλωσάμενον. ἐτάχθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ ὧδε: [3] ἐάλω γὰρ ὕστερον ἡ τάξις, ἥντινα ἔταξε Δαρεῖος, γεγραμμένη, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστοβούλος. τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον αὐτῷ κέρας οἱ τε Βάκτριοι ἱππεῖς εἶχον καὶ φὺν τούτοις Δάαι καὶ Ἀραχωτοί: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Πέρσαι ἐτετάχατο, ἱππεῖς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πεζοὶ ἀναμεμιγμένοι, καὶ Σούσιοι ἐπὶ Πέρσαις ἐπὶ δὲ Σουσίσις Καδούσιοι. [4] αὕτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρως ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς πάσης φάλαγγος τάξις ἦν: κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν οἱ τε ἐκ Κοίλης Συρίας καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν ἐτετάχατο, καὶ Μῆδοι ἔτι κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν, ἐπὶ δὲ Παρθυαῖοι καὶ Σάκαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Τόπειροι καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Σακεσ[ε]ῖναι, οὗτοι μὲν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς πάσης φάλαγγος. [5] κατὰ τὸ μέσον δέ, ἵνα ἦν βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, οἱ τε συγγενεῖς οἱ βασιλέως ἐτετάχατο καὶ οἱ μηλοφόροι Πέρσαι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Κᾶρες οἱ ἀνάσπαστοι καλούμενοι καὶ οἱ Μάρδοι τοξόται: Οὐξιοὶ δὲ καὶ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ καὶ Σιττακηνοὶ εἰς βάθος ἐπιτεταγμένοι ἦσαν. [6] προετετάχατο δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου οἱ τε Σκύθαι ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν Βακτριανῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατόν. οἱ δὲ ἐλέφαντες ἔστησαν κατὰ τὴν Δαρείου ἴλην τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ ἄρματα ἐς πεντήκοντα. [7] τοῦ δὲ δεξιοῦ οἱ τε Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καπαδοκῶν ἱππεῖς προετετάχατο καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα πεντήκοντα. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες οἱ μισθοφόροι παρὰ Δαρείῳ τε αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ τοὺς ἅμα αὐτῷ Πέρσας κατὰ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὡς μόνοι δὴ ἀντίρροποι τῇ φάλαγγι ἐτάχθησαν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἡ στρατιὰ ἐκοσμήθη ὧδε. [8] τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν αὐτῷ εἶχον τῶν ἱππέων οἱ ἐταῖροι, ὧν προετέτακτο ἡ ἴλη ἡ βασιλική, ἥς Κλεῖτος ὁ Δρωπίδου ἰλάρχης ἦν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἡ Γλαυκίου ἴλη, ἐχομένη δ' αὐτῆς ἡ Ἀρίστωνος, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Σωπόλιδος τοῦ Ἑρμοδώρου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὲ ἡ Δημητρίου τοῦ Ἀλθαιμένους, ταύτης δὲ ἐχομένη ἡ Μελεάγρου, τελευταία δὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἰλῶν ἥς Ἡγέλοχος ὁ Ἰπποστράτου ἰλάρχης ἦν. ξυμπάσης δὲ τῆς ἵππου τῶν ἐταίρων Φιλώτας ἦρχεν ὁ Παρμενίωνος. [9] τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐχόμενον τῶν ἱππέων πρῶτον τὸ ἄγημα ἐτέτακτο τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπασπισταί: ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος: τούτων δὲ ἐχομένη ἡ Κοίνου τοῦ Πολεμοκράτους τάξις ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἡ Περδίκκου τοῦ Ὀρόντου, ἔπειτα ἡ Μελεάγρου τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Πολυπέρχοντος τοῦ Σιμμίου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Φιλίππου: ταύτης δὲ ἡγεῖτο Σιμμίας, ὅτι Ἀμύντας ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας ἐς ξυλλογὴν στρατιᾶς ἐσταλμένος ἦν. [10] τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡ Κρατεροῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τάξις εἶχε, καὶ αὐτὸς Κρατερὸς ἐξῆρχε τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πεζῶν: καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐχόμενοι αὐτοῦ οἱ ζύμμαχοι, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἐριγύϊος ὁ Λαρίχου: τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἦρχε Φίλιππος ὁ Μενελάου. ζύμπαν δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἦγε Παρμενίων ὁ Φιλῶτα, καὶ ἅμῃ αὐτὸν οἱ τῶν Φαρσαλίων ἱππεῖς οἱ κράτιστοί τε καὶ πλεῖστοι τῆς Θεσσαλικῆς ἵππου ἀνεστρέφοντο. ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ μετώπῳ τάξις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὧδε κεκόσμητο:

[1] ἐπέταξε δὲ καὶ δευτέραν τάξιν ὡς εἶναι τὴν φάλαγγα ἀμφίστομον. καὶ

παρηγγέλλετο τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων, εἰ κυκλομένους τοὺς σφῶν πρὸς τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος κατίδοιεν, ἐπιστρέψαντας ἐς τὸ ἔμπαλιν δέχεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους· [2] ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν δέ, εἴ που ἀνάγκη καταλαμβάνοι ἢ ἀναπτύξαι ἢ ξυγκλεῖσαι τὴν φάλαγγα, κατὰ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἐχόμενοι τῆς βασιλικῆς Ἰλῆς τῶν Ἀγριάνων ἐτάχθησαν οἱ ἡμίσεις, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀτταλος, καὶ μετὰ τούτων οἱ Μακεδόνες οἱ τοξόται, ὧν Βρίσων ἦρχεν, ἐχόμενοι δὲ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καλούμενοι ξένοι καὶ ἄρχων τούτων Κλέανδρος. [3] προετάχθησαν δὲ τῶν τε Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ τε πρόδρομοι ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ Παῖονες, ὧν Ἀρέτης καὶ Ἀρίστων ἡγοῦντο. ξυμπάντων δὲ προτεταγμένοι ἦσαν οἱ μισθοφόροι ἱππεῖς, ὧν Μενίδας ἦρχε. τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς Ἰλῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων προτεταγμένοι ἦσαν τῶν τε Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ ἡμίσεις, καὶ οἱ Βαλάκρου ἀκοντισταί· οὗτοι κατὰ τὰ ἄρματα τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἐτετάχато. [4] Μενίδα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄμφ’ αὐτὸν παρήγγελλτο, εἰ περιῦπεύοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι τὸ κέρας σφῶν, ἐς πλαγίους ἐμβάλλειν αὐτοὺς ἐπικάμπσαντας. τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως οὕτως ἐτέτακτο Ἀλέξανδρῳ· κατὰ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν οἱ τε Θράκες ἐτετάχато, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σιτάκης, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἦρχε Κοίρανος, ἐπὶ δὲ οἱ Ὀδρῦσαι ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀγάθων ὁ Τυρίμμα. [5] ξυμπάντων δὲ ταύτῃ προετάχθη ἡ ξενικὴ ἵππος ἢ τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὧν Ἀνδρόμαχος ὁ Ἰέρωνος ἦρχεν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σκευοφόροις οἱ ἀπὸ Θράκης πεζοὶ ἐς φυλακὴν ἐτάχθησαν. ἦν δὲ ἡ πᾶσα στρατιὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς ἐπτακτοχιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἄμφι τὰς τέσσαρας μυριάδας.

[1] ὥς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐγίνετο, ὥφθη Δαρειῖός τε καὶ οἱ ἄμφ’ αὐτόν, οἱ τε μνηλοφόροι Πέρσαι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Κᾶρες οἱ ἀνάσπαστοι καὶ οἱ Μάρδοι τοξόται, κατ’ αὐτόν Ἀλέξανδρον τεταγμένοι καὶ τὴν Ἰλὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν. ἦγε δὲ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος μάλλον, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντιπαρῆγον, ὑπερφαλαγγοῦντες πολὺ ἐπὶ τῷ σφῶν εὐωνύμῳ. [2] ἤδη τε οἱ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱππεῖς παριππεύοντες ἤπτοντο τῶν προτεταγμένων τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τάξεως καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι ὅμως ἦγεν ἐπὶ δόρυ, καὶ ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ ἐξαλλάσσειν τὸν ὠδοποιημένον πρὸς τῶν Περσῶν χώρον. ἐνθα δὴ δεῖσας Δαρειῖος μὴ προχωρησάντων ἐς τὰ οὐχ ὁμαλὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀχρεῖά σφισι γένηται τὰ ἄρματα, κελεύει τοὺς προτεταγμένους τοῦ εὐωνύμου περιῦπεύειν τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, ἧ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦγε, τοῦ μηκέτι προσωτέρω αὐτοὺς ἐξάγειν τὸ κέρας. [3] τούτου δὲ γενομένου Ἀλέξανδρος ἐμβάλλειν κελεύει ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἱππείας, ὧν Μενίδας ἡγεῖτο. ἀντεκδραμόντες δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς οἱ τε Σκύθαι ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν Βακτρίων οἱ ξυντεταγμένοι τοῖς Σκύθαις τρέπουσιν ὀλίγους ὄντας πολλῶ πλείονες. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοῦ περὶ Ἀρέτην τε, τοὺς Παίονας, καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐκέλευσε· [4] καὶ ἐγκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι. Βάκριοι δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι πελάσαντες τοῖς Παίοσι τε καὶ ξένοις τούς τε σφῶν φεύγοντας ἤδη ἀνέστρεψαν ἐς τὴν μάχην καὶ τὴν ἵππομαχίαν ξυστῆναι ἐποίησαν. καὶ ἐπιπτον μὲν πλείονες τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, τῷ τε πλήθει τῶν βαρβάρων βιαζόμενοι καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς ἀκριβέστερον εἰς φυλακὴν πεφραγμένοι ἦσαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς τὰς τε προσβολὰς αὐτῶν ἐδέχοντο οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ βία κατ’ ἴλας προσπίπτοντες

ἐξώθουν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως. [5] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ἄρματα τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἐφῆκαν οἱ βάρβαροι κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς ἀναταράζοντες αὐτῷ τὴν φάλαγγα. καὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα ἐνεύσθησαν: τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ὡς προσεφέρετο κατηκόντισαν οἱ τε Ἀγριᾶνες καὶ οἱ ξὺν Βαλάκρῳ ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ προτεταγμένοι τῆς ἵππου τῶν ἐταίρων: τὰ δὲ τῶν ῥυτῆρων ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι τοὺς τε ἀναβάτας κατέσπων καὶ τοὺς ἵππους περιϋστάμενοι ἔκοπτον. [6] ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ διεξέπεσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων: διέσχον γάρ, ὥσπερ παρήγγελτο αὐτοῖς, ἵνα προσέπιπτε τὰ ἄρματα: καὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα ξυνέβη αὐτὰ τε σῶα καὶ οἷς ἐπὶ ἡλᾶθη ἀβλαβῶς διελθεῖν: ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οἱ τε ἱπποκόμοι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιᾶς καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἐκράτησαν.

[1] ὡς δὲ Δαρεῖος ἐπῆγεν ἤδη τὴν φάλαγγα πᾶσαν, ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀρέτην μὲν κελεύει ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς περιϋππεύουσι τὸ κέρας σφῶν τὸ δεξιὸν ὡς ἐς κύκλωσιν: [2] αὐτὸς δὲ τῶς μὲν ἐπὶ κέρως τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτόν ἦγε, τῶν δὲ ἐκβοηθησάντων ἱπέων τοῖς κυκλουμένοις τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν παραρρηξάντων τι τῆς πρώτῃ φάλαγγος τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιστρέψας κατὰ τὸ διέχον καὶ ὥσπερ ἔμβολον ποιήσας τῆς τε ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τῆς ταύτῃ τεταγμένης ἦγε δρόμῳ τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ ὡς ἐπὶ αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον. [3] καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ὀλίγον ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο: ὡς δὲ οἱ τε ἱππεῖς οἱ ἄμφι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος εὐρώστως ἐνέκειντο ὠθισμοῖς τε χρώμενοι καὶ τοῖς ξυστοῖς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν Περσῶν κόπτοντες, ἢ τε φάλαγξ ἢ Μακεδονικὴ πυκνὴ καὶ ταῖς σαρίσσαις πεφρικυῖα ἐμβεβλήκει ἤδη αὐτοῖς, καὶ πάντα ὁμοῦ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ πάλαι ἤδη φοβερῷ ὄντι Δαρεῖῳ ἐφαίνετο, πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐπιστρέψας ἔφευγεν: ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ περιϋππεύοντες τῶν Περσῶν τὸ κέρας ἐμβαλόντων ἐς αὐτοὺς εὐρώστως τῶν ἄμφι Ἀρέτην. [4] ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ τῶν Περσῶν φυγὴ καρτερὰ ἦν, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐφεπόμενοι ἐφόνευον τοὺς φεύγοντας. οἱ δὲ ἄμφι Σιμμίαν καὶ ἡ τούτου τάξις οὐκέτι ξυνεξορμῆσαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δυνατοὶ ἐγένοντο ἐς τὴν διώξιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήσαντες τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτοῦ ἠγωνίζοντο, ὅτι τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Μακεδόνων πονεῖσθαι ἠγγέλλετο. [5] καὶ ταύτῃ παραρραγείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς τάξεως κατὰ τὸ διέχον διεκπαίουσι τῶν τε Ἰνδῶν τινες καὶ τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα τῶν Μακεδόνων: καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐκεῖ καρτερόν ἐγίνετο. οἱ τε γὰρ Πέρσαι θρασέως προσέκειντο ἀνόπλοις τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ οὐ προσδοκήσασιν ἐπὶ σφᾶς διεκπεσεῖσθαι τινὰς διακόψαντας διπλὴν τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι βάρβαροι ἐμβαλόντων τῶν Περσῶν ξυνεπέθεντο καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ. [6] τῶν δὲ ἐπιτεταγμένων τῇ πρώτῃ φάλαγγι οἱ ἡγεμόνες ὀξέως μαθόντες τὸ γινόμενον μεταβαλόντες, ἥπερ παρήγγελτο αὐτοῖς, τὴν τάξιν ἐπιγίγνονται κατὰ νότου τοῖς Πέρσαις, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτοῦ ἄμφι τοῖς σκευοφόροις ξυνεχομένους ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγκλίναντες ἔφευγον. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν Περσῶν οὐπω τῆς φυγῆς τῆς Δαρεῖου ἦσθημένοι περιϋππεύσαντες τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐώνυμον κατὰ κέρας τοῖς ἄμφι τὸν Παρμενίωνα ἐνέβαλλον.

[1] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀμφιβόλων τὰ πρῶτα γενομένων τῶν Μακεδόνων πέμπει Παρμενίων παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον σπουδῇ ἀγγελοῦντα, ὅτι ἐν ἀγῶνι ξυνέχεται τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς καὶ βοηθεῖν δεῖ. ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τοῦ μὲν διώκειν

ἔτι ἀπετράπετο, ἐπιστρέψας δὲ ζὺν τῇ ἵππῳ τῶν ἐταίρων ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν βαρβάρων ἦγε δρόμῳ. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς φεύγουσι τῶν πολεμίων ἵππεῦσι, τοῖς τε Παρθυαίοις καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔστιν οἷς καὶ Πέρσαις τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ κρατίστοις ἐμβάλλει. [2] καὶ ἵππομαχία αὕτη καρτερωτάτη τοῦ παντὸς ἔργου ξυνέστη. ἐς βάθος τε γὰρ οἷα δὴ ἰληδὸν τεταγμένοι ἀνέστρεφον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀντιμέτωποι τοῖς ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ξυμπεσόντες οὔτε ἀκοντισμῷ ἔτι οὐτ' ἐξελιγμοῖς τῶν ἵππων, ἥπερ ἵππομαχίας δίκη, ἐχρῶντο, ἀλλὰ διεκπαῖσαι πᾶς τις τὸ καθ' αὐτόν, ὥς μόνην ταύτην σωτηρίαν σφίσιν οὔσαν, ἐπειγόμενοι ἔκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐκόπτοντο ἀφειδῶς, οἷα δὴ οὐχ ὑπὲρ νίκης ἀλλοτρίας ἔτι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας οἰκείας ἀγωνιζόμενοι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πίπτουσι μὲν ἄμφι ἐξήκοντα τῶν ἐταίρων τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τιτρώσκεται Ἥφαιστίων τε αὐτὸς καὶ Κοῖνος καὶ Μενίδας· ἀλλὰ ἐκράτησε καὶ τούτων Ἀλέξανδρος. [3] καὶ τούτων μὲν ὅσοι διεξέπαισαν διὰ τῶν ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἔφευγον ἀνὰ κράτος· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦν προσμῖζαι ἤδη τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἱππεῖς λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι οὐχ ὑπελείποντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ ἔργου· ἀλλὰ ἔφευγον γὰρ ἤδη οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν βαρβάρων, ὁπότε Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοῖς ξυνέμιξεν, ὥστε ἀποτραπόμενος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὸ διώκειν αὐθις Δαρεῖον ἐξώρμησε· καὶ ἐδίωξεν ἔστε φάος ἦν· [4] καὶ οἱ ἄμφι Παρμενίωνα τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς διώκοντες εἶποντο. ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν διαβὰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Λύκον κατεστρατοπέδευσεν αὐτοῦ, ὥς ἀναπαῦσαι ὀλίγον τοὺς τε ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους· Παρμενίων δὲ τὸ τε στρατόπεδον τῶν βαρβάρων εἶλε καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὰς καμήλους. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἱππέας ἔστε ἐπὶ μέσας νύκτας προὔχῳρει αὐθις κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπ' Ἀρβηλα, ὥς Δαρεῖον τε αἰρήσων ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλικήν. καὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς Ἀρβηλα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ διώξας τοὺς πάντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης σταδίους μάλιστα ἐς ἐξακοσίους. καὶ Δαρεῖον μὲν οὐ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Ἀρβήλοις, ἀλλὰ ἔφευγεν οὐδέν τι ἐλινύσας Δαρεῖος· τὰ χρήματα δὲ ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ ἡ κατασκευὴ πᾶσα, καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ Δαρείου αὐθις ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ ἡ ἄσπις αὐθις καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐάλω. [6] ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἄνδρες μὲν ἐς ἑκατὸν μάλιστα, ἵπποι δὲ ἔκ τε τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ τῆς κακοπαθείας τῆς ἐν τῇ διώξει ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους, καὶ τούτων τῆς ἐταιρικῆς ἵππου σχεδὸν τι οἱ ἡμίσεις. τῶν βαρβάρων δὲ νεκρῶν μὲν ἐλέγοντο ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας, ἐάλωσαν δὲ πολλὸν πλείονες τῶν ἀποθανόντων καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων ὅσα μὴ κατεκόπη ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. [7] τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις Ἀριστοφάνους μηνὸς Πυανεσιῶνος· καὶ Ἀριστάνδρῳ ξυνέβη ἡ μαντεία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μηνί, ἐν ὧ ἡ σελήνη ἐκλιπῆς ἐφάνη, τὴν τε μάχην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τὴν νίκην γενέσθαι.

[1] Δαρεῖος μὲν δὴ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης παρὰ τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἀρμενίων ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Μηδίας, καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ οἱ τε Βάκτριοι ἱππεῖς, ὥς τότε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ξυνετάχθησαν, ἔφευγον καὶ Περσῶν οἱ τε συγγενεῖς οἱ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν μηλοφόρων καλουμένων οὐ πολλοί. [2] προσεγένοντο δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ξένων ἐς δισχιλίους, οὓς Πάτρων τε ὁ Φωκεὺς καὶ Γλαῦκος ὁ Αἰτωλὸς ἦγον. ταύτῃ δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ φυγὴ ἐπὶ Μηδίας ἐγένετο, ὅτι

ἐδόκει τὴν ἐπὶ Σούσων τε καὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἥξειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ὅτι οἰκουμένη τε ἐκείνη πᾶσα ἦν καὶ ὁδὸς τοῖς σκευοφόροις οὐ χαλεπή, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἄθλον ἢ Βαβυλῶν καὶ τὰ Σούσα ἐφαίνετο: ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ Μηδίας μεγάλῳ στρατεύματι οὐκ εὖπορος, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη Δαρεῖος. [3] Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἐξ Ἀρβήλων ὀρμηθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος εὐθὺς προὔχῳρει. ἤδη τε οὐ πόρρῳ Βαβυλῶνος ἦν καὶ δύναμιν ξυντεταγμένην ὥς ἐς μάχην ἦγε, καὶ οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι πανδημεὶ ἀπήντων αὐτῷ ξὺν ἱερεῦσί τε σφῶν καὶ ἄρχουσι, δῶρά τε ὥς ἕκαστοι φέροντες καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντες καὶ τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. [4] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα τὰ ἱερὰ, ἃ Ξέρξης καθεῖλεν, ἀνοικοδομεῖν προσέταξε Βαβυλωνίοις, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ Βήλου τὸ ἱερόν, ὃν μάλιστα θεῶν τιμῶσι Βαβυλώνιοι. σατράπην δὲ κατέστησε Βαβυλῶνος Μαζαῖον, Απολλόδωρον δὲ τὸν Ἀμφιπολίτην στρατηγὸν τῶν μετὰ Μαζαίου ὑπολειπομένων στρατιωτῶν, καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδωρον τὸν Φίλωνος τοῦς φόρους ἐκλέγειν. [5] κατέπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἀρμενίαν Μιθρήνην σατράπην, ὃς τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐνέδωκεν. ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις ἐνέτυχεν, καὶ ὅσα ἐδόκει Χαλδαίοις ἀμφὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ Βαβυλῶνι ἐπραξε, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ Βήλῳ καθ' ἃ ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγοῦντο ἔθυσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Σούσων ἐστέλλετο: [6] καὶ ἐντυγχάνει αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὃ τε παῖς τοῦ Σουσίων σατράπου καὶ παρὰ Φιλοξένου ἐπιστολεύς. Φιλοξένον γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ Σούσων ἐστάλκει Ἀλέξανδρος. τῇ δὲ ἐπιστολῇ τῇ παρὰ Φιλοξένου ἐνεγέγραπτο, ὅτι τὴν τε πόλιν οἱ Σούσιοι παραδεδώκασιν καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα σῶά ἐστιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [7] ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς Σούσα Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐν ἡμέραις εἴκοσι: καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὰ τε χρήματα παρέλαβεν ὄντα ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐς πεντακισμύρια καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλικήν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατελήφθη αὐτοῦ, ὅσα Ξέρξης ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄγων ἦλθε, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος χαλκαῖ εἰκόνες. [8] καὶ ταύτας Ἀθηναίοις ὀπίσω πέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ νῦν κεῖνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ αἱ εἰκόνες, ἧ ἄνιμεν ἐς πόλιν, καταντικρὺ μάλιστα τοῦ Μητρώου, οὐ μακρὰν τῶν Εὐδανέμων τοῦ βωμοῦ: ὅστις δὲ μεμύηται ταῖν θεαῖν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, οἶδε τοῦ Εὐδανέμου τὸν βωμόν ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου ὄντα. [9] ἐνταῦθα θύσας τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ λαμπάδα ποιήσας καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικόν, καταλιπὼν σατράπην μὲν τῆς Σουσιανῆς Ἀβουλίτην ἄνδρα Πέρσην, φρούραρχον δὲ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Σούσων Μάζαρον τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Θεοδώρου, προὔχῳρει ὥς ἐπὶ Πέρσας: ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ κατέπεμψεν ὑπαρχον Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας Μένητα. [10] καὶ τούτῳ ἔδωκεν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐς τρισχίλια φέρειν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποστεῖλαι παρ' Ἀντίπατρον ὅσων ἂν δέηται Ἀντίπατρος ἐς τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀνδρομένους ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἀφίκετο, ἦν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἦγε. [11] καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐς τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐταιρικὴν κατέταξεν Ἀλέξανδρος, τοὺς πεζοὺς δὲ προσέθηκεν ταῖς τάξεσι ταῖς ἄλλαις, κατὰ ἔθνη ἐκάστους ξυντάξας. κατέστησε δὲ καὶ λόχους δύο ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἴλῃ, οὐ πρόσθεν ὄντας λόχους ἱππικούς, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησε τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν προκριθέντας ἐκ τῶν ἐταίρων.

[1] ἄρας δὲ ἐκ Σούσων καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Πασιτίγριν ποταμὸν ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὴν Οὐξίων γῆν. Οὐξίων δὲ οἱ μὲν τὰ πεδία οἰκοῦντες τοῦ τε σατράπου τῶν Περσῶν ἤκουον καὶ τότε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σφᾶς ἐνέδοσαν· οἱ δὲ ὄρειοι καλούμενοι Οὐξιοὶ Πέρσαις τε οὐχ ὑπήκοοι ἦσαν καὶ τότε πέμψαντες παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἄλλως παρήσειν ἔφασαν τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἰόντα ζὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἢ λαβεῖν, ὅσα καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇ παρόδῳ ἐλάμβανον. [2] καὶ τούτους ἀποπέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἥκειν κελεύσας ἐπὶ τὰ στενά, ὧν κρατοῦντες ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐδόκουν τὴν πάροδον εἶναι τὴν ἐς Πέρσας, ἵνα καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λάβοιεν τὰ τεταγμένα. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς σωματοφύλακας τοὺς βασιλικούς καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους τῆς νυκτὸς ἦει ἄλλην ἢ τὴν φανεράν ἡγησάμενων αὐτῷ τῶν Σουσίων. [3] καὶ διελθὼν ὁδὸν τραχεῖαν καὶ δύσπορον ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιπίπτει ταῖς κόμαις τῶν Οὐξίων, καὶ λείαν τε πολλὴν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτῶν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς ὄντων πολλοὺς κατέκτεινεν· οἱ δὲ ἀπέφυγον ἐς τὰ ὄρη. αὐτὸς δὲ ἦει σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰ στενά, ἵνα ἀπαντήσεσθαι οἱ Οὐξιοὶ πανδημεῖ ἐδόκουν ληψόμενοι τὰ τεταγμένα. [4] κρατερόν δὲ ἔτι πρόσθεν ἀπέστειλε τὰ ἄκρα καταληψόμενον, ἔνθα ᾤετο βιαζομένους τοὺς Οὐξίους ἀποχωρήσειν. αὐτὸς δὲ πολλῷ τάχει ἦει· καὶ φθάνει τε κρατήσας τῶν παρόδων καὶ ζυντεταγμένους τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων χωρίων ἐπῆγεν ὥς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους. [5] οἱ δὲ τῷ τε τάχει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις, οἷς μάλιστα δὴ ἐπεποιθήσαν, πλεονεκτούμενοι ἔφυγον οὐδὲ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρημνώδη οὖσαν· οἱ πλεῖστοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἀναφεύγοντες ἐμπίπτουσιν ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κρατερόν καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπώλοντο. [6] ταῦτα τὰ γέρα παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου λαβόντες χαλεπῶς εὗροντο δεόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν τὴν σφῶν ἔχοντες φόρους ὅσα ἔτη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀποφέρειν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου λέγει τὴν Δαρείου μητέρα δεηθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου δοῦναί σφισι τὴν χώραν οἰκεῖν. ὁ φόρος δὲ ὁ συνταχθεὶς ἦν ἵπποι ἐς ἑτὸς ἑκατὸν καὶ ὑποζύγια πεντακόσια καὶ πρόβατα τρισμύρια. χρήματα γὰρ οὐκ ἦν Οὐξίοις οὐδὲ ἡ γῆ οἷα ἐργάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νομεῖς αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ ἦσαν.

[1] ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ξυμμαχούς καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους τοὺς ξένους καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τοῦ στρατεύματος βαρύτερον ὥπλισμένοι ζὺν Παρμενίωνι ἐκπέμπει ὥς ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἄγειν κατὰ τὴν ἀμαξιτὸν τὴν ἐς Πέρσας φέρουσαν. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε Μακεδόνας τοὺς πεζοὺς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐταιρικὴν καὶ τοὺς προδρόμους ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἦει σπουδῇ τὴν διὰ τῶν ὄρων. ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τὰς Περσίδας ἀφίκετο, καταλαμβάνει αὐτοῦ Ἀριοβαρζάνην τὸν Περσῶν σατράπην πεζοὺς μὲν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους ἔχοντα, ἱππέας δὲ ἐς ἑπτακοσίους, διατετειχικότα τὰς πύλας καὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐστρατοπεδευκότα, ὥς εἶργειν τῆς παρόδου Ἀλέξανδρον. τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο· [3] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ζυντάξας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆγε τῷ τείχει. ὥς δὲ ἄπορόν τε διὰ δυσχωρίαν ἐφαίνετο αἰρεθῆναι καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐλάμβανον ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τε χωρίου καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βαλλόμενοι, τότε μὲν ἀποχωρεῖ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον· [4] τῶν δὲ αἰχμαλώτων

φρασάντων ἄλλην ὁδὸν περιάξειν αὐτόν, ὡς εἶσω παρελθεῖν τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπεὶ
τραχεῖαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ στενὴν ἐπύθετο, Κρατερὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλείπει ἐπὶ
στρατοπέδου τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Μελεάγρου καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν
ὀλίγους καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐς πεντακοσίους, καὶ προστάττει αὐτῷ, [5] ἐπειδὴν
ἐκπεριελλυθότα αὐτὸν αἰσθῆται καὶ προσάγοντα ἤδη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν
Περσῶν 'αἰσθήσεσθαι δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς, σημαίνει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰς σάλπιγγας',
τότε δὲ προσβαλεῖν τῷ τείχει: αὐτὸς δὲ προὔχῳρει νύκτωρ καὶ διελθὼν ὅσον
ἐκατὸν σταδίους ἀναλαμβάνει τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου τάξιν καὶ
τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς κουφοτάτους καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τὴν ἴλην
τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ τετραρχίαν πρὸς ταύτη μίαν ἱππικὴν, καὶ ζὺν τούτοις ἦει
ἐπικάμψας ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἴν' οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἦγον. [6] Ἀμύνταν δὲ καὶ
Φιλώταν καὶ Κοῖνον τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον ἄγειν καὶ τὸν
ποταμόν, ὃν ἔχρην περᾶσαι ἐόντα ἐπὶ Πέρσας, γεφυροῦν ἐκέλευσεν: αὐτὸς δὲ
ἦει ὁδὸν χαλεπὴν καὶ τραχεῖαν καὶ ταύτην δρόμῳ τὸν πολὺ ἦγε. τὴν μὲν δὴ
πρώτην φυλακὴν τῶν βαρβάρων πρὶν φάους ἐπιπεσὼν διέφθειρε καὶ τῶν
δευτέρων τοὺς πολλοὺς: [7] τῆς τρίτης δὲ οἱ πλείους διέφυγον, καὶ οὐδὲ οὗτοι
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἀριοβαρζάνου ἔφυγον, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν ὡς εἶχον ἐς τὰ ὄρη
πεφοβημένοι, ὥστε ἔλαθεν ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω ἐπιπεσὼν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν
πολεμίων. καὶ ἅμα μὲν προσέβαλλε τῇ τάφρῳ, ἅμα δὲ αἱ σάλπιγγες ἐσήμαινον
τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν, καὶ Κρατερὸς προσῆγε τῷ προτειχίσματι. [8] οἱ πολέμιοι
δὲ πάντοθεν ἀμφίβολοι γινόμενοι οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ
πανταχόθεν γὰρ εἵργοντο, τῇ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρου ἐπικειμένου, ἄλλῃ δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ
Κρατερὸν παραθεόντων, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ τεῖχη
ἀποστρέψαντες φεύγειν: εἶχετο δὲ καὶ τὰ τεῖχη πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἤδη. [9]
Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὅπερ ζυνέβη ὑποτοπῆσας Πτολεμαῖον
ἀπολελοιπεί αὐτοῦ, ἔχοντα τῶν πεζῶν ἐς τρισχιλίους, ὥστε οἱ μὲν πλείστοι
τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν χερσὶ πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ
φυγῇ φοβερὰ γενομένη κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ῥίψαντες ἀπώλοντο: αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ
Ἀριοβαρζάνης ζὺν ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσιν ἐς τὰ ὄρη ἀπέφυγεν. [10] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ
σπουδῇ αὐθις ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ταμὸν καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἤδη
πεποιημένην ἐπαυτοῦ γέφυραν καὶ διαβαίνει ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ εὐπετῶς.
ἐντεῦθεν δὲ αὐθις σπουδῇ ἤλαυνεν ἐς Πέρσας, ὥστε ἔφθῃ ἀφικέσθαι πρὶν τὰ
χρήματα διαρπάσασθαι τοὺς φύλακας. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Πασαργάδαις
χρήματα ἐν τοῖς Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου θησαυροῖς. [11] σατράπην μὲν δὴ Περσῶν
κατέστησε Φρασαόρτην τὸν Ῥεομίθρου παῖδα: τὰ βασίλεια δὲ τὰ Περσικὰ
ἐνέπρησε, Παρμενίωνος σώζειν συμβουλευόντος, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι οὐ καλὸν
αὐτοῦ κτήματα ἤδη ἀπολλύναι καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ὡσαύτως προσέξουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ
κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἄνθρωποι, ὡς οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἐγνωκότι κατέχειν τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν
ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ ἐπελθεῖν μόνον νικῶντα. [12] ὁ δὲ τιμωρήσασθαι ἐθέλειν Πέρσας
ἔφασκεν ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλάσαντες τὰς τε Ἀθήνας κατέσκαψαν καὶ
τὰ ἱερὰ ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κακὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰργάσαντο, ὑπὲρ
τούτων δίκας λαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ σὺν νῷ δρᾶσαι τοῦτο γε
Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδὲ εἶναι τις αὕτη Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι τιμωρία.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος προὔχῳρει ἐπὶ Μηδίας: ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο

εἶναι Δαρεῖον. γνώμην δὲ πεποιήτο Δαρεῖος, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ Σούσων καὶ Βαβυλῶνος μένοι Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτοῦ προσμένειν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Μήδοις, εἰ δὴ τι νεωτερισθεῖη τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον: εἰ δ' ἐλαύνει ἐπ' αὐτόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄνω ἰέναι τὴν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Ὑρκανίαν ἔσσε ἐπὶ Βάκτρα, τὴν τε χώραν φθειρῶν πᾶσαν καὶ ἄπορον ποιῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν πρόσω ὁδόν. [2] τὰς μὲν δὴ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ἔτι ἀμφ' αὐτόν κατασκευὴν καὶ τὰς ἄρμαμάξας ἐπὶ τὰς Κασπίας καλουμένας πύλας: πέμπει, αὐτὸς δὲ ζὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἥτις ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ζυνεῖλεκτο αὐτῷ, προσέμενεν ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις. ταῦτα ἀκούων Ἀλέξανδρος προὐχώρει ἐπὶ Μηδίας. καὶ Παραιτάκας μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐμβαλὼν κατεστρέψατο καὶ σατραπεύειν ἔταξεν αὐτῶν Ὁξ[ο]θήρην τὸν Ἀβουλίτου τοῦ [πρότερον] Σούσων σατράπου παῖδα. αὐτὸς ἀπαντᾷν τε κατα τὴν ὁδόν, [3] ὅτι ἐγνωκῶς εἶη Δαρεῖος ἀπαντᾷν τε αὐτῷ ὥς ἐς μάχην καὶ αὐθις διακινδυνεύειν, Σκύθας τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἦκειν καὶ Καδουσίους συμμάχους, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια καὶ τοὺς τούτων φύλακας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἔπεσθαι ἐκέλευσε, τὴν στρατιὰν δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἀναλαβὼν ἤγεν ἐσταλμένους ὥς ἐς μάχην. καὶ ἀφικνεῖται δωδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς Μηδίαν. [4] ἔνθα ἔμαθεν οὐκ οὔσαν ἀξιόμαχον δύναμιν Δαρεῖω οὐδὲ Καδουσίους ἢ Σκύθας αὐτῷ συμμάχους ἦκοντας, ἀλλ' ὅτι φεύγειν ἐγνωκῶς εἶη Δαρεῖος: ὁ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἤγε σπουδῇ. ὥς δὲ ἀπεῖχεν Ἐκβατάνων ὅσον τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντα αὐτῷ Βισθάνης ὁ Ὠχου παῖς τοῦ πρὸ Δαρείου βασιλεύσαντος Περσῶν: [5] καὶ οὗτος ἀπηγγεῖλεν, ὅτι Δαρεῖος ἐς πέμπτην ἡμέραν εἶη πεφευγὼς ἔχων τὰ τε χρήματα τὰ ἐκ Μήδων ἐς ἑπτακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ στρατιὰν ἱππέας μὲν ἐς τρισχιλίους, πεζοὺς δὲ ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς μὲν Θετταλοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ζυμμάχους ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, τὸν τε μισθὸν ἀποδοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐντελῇ τὸν ζυντεταγμένον καὶ δισχίλια παρ' αὐτοῦ τάλαντα ἐπιδούς: [6] ὅστις δὲ ἰδίᾳ βούλοιο ἔτι μισθοφορεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ, ἀπογράφεσθαι ἐκέλευσε: καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἀπογραφάμενοι οὐκ ὀλίγοι. Ἐπόκιλλον δὲ τὸν Πολυειδοὺς ἔταξε καταγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἱππέας ἄλλους ἔχοντα ἐς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν: οἱ γὰρ Θεσσαλοὶ τοὺς ἵππους αὐτοῦ ἀπέδοντο. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Μένητι, ἐπειδὴν ἀφίκωνται ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως ἐπὶ τριήρων κομισθῇσονται ἐς Εὐβοίαν. [7] Παρμενίωνα δὲ προσέταξε τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐκ Περσῶν κομιζόμενα εἰς τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις καταθέσθαι καὶ Ἀρπάλῳ παραδοῦναι: Ἀρπαλον γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπέλιπε καὶ φυλακὴν τῶν χρημάτων Μακεδόνας ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας καὶ ψιλοὺς ὀλίγους: αὐτὸν δὲ Παρμενίωνα τοὺς ξένους ἀναλαβόντα καὶ τοὺς Θρᾶκας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἱππεῖς ἔξω τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς παρὰ τὴν χώραν τὴν Καδουσίαν ἐλαύνειν ἐς Ὑρκανίαν, [8] Κλείτῳ δὲ τῷ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἱλῆς ἡγεμόνι ἐπέστειλεν, ἐπειδὴν ἐκ Σούσων εἰς Ἐκβάτανα ἀφίκηται, κατελέλειπτο γὰρ ἐν Σούσοις ἀρρωστῶν, ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς Μακεδόνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων τότε ὑπολειφθέντας ἰέναι τὴν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἥξειν ἔμελλεν.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τε ἵππον τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ τοὺς προδρόμους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἱππέας, ὧν Ἐριγύϊος ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τὴν Μακεδονικὴν ἔξω τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι ταχθέντων καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς

Ἀγριᾶνας ἤλαυνεν ὥς ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον. καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπουδῇ γιγνομένην τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν πολλοὶ κάμνοντες ὑπελείποντο καὶ ἵπποι ἀπέθνησκον· [2] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἤγε, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ῥάγας ἐνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. διέχει δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν Κασπίων πυλῶν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μίᾳ ἐλαύνοντι ὥς Ἀλέξανδρος ἤγε. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐφθάκει ἤδη παρεληλυθὼς εἰς τὴν πυλῶν τῶν Κασπίων. τῶν δὲ συμφευγόντων Δαρεῖω πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπολιπόντες αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἑκαστοὶ ἀπεχώρουν, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σφᾶς ἐνεδίδοσαν. [3] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὥς ἀπέγνω κατὰ πόδας αἰρήσειν Δαρεῖον, μείνας αὐτοῦ πέντε ἡμέρας καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὸν στρατὸν Μηδίας μὲν σατράπην ἀπέδειξεν Ὁξυδάτην Πέρσῃ ἄνδρα, ὃς ἐτύγγανε πρὸς Δαρεῖον ξυνειλημμένος καὶ ἐν Σούσοις εἰργόμενος· τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἐς πίστιν ἦν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον· αὐτὸς δὲ ὥς ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους ἤγε. [4] καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ πρὸς ταῖς Κασπίαις πύλαις ἐστρατοπέδευσε, τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ εἰς τὴν παρῆλθε τῶν πυλῶν ἔστε οἰκούμενα ἦν. ἐπισιτισάμενος δὲ αὐτόθεν, ὅτι ἔρημον τὴν πρόσω χώραν ἤκουεν, ἐς προνομὴν ἐκπέμπει Κοῖνον ξὺν ἱππεῦσί τε καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ὀλίγοις.

[1] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀφικνεῖται παρ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαρεῖου στρατοπέδου Βαγιστάνης Βαβυλώνιος ἀνὴρ τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ ξὺν τούτῳ Ἀντίβηλος τῶν Μαζαίου παίδων. οὗτοι ἀπήγγειλαν ὅτι Ναβαρζάνης τε, χιλιάρχης τῶν ξὺν Δαρεῖω φευγόντων ἱππέων, καὶ Βῆσος ὁ Βακτρίων σατράπης καὶ Βαρσαέντης ὁ Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ Δραγγῶν σατράπης ξυνειληφότες εἶεν Δαρεῖον. [2] ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἤγε σπουδῇ, τοὺς ἐταίρους μόνους ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς προδρόμους ἱππέας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς εὐρωστοτάτους τε καὶ κουφοτάτους ἐπιτεξάμενος, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κοῖνον προσμείνας ἐκ τῆς προνομῆς ἐπανελθεῖν. τοῖς δὲ ὑπολειπομένοις ἐπιστήσας Κρατερὸν προστάττει ἔπεσθαι μὴ μακρὰς ὁδοὺς ἡμερῶν σιτία. [3] ἐλθὼν δὲ τὴν τε νύκτα μόνον καὶ δύο ἡμερῶν σιτία. ἐλθὼν δὲ τὴν τε νύκτα ὅλην καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας μέχρι μεσημβρίας ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναπαύσας τὸν στρατὸν αὐθις ἦε ὅλην νύκτα, καὶ ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ ὑποφαινούσῃ παρῆν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅθεν ἀφωρμῆκει ὀπίσω Βαγιστάνης. [4] καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους οὐ κατέλαβε, Δαρεῖον δὲ περὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτὸν μὲν συνειλημμένον ἄγεσθαι ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης, Βῆσσω δὲ ἀντὶ Δαρεῖου εἶναι τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡγεμόνα ὠνομάσθαι Βῆσσον πρὸς τε τῶν Βακτρίων ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι βάρβαροι ξυνέφευγον Δαρεῖω, πλὴν Ἀρταβάζου καὶ τῶν Ἀρταβάζου παίδων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μισθοφόρων· τούτους δὲ πιστοὺς εἶναι Δαρεῖω, καὶ εἶργειν μὲν τὰ γινόμενα οὐ δυνατοὺς εἶναι, ἐκτραπέντας δὲ ἔξω τῆς λεωφόρου ὁδοῦ ὥς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἰέναι κατὰ σφᾶς, οὐ μετέχοντας τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον τοῦ ἔργου. γνώμην δὲ πεποιῆσθαι τοὺς ξυλλαβόντας Δαρεῖον, [5] εἰ μὲν διώκοντα σφᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον πυνθάνοιντο, παραδοῦναι Δαρεῖον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ σφίσι τι ἀγαθὸν εὕρισκεσθαι· εἰ δὲ τὸ ἔμπαιιν ἐπανεληλυθότα μάθοιεν, τοὺς δὲ στρατιάν τε ξυλλέγειν ὅσῃν πλείστην δύναιντο καὶ διασώζειν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν τὴν ἀρχήν. Βῆσσον δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐξηγεῖσθαι κατ' οἰκειότητά τε τὴν Δαρεῖου καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ σατραπείᾳ τὸ ἔργον ἐγίνετο. [6] ταῦτα ἀκούσαντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀνὰ κράτος διωκτέα ἐφαίνετο. καὶ ἤδη μὲν ἐξέκαμνον οἱ τε ἄνδρες καὶ οἱ ἵπποι ὑπὸ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ τῇ ξυνεχεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἤγε, καὶ διελθὼν ὁδὸν πολλὴν τῆς

τε νυκτὸς καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἡμέρας ἔστε ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ἀφικνεῖται ἕς τινα κώμην, ἵνα τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἐστρατοπεδεύκεσαν οἱ Δαρεῖον ἄγοντες. [7] ἐνταῦθα ἀκούσας ὅτι νυκτὸς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν ἐγνωσμένον εἶη τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἤλεγχε τοὺς προσχώρους, εἰ δὴ τινα εἶδεῖν ἐπιτομωτέραν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας. οἱ δὲ εἰδέναι μὲν ἔφασαν, ἐρήμην δὲ εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἀνυδρίαν. ὁ δὲ ταύτην ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε· καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι οὐχ ἔψονται οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ σπουδῇ ἐλαύνοντι τῶν μὲν ἰππέων ἐς πεντακοσίους κατεβίβασεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας δὲ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιλεξάμενος τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας ἐπιβῆναι τῶν ἵππων ἐκέλευσεν οὕτως ὅπως οἱ πεζοὶ ὠπλισμένοι ἦσαν. [8] Νικάνορα δὲ τὸν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἡγεμόνα καὶ Ἀτταλὸν τὸν τῶν Ἀγριάνων κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἦντινα οἱ ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον προῦκεχωρήκεσαν, τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τούτους ὥς κουφότατα ἐσταλμένους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πεζοὺς ἐν τάξει ἔπεσθαι. [9] αὐτὸς δὲ ἀμφὶ δειλὴν ἄγειν ἀρξάμενος δρόμῳ ἡγεῖτο· διελθὼν δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς σταδίους ἐς τετρακοσίους ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀτάκτως ἰοῦσι καὶ ἀνόπλοις, ὥστε ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες αὐτῶν ὥς ἀμυνόμενοι ὥρμησαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ εὐθὺς ὥς Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν κατείδον οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἔφευγον· καὶ οἱ τραπέντες ἐς ἀλκὴν ὀλίγων πεσόντων καὶ οὗτοι ἔφυγον. [10] Βῆσσος δὲ καὶ οἱ ζῦν αὐτῷ τέως μὲν ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης Δαρεῖον μετὰ σφῶν ἐκόμιζον· ὥς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, Δαρεῖον μὲν Σατιβαρζάνης καὶ Βαρσαέντης κατατρώσαντες αὐτοῦ ἀπέλιπον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔφυγον φὺν ἰππεῦσιν ἐξακοσίοις. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἀποθνήσκει ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων πρὶν ὀφθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Δαρείου ἐς Πέρσας ἀπέπεμψε, θάψαι κελεύσας ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ πρὸ Δαρείου βασιλεῖς· σατράπην δὲ ἀπέδειξε Παρθυαίων καὶ Ὑρκανίων Ἀμμινάπην Παρθυαῖον· ἦν δὲ οὗτος τῶν Αἴγυπτον ἐνδόντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ Μαζάκου. Τληπόλεμος δὲ Πυθοφάνους τῶν ἐταίρων ξυνετάχθη αὐτῷ σκοπεῖν τὰ ἐν Παρθυαίοις τε καὶ Ὑρκανίοις. [2] τοῦτο τὸ τέλος Δαρεῖῳ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίους Ἀριστοφώντος μὴνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ἀνδρὶ τὰ μὲν πολέμια, εἴπερ τινὶ ἄλλῳ, μαλθακῷ τε καὶ οὐ φρενήρει, εἰς δὲ τὰλλα οὐδὲν ἀνεπικεκῆς ἔργον ἀποδειξαμένῳ ἢ οὐδὲ ἐγγενόμενον αὐτῷ ἀποδειξασθαι, ὅτι ὁμοῦ μὲν ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθεῖν, ὁμοῦ δὲ προσπολεμεῖσθαι πρὸς τε Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυνέβη. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ ἐθέλοντι ἐξῆν ἔτι ὑβρίζειν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ ἥπερ ἐκεῖνοι καθεστηκότι. [3] ζῶντι μὲν δὴ ξυμφοραὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλαι ἐπ' ἄλλαις ξυνηνέχθησαν, οὐδέ τις ἀνακωχὴ ἐγένετο ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρῆλθεν· ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς μὲν τὸ τῶν σατραπῶν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ πταῖσμα ξυνέβη τὸ ἱππικόν, εὐθὺς δὲ Ἰωνία τε καὶ Αἰολίς εἶχοντο καὶ Φρύγες ἀμφοτέρω καὶ Λυδία καὶ Κᾶρες πλὴν Ἀλικαρνασσέων· [4] ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσὸς ἐξήρητο, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ παραλία πᾶσα ἔστε ἐπὶ Κυλικίαν· ἔνθεν δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ ἐπ' Ἰσσοῦ ἦσσα, ἵνα τὴν τε μητέρα αἰχμαλωτισθεῖσαν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέιδεν· ἐπὶ τῷδε Φοινίκη τε ἀπώλετο καὶ Αἴγυπτος πάσα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀρβήλοις ἔφυγε τε ἐν πρώτοις αἰσχροῶς καὶ στρατιὰν πλείστην παντὸς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ γένους ἀπώλεσε· [5] φυγὰς τε ἐκ τούτου τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς πλανώμενος καὶ τελευτῶν πρὸς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα

προδοθεῖς, βασιλεύς τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ δεσμώτης ζὺν ἀτιμία ἀγόμενος, τέλος δὲ πρὸς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀπώλετο. [6] ζῶντι μὲν Δαρεῖω τοιαῦτα ξυνηνέχθη, τελευτήσαντι δὲ ταφή τε ἡ βασιλικὴ καὶ τῶν παίδων ὅποια καὶ βασιλεύοντος αὐτοῦ τροφή τε παρ' Ἀλέξανδρου καὶ παιδευσις, καὶ γαμβρὸς Ἀλέξανδρος. ὁπότε δὲ ἐτελεύτα, ἐγεγόνει ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ διώξει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἐς Ὑρκανίαν προὔχωρει. κεῖται δὲ ἡ Ὑρκανία χώρα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ Βάκτρα φερούσης· καὶ τῇ μὲν ὄρεσιν ἀπείργεται δασέσι καὶ ὕψηλοις, τὸ πεδῖον δὲ αὐτῆς καθήκει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ταύτη θάλασσαν. ταύτην δὲ ἦγεν, ὅτι ταύτη τοὺς ξένους τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δαρεῖον διαπεφευγέναι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ταπύρων ὄρη ἐπύθετο καὶ αὐτοὺς ἅμα τοὺς Ταπούρους χειρωσόμενος. [2] τριχῇ δὴ διελὼν τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν ἐπιτομωτάτην καὶ χαλεπωτάτην ἡγήσατο, τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ ἅμα τὸ κουφότατον τῆς δυνάμεως ἄγων· κρατερὸν δὲ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὖς, καὶ ὀλίγους τῶν ἰππέων ἐπὶ Ταπούρων ἔστειλεν· Ἐριγυῖον δὲ τοὺς τε ξένους καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἵππον ἀναλαβόντα τὴν λεωφόρον τε καὶ μακροτέραν ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε, τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄμιλον ἄγοντα. [3] ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὰ πρῶτα ὄρη καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας αὐτοῦ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς κουφοτάτους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὖς ἦει χαλεπὴν ὁδὸν καὶ δύσπορον, φύλακας τῶν ὁδῶν καταλιπὼν, ἵνα σφαλερόν τι αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, ὥς μὴ τοῖς ἐπομένοις κατ' ἐκείνα ἐπιθοῖντο οἱ τὰ ὄρη ἔχοντες τῶν βαρβάρων. [4] αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν τοξοτῶν διελθὼν τὰ στενὰ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς ποταμῷ οὐ μεγάλῳ. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὄντος αὐτοῦ Ναβαρζάνης τε ὁ Δαρεῖου χιλιάρχης καὶ Φραταφέρνης ὁ Ὑρκανίας τε καὶ Παρθυαίων σατράπης καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἀμφὶ Δαρεῖον Περσῶν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι ἀφικόμενοι παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς. [5] ὑπομείνας δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ἀνέλαβε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀσφαλῶς διελθόντας, τοῖς δὲ Ἀγριαῖσιν ὀπισθοφυλακοῦσιν ἐπέθεντο οἱ ὄρειοι τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ μεῖον ἔχοντες τῷ ἀκροβολισμῷ ἀπηλλάγησαν. [6] ἄρας δὲ ἐντεῦθεν προΐει ὥς ἐφ' Ὑρκανίαν εἰς Ζαδράκαρτα πόλιν Ὑρκανίων. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ περὶ Κρατερὸν ξυνέμιζαν αὐτῷ, τοῖς μὲν ξένοις τοῖς Δαρεῖου οὐκ ἐντετυχηκότες, τὴν χώραν δὲ ὅσῃν διαπεπορευμένοι ἦσαν τὴν μὲν βία, τὴν δὲ ἐνδιδόντων τῶν κατοικούντων προσπεποιημένοι. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐριγυῖος ἦκε σὺν τοῖς σκευοφόροις καὶ ταῖς ἀμάξαις. [7] ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον Ἀρτάβαζος ἀφίκετο παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ Κωφὴν καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης καὶ Ἀρσάμης καὶ ζὺν τούτοις παρὰ τῶν ξένων τῶν ζὺν Δαρεῖω πρέσβεις καὶ Αὐτοφραδάτης ὁ Ταπούρων σατράπης. Αὐτοφραδάτῃ μὲν δὴ τὴν σατραπείαν ἀπέδωκεν, Ἀρτάβαζον δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἅμα οἳ ἐν τιμῇ ἦγε, τά τε ἄλλα ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις Περσῶν ὄντας καὶ τῆς ἐς Δαρεῖον πίστεως ἕνεκα. [8] τοῖς πρέσβεσι δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεομένοις σπείσασθαι σφισιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ξενικοῦ ἀπεκρίνατο ὁμολογίαν μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν· ἀδικεῖν γὰρ μεγάλα τοὺς στρατευομένους ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις παρὰ τὰ δόγματα τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἐκέλευσε δὲ ἥκειν ζῦμπαντας καὶ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς

[1] αὐτοὺς δὲ προήγεν ὥς ἐπὶ Μάρδους, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ τὴν Κοῖνου καὶ Ἀμύντου τάξιν καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἰππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστάς· ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἱππακοντισταὶ τάξεις ἦσαν. [2] ἐπελθὼν δὲ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς χώρας τῶν Μάρδων πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν φεύγοντας, οὓς δὲ τινὰς ἐς ἀλκὴν τετραμμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις χρόνου ἐμβεβλήκει ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διὰ τε δυσχωρίαν καὶ ὅτι πένητες οἱ Μάρδοι καὶ μάχιοι ἐπὶ τῇ πενίᾳ ἦσαν. οὐκ οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμβαλεῖν ἂν ποτε δέισαντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ προκεχωρηκότα ἤδη ἐς τὸ πρόσω, ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τι ἀφύλακτοι ἠλίσκοντο. [3] πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη κατέφυγον, ἃ δὴ ὑπερύψηλά τε καὶ ἀπότομα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστίν, ὥς πρὸς ταῦτά γε οὐχ ἤξοντα Ἀλέξανδρον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ προσῆγεν, οἱ δὲ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ἐνέδοσαν καὶ τὴν χώραν· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀφῆκεν, σατράπην δὲ ἀπέδειξεν αὐτῶν Αὐτοφραδάτην, ὅνπερ καὶ Ταπούρων. [4] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔνθενπερ ὠρμήθη ἐς τῶν Μάρδων τὴν γῆν, κατέλαβε τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἦκοντας καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις, οἱ παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐπρέσβευον, Καλλιστρατίδαν τε καὶ Παύσιππον καὶ Μόνιμον καὶ Ὀνόμαντα, καὶ Ἀθηναίων Δρωπίδην. τούτους μὲν δὴ ξυλλαβὼν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχε, τοὺς Σινωπέων δὲ ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι Σινωπεῖς οὔτε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετεῖχον, ὑπὸ Πέρσαις τε τεταγμένοι οὐκ ἀπεικότα ποιεῖν ἐδόκουν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν πρεσβεύοντες. [5] ἀφῆκεν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοι πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης τε καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Μακεδόνας γενομένης παρὰ Πέρσαις ἐμισθοφόρουν, καὶ Καλχηδονίων Ἡρακλείδην τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀφῆκεν· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ξυστρατεύεσθαι οἱ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσε· καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς Ἀνδρόνικον, ὅσπερ ἡγαγέ τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐνδηλος γεγόνει οὐ φαῦλον ποιούμενος σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἦγεν ὥς ἐπὶ Ζαδράκαρτα, τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν τῆς Ὑρκανίας, ἵνα καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τοῖς Ὑρκανίοις ᾦν. καὶ ἐνταῦθα διατρίψας ἡμέρας πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ὥς νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ποιήσας ὥς ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους ἦγεν· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀρείας ὄρια καὶ Σουσίαν, πόλιν τῆς Ἀρείας, ἵνα καὶ Σατιβαρζάνης ἦκε παρ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν Ἀρείων σατράπης. [2] τοῦτῳ μὲν δὴ τὴν σατραπειάν ἀποδοὺς ξυμπέμπει αὐτῷ Ἀνάξιππον τῶν ἐταίρων δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν ἵππακοντιστῶν ἐς τεσσαράκοντα, ὥς ἔχοι φύλακας καθιστάναι τῶν τόπων, τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἀρείους πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς κατὰ τὴν πάροδον. [3] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν τινες, οἱ ἠγγελλον Βῆσσον τὴν τε τιάραν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν Περσικὴν στολὴν φοροῦντα Ἀρτοξέρξην τε καλεῖσθαι ἀντὶ Βῆσσου καὶ βασιλέα φάσκειν εἶναι τῆς Ἀσίας· ἔχειν τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν τε τοὺς ἐς Βάκτρα διαφυγόντας καὶ αὐτῶν Βακτριανῶν πολλούς· προσδοκᾶσθαι δὲ ἔξειν

αὐτῷ καὶ Σκύθας ξυμμάχους. [4] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἔχων τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν ἦι ἐπὶ Βάκτρων, ἵνα καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μενελάου παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο ἐκ Μηδίας, ἔχων τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους ἱππέας, ὧν ἠγεῖτο αὐτός, καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς ὑπομείναντας καὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς Ἀνδρομάχου. Νικάνωρ δὲ ὁ Παρμενίωνος ὁ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἄρχων τετελευτήκει ἤδη νόσῳ. [5] ἰόντι δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν ἐπὶ Βάκτρα ἐξηγγέλη Σατιβαρζάνης ὁ Ἀρείων σατράπης Ἀνάξιππον μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀπεκτονώς, ὀπλίζων δὲ τοὺς Ἀρείους καὶ ξυνάγων εἰς Ἀρτακόανα πόλιν, ἵνα τὸ βασίλειον ᾦν τῶν Ἀρείων· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὅτι ἔγνωκεν, ἐπειδὰν προκεχωρηκότα Ἀλέξανδρον πύθεται, ἰέναι ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει παρὰ Βῆσσον, ὡς ξὺν ἐκείνῳ ἐπιθησόμενος ὅπῃ ἂν τύχη τοῖς Μακεδόσι. [6] ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλη αὐτῷ, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ Βάκτρα ὁδὸν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς τε ἐταίρους ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου τε καὶ Κοίνου τάξιν, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ Κρατερὸν ἠγεμόνα, σπουδῇ ἤγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Σατιβαρζάνην τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀρείους καὶ διελθὼν ἐν δυσὶν ἡμέραις σταδίους ἐς ἑξακοσίους πρὸς Ἀρτακόανα ἦκεν. [7] Σατιβαρζάνης μὲν οὖν ὡς ἔγνω ἔγγυς ὄντα Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ ὀξύτῃ τῆς ἐφόδου ἐκπλαγεὶς ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσι τῶν Ἀρείων ἔφυγε· πρὸς γὰρ τῶν πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν κατελείφθη ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, ὡς κάκεῖνοι ἔμαθον προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ὅσους ξυνηϊτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως κατέμαθε καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπολελοιπότας τὰς κόμας, τούτους δὲ ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη, ὀξείας τὰς διώξεις ποιησάμενος, τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἠνδραπόδισε· σατράπην δὲ Ἀρείων ἀπέδειξε Ἀρσάκην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην. [8] αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν ὑπολελειμμένοις, ὁμοῦ οὖσιν ἤδη, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ζαραγγαίων χώραν ἦγε· καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἵνα τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Ζαραγγαίων ᾦν. Βαρσαέντης δέ, ὃς τότε κατεῖχε τὴν χώραν, εἷς ὢν τῶν ξυνεπιθεμένων Δαρείῳ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, προσιόντα Ἀλέξανδρον μαθὼν ἐς Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔφυγε. ξυλλαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπέστειλαν, καὶ ἀποθνήσκει πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς ἐς Δαρεῖον ἀδικίας ἔνεκα.

[1] ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν Φιλῶτα ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἔμαθεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος, ὅτι προσηγγελμένη μὲν ᾦν ἤδη οἱ καὶ πρότερον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οὐ μέντοι πιστὴ γε ἐφάνη τῆς τε φιλίας τῆς πάλαι ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐς Παρμενιωνά τε τὸν πατέρα τὸν Φιλῶτα τιμῆς καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Φιλῶταν πίστεως. [2] Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου λέγει εἰσαχθῆναι εἰς Μακεδόνας Φιλῶταν καὶ κατηγορῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρῶς Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀπολογησασθαι δὲ αὐτὸν Φιλῶταν· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμνηστὰς τοῦ ἔργου παρελθόντας ἐξελέγξει Φιλῶταν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄρφ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοις τε ἐλέγχους οὐκ ἀφανέσι καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ὅτι αὐτὸς Φιλῶτας πεπύσθαι μὲν ἐπιβουλὴν τινα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρασκευαζομένην συνέφη, ἐξηλέγχετο δὲ κατασιωπήσας αὐτὴν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, καίτοι δις ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ὁσημέραι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου φοιτῶν. [3] καὶ Φιλῶταν μὲν κατακοντισθῆναι πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετέσχον αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς· ἐπὶ Παρμενίωνα δὲ σταλῆναι Πολυδάμαντα, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, γράμματα φέροντα παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τοὺς ἐν Μηδίᾳ, Κλέανδρόν τε καὶ

Σιτάλην και Μεν[ν]ίδαν: οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιάς, ἥς Παρμενίων ἦρχε, τεταγμένοι ἦσαν: [4] καὶ πρὸς τούτων ἀποθανεῖν Παρμενίωνα, τυχὸν μὲν ὅτι οὐ πιστὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλῶτα ἐπιβουλεύοντος μὴ ζυμμετασχεῖν Παρμενίωνα τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ βουλευματος, τυχὸν δὲ ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μὴ ζυμμετέσχε, σφαλερὸς ἦδη ἦν περιῶν Παρμενίων τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνηρημένου, ἐν τοσαύτῃ ὣν ἀξιώσει παρὰ τε αὐτῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, μὴ ὅτι τὸ Μακεδονικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων, ὧν πολλάκις καὶ ἐν μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος κατὰ πρόσταξιν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ζῆν χάριτι ἐξηγεῖτο.

[1] λέγουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀνδρομένους κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὑπαχθῆναι ἐς κρίσιν καὶ Πολέμωνα καὶ Ἄτταλον καὶ Σιμμίαν τοὺς Ἀμύντου ἀδελφοὺς, ὡς ζυμμετασχόντας καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρου κατὰ πίστιν τε καὶ ἐταιρίαν τὴν Φιλῶτα. [2] καὶ ἐδόκει πιστοτέρα ἢ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος, ὅτι Πολέμων, εἷς τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν Ἀμύντου, ξυλληφθέντος Φιλῶτα ἔφυγεν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' Ἀμύντας γε ζῆν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὑπομείνας τὴν δίκην καὶ ἀπολογησάμενος ἐν Μακεδόσι καρτερῶς ἀφίεται τῆς αἰτίας: καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς ἀπέφυγεν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἠξίωσεν ἐφεθῆναι οἱ ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον: [3] καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ζυγχοροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν Πολέμωνα ἐπανήγαγε: καὶ ταύτῃ πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν ἔξω αἰτίας ἐφάνη Ἀμύντας. ἀλλὰ ὀλίγον γὰρ ὕστερον κώμην τινὰ πολιορκῶν τοξευθεὶς ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥστε οὐδὲν πλέον αὐτῷ γίγνεται τὴν κρίσιν ἀποφυγόντι ὅτι μὴ ἀγαθῷ νομιζομένῳ ἀποθανεῖν. [4] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, καταστήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἱπάρχας δύο, Ἡφαιστίωνα τε τὸν Ἀμύντορος καὶ Κλεῖτον τὸν Δρωπίδου, καὶ δίχα διελὼν τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἐταίρων, ὅτι οὐδὲ φύλατον ἂν ἠβούλετο ἓνα τοσούτων ἱππέων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν κρατίστων τοῦ παντός ἱππικοῦ κατὰ τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν, ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τοὺς πάλοι μὲν Ἀριάσπας καλουμένους, ὕστερον δὲ Εὐεργέτας ἐπονομασθέντας, ὅτι Κύρῳ τῷ Καμβύσου ζυνεπελάβοντο τῆς ἐς Σκύθας ἐλάσεως. [5] καὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος ὧν τε ἐς Κῦρον ὑπῆρξαν οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτῶν τιμήσας καὶ αὐτοὺς καταμαθὼν ἄνδρας οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους πολιτεύοντας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δικαίου ἴσα καὶ τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεταποιουμένους, ἐλευθέρους τε ἀφῆκεν καὶ χώραν τῆς ὁμόρου ὅσῃν αὐτοὶ σφίσιν ἤτησαν, οὐ πολλὴν δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἤτησαν, προσέθηκεν. ἐνταῦθα θύσας τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι Δημήτριον μὲν ἓνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ὑποπεύσας μετασχεῖν Φιλῶτα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ζυνέλαβε: σωματοφύλακα δὲ ἀντὶ Δημητρίου ἀπέδειξε Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος προῆει ὡς ἐπὶ Βάκτρα τε καὶ Βῆσσον, Δράγγας τε καὶ Γαδρωσοὺς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ παραστησάμενος. παρεστήσατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀραχῶτας καὶ σατράπην κατέστησεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Μένωνα. ἐπῆλθε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς προσχώρους Ἀραχῶταις. ζύμπαντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη διὰ χιόνος τε πολλῆς καὶ ζῆν ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταλαιπωρία ἐπῆλθε. [2] μαθὼν δὲ τοὺς Ἀρείους αὐθις ἀφεστάναι, Σατιβαρζάνου ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐμβαλόντος σὺν ἱππεῦσι δισχιλίαις, οὓς παρὰ Βήσσου ἔλαβεν, ἀποστέλλει παρ' αὐτοὺς Ἀρτάβαζον τε τὸν Πέρσῃν καὶ Ἐριγύιον καὶ Κάρανον

τῶν ἐταίρων. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ Φραταφέρνῃν τὸν τῶν Παρθυαίων σατράπην
ξυνεμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς Ἀρείους. [3] καὶ γίγνεται μάχη τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἐριγύιον
καὶ Κάρανον πρὸς Σατιβαρζάνην καρτερά, οὐδὲ πρόσθεν οἱ βάρβαροι
ἐνέκλιναν πρὶν Σατιβαρζάνην ξυμπεσόντα Ἐριγυῖον πρὸς Ἐριγυῖου πληγέντα
δόρατι ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἀποθανεῖν. τότε δὲ ἐγκλίναντες οἱ βάρβαροι
προτροπάδην ἔφευγον. [4] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τὸν Καύκασον τὸ
ὄρος ἤγεν, ἵνα καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ ὠνόμασεν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· καὶ θύσας
ἐνταῦθα τοῖς θεοῖς ὅσοις νόμος αὐτῷ ὑπερέβαλε τὸ ὄρος τὸν Καύκασον,
σατράπην μὲν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπιτάξας Προέξην, ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν, τῶν δὲ ἐταίρων
Νειλόξενον τὸν Σατύρου ἐπίσκοπον ξὺν στρατιᾷ ἀπολιπών. [5] τὸ δὲ ὄρος ὁ
Καύκασος ὑψηλὸν μὲν ἐστίν ὥσπερ τι ἄλλο τῆς Ἀσίας, ὡς λέγει
Ἀριστόβουλος, ψιλὸν δὲ τὸ πολὺ, αὐτοῦ τό γε ταύτη. μακρὸν γὰρ ὄρος
παρატέταται ὁ Καύκασος, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος, ὃς δὴ τὴν Κιλικίαν τε
καὶ Παμφυλίαν ἀπείργει, ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ ἄλλα ὄρη
μεγάλα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου διακεκριμένα ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἐπωνυμία κατὰ ἤθη
τὰ ἐκάστων. [6] ἀλλὰ ἐν γε τούτῳ τῷ Καυκάσῳ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τέρμινθοι
πεφύκασι καὶ σίλφιον, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐπωφεῖτο πολλοῖς
ἀνθρώποις καὶ πρόβατα πολλὰ καὶ κτήνη ἐνέμοντο, ὅτι καὶ χαίρουσι τῷ
σίλφῳ τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ εἰ ἐκ πολλοῦ πρόβατον σιλφίου αἰσθοῖτο, καὶ θεῖ ἐπ’
αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ τε ἄνθος ἐπινέμεται καὶ τὴν ρίζαν ἀνορύττον καὶ ταύτην
κατεσθίει. [7] ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐν Κυρήνῃ ὡς μακροτάτῳ ἀπελαύνουσι τὰς ποίμνας
τῶν χωρίων, ἵνα αὐτοῖς τὸ σίλφιον φύεται. οἱ δὲ καὶ περιφράσσουσι τὸν
χῶρον, τοῦ μηδὲ εἰ πελάσειεν αὐτῷ πρόβατα, δυνατὰ γενέσθαι εἴσω
παρελθεῖν, ὅτι πολλοῦ ἄξιον Κυρηναίοις τὸ σίλφιον. [8] Βῆσσος δὲ ἔχων ἀμφ’
αὐτὸν Περσῶν τε τοὺς μετασχόντας αὐτῷ τῆς Δαρείου συλλήψεως καὶ αὐτῶν
Βακτρίων ἐς ἐπτακισχιλίους καὶ Δάας τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ
ἐποικοῦντας ἔφθειρε τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Καυκάσῳ, ὡς ἐρημία τε τῆς χώρας
τῆς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπείρξων
Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦ μὴ ἐλαύνειν πρόσω. [9] ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤλαυνεν οὐδὲν
μεῖον, χαλεπῶς μὲν διὰ τε χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ ἐνδείᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἦει δὲ
ὁμως. Βῆσσος δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐξηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ οὐ πόρρω ἤδη ὢν Ἀλέξανδρος,
διαβὰς τὸν Ὄξον ποταμὸν τὰ μὲν πλοῖα ἐφ’ ὧν διέβη κατέκαυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς
Ναύτακα τῆς Σογδιανῆς χώρας ἀπεχώρει. [10] εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ τε ἀμφὶ
Σπιταμένην καὶ Ὁξῦάρτην, ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σογδιανῆς ἱππέας, καὶ Δάαι οἱ
ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταναΐδος. οἱ δὲ τῶν Βακτρίων ἱππεῖς ὡς φεύγειν ἐγνωκότα ἔμαθον
Βῆσσον, ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐπὶ τὰ σφῶν ἕκαστοι ἀπηλλάγησαν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐς
Δράνακα ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀναπαύσας

[1] τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς Ἀορνόν τε ἦγε καὶ Βάκτρα, αἱ δὴ μέγισταί εἰσι πόλεις ἐν
τῇ Βακτρίῳ χώρᾳ. καὶ ταύτας τε ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβε καὶ φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ
τῆς Ἀορνου ἀπέλιπε καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Ἀνδρόκλου τῶν ἐταίρων·
τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις Βακτρίοις οὐ χαλεπῶς προσχωρήσασιν ἐπέταξε σατράπην
Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Πέρσῃν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὄξον ποταμόν. [2] ὁ δὲ
Ὄξος ῥέει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Καυκάσου, ἔστι δὲ ποταμῶν μέγιστος τῶν ἐν
τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ὅσους γε δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ οἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπῆλθον, πλὴν τῶν

Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν: οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ πάντων ποταμῶν μέγιστοί εἰσιν. ἐξήισι δὲ ὁ Ὅξος ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ Ὑρκανίαν. [3] διαβάλλειν δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν πάντῃ ἄπορον ἐφαίνετο: τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὖρος ἦν ἐς ἑξήμιστα σταδίου, βάθος δὲ οὐ πρὸς λόγον τοῦ εὖρους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ δὴ τι βαθύτερος καὶ ψαμμώδης καὶ ῥεῦμα ὀξύς, ὥς τὰ καταπηγνύμενα πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥοῦ ἐκστρέφεσθαι ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὐ χαλεπῶς, οἷα δὲ οὐδὲ βεβαίως κατὰ τῆς ψάμμου ἰδρυμένα. [4] ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπορία ὕλης ἐν τοῖς πόνοις ἦν καὶ τριβὴ πολλή ἐφαίνετο, εἰ μακρόθεν μετίοιεν ὅσα ἐς γεφύρωσιν τοῦ πόρου. ζυναγαγὼν οὖν τὰς διφθέρας, ὑφ' αἷς ἐσκήνουν οἱ στρατιῶται, φορυτοῦ ἐμπλήσαι ἐκέλευσεν ὥς ξηροτάτου καὶ καταδησαί τε καὶ ξυρράψαι ἀκριβῶς, τοῦ μὴ ἐσδύεσθαι ἐς αὐτὰς τοῦ ὕδατος. ἐμπλησθεῖσαι δὲ καὶ ξυρραφεῖσαι ἱκαναὶ ἐγένοντο διαβίβασαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις. [5] πρὶν δὲ διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν τε Μακεδόνων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ ἤδη ἀπολέμους καὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς καταμεινάντας ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπέστειλεν. ἐκπέμπει δὲ καὶ Στασάνορα, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐς Ἀρείους, προστάξας Ἀρσάκην μὲν τὸν σατράπην τῶν Ἀρείων ξυλλαβεῖν, ὅτι ἐθελοκακεῖν αὐτῷ Ἀρσάκης ἔδοξεν, αὐτὸν δὲ σατράπην εἶναι ἀντ' ἐκείνου Ἀρείων. [6] περάσας δὲ τὸν Ὅξον ποταμὸν ἦγε κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἵνα Βῆσσον εἶναι ζῆν τῇ δυνάμει ἐπυνθάνετο. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀφικνοῦνται παρὰ Σπιταμένους καὶ Δαταφέρνου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγγέλλοντες, ὅτι Σπιταμένης καὶ Δαταφέρνης, εἰ πεμφθεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀλίγη στρατιὰ καὶ ἡγεμῶν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ξυλλήψονται Βῆσσον καὶ παραδώσουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ: ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀδέσμῳ φυλακῇ φυλάσσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν Βῆσσον. [7] ταῦτα ὥς ἤκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναπαύων ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν σχολαίτερον ἢ πρόσθεν, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Λάγου ἀποστέλλει τῶν τε ἐταίρων ἱππαρχίας τρεῖς ἄγοντα καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς ζυμπαντας, πεζῶν δὲ τὴν τε Φιλώτα τάξιν καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν χιλιάρχίαν μίαν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας πάντας καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας, σπουδῇ ἐλαύνειν κελεύσας ὥς Σπιταμένην τε καὶ Δαταφέρνην. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἦε ὥς ἐτέτακτο, καὶ διελθὼν ἐν ἡμέραις τέτταρσι σταθμοὺς δέκα ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὗ τῇ προτεραιᾷ ἠὺλισμένοι ἦσαν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σπιταμένην βάρβαροι.

[1] ἐνταῦθα ἔμαθε Πτολεμαῖος ὅτι οὐ βεβαία τῷ Σπιταμένει καὶ Δαταφέρνῃ ἡ γνώμη ἐστὶν ἀμφὶ τῇ παραδόσει τοῦ Βῆσσου. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πεζοὺς κατέλιπε, προστάξας ἔπεσθαι ἐν τάξει, αὐτὸς δὲ ζῆν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐλάσας ἀφίκετο πρὸς κώμην τινά, ἵνα ὁ Βῆσσος ἦν ζῆν ὀλίγοις στρατιώταις. [2] οἱ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σπιταμένην μετακεχωρήκεσαν ἤδη ἐκεῖθεν, καταιδεσθέντες αὐτοὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν Βῆσσον. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ περιστήσας ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς κώμης τοὺς ἱππείας ἦν γάρ τι καὶ τεῖχος περιβεβλημένον καὶ πύλαι κατ' αὐτό ἐπεκηρυκεύετο τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ βαρβάροις ἀπαθεῖς σφᾶς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι παραδόντας Βῆσσον. οἱ δὲ ἐδέχοντο τοὺς ζῆν Πτολεμαίῳ ἐς τὴν κώμην. [3] καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ξυλλαβὼν Βῆσσον ὀπίσω ἐπανάηει. προπέμψας δὲ ἤρετο Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅπως χρή ἐς ὅσιν ἄγειν Ἀλεξάνδρου Βῆσσον. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος γυμνὸν ἐν κλοιῷ δήσαντα οὕτως ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ καταστήσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἥ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρελεύσεσθαι ἔμελλε. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος οὕτως ἐποίησεν. [4] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν Βῆσσον ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἄρμα ἤρετο ἀνθ' ὅτου τὸν βασιλέα τὸν αὐτοῦ

καὶ ἅμα καὶ οἰκεῖον καὶ εὐεργέτην γενόμενον Δαρεῖον τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ξυνέλαβε καὶ δῆσας ἤγεν, ἔπειτα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ ὁ Βῆσσοις οὐ μόνον οἷ ταῦτα δόξαντα πρᾶξαι ἔφη, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς τότε ἀμφὶ Δαρεῖον οὖσιν, ὡς σωτηρίαν σφίσιν εὐρέσθαι παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε μαστιγοῦν ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιλέγειν τὸν κήρυκα ταῦτα ἐκεῖνα ὅσα αὐτὸς τῷ Βῆσσῳ ἐν τῇ πύστει ὠνείδισε. Βῆσσοις μὲν δὴ οὕτως αἰκισθεὶς ἀποπέμπεται ἐς Βάκτρα ἀποθανοῦμενος. καὶ ταῦτα Πτολεμαῖος ὑπὲρ Βῆσσου ἀνέγραψεν: Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην τε καὶ Δαταφέρνην Πτολεμαῖον ἀγαγεῖν Βῆσσον καὶ παραδοῦναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γυμνὸν ἐν κλοιῷ δῆσαντας. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπληρώσας τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐκ τῶν αὐτόθεν ἵππων ἄλλοι γὰρ αὐτῷ ἵπποι ἐν τε τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ Καυκάσου καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὄξον τε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὄξου πορεΐα ἐξέλιπον· ὡς ἐπὶ Μαράκανδα ἤγε: τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ βασιλεία τῆς Σογδιανῶν χώρας. ἐνθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Τάναϊν ποταμὸν προῆι. [7] τῷ δὲ Τανάϊδι τούτῳ, ὃν δὴ καὶ Ὀρξάντην ἄλλω ὀνόματι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων βαρβάρων καλεῖσθαι λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, αἱ πηγαὶ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Καυκάσου ὄρους καὶ αὐτῷ εἰσιν: ἐξίησι δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν θάλασσαν [8] ἄλλος δὲ ἂν εἴη Τάναϊς ὑπὲρ ὅτου λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ὁ λογοποιὸς ὄγδοον εἶναι τῶν ποταμῶν τῶν Σκυθικῶν Τάναϊν, καὶ ῥέειν μὲν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ἀνίσχοντα, ἐκδιδόναι δὲ ἐς μεῖζον ἔτι λίμνην, τὴν καλουμένην Μαιῳτιν: καὶ τὸν Τάναϊν τοῦτον εἰσὶν οἱ ὅρον ποιοῦσι τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, [9] οἷς δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ἡ λίμνη τε ἡ Μαιῳτις καὶ ὁ ἐς ταύτην ἐξίει ποταμὸς ὁ Τάναϊς οὗτος διείργει τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, καθάπερ ἡ κατὰ Γάδειρά τε καὶ τοὺς ἀντιπέρας Γαδείρων Λίβυας τοὺς Νομάδας: θάλασσα τὴν Λιβύην αὖ καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην διείργει, οἷς γε δὴ ἡ Λιβύη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς ἄλλης τῷ Νεῖλῳ ποταμῷ διακέκριται. [10] ἐνταῦθα ἀποσκεδασθέντες τινὲς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς προνομὴν κατακόπτονται πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ δὲ δράσαντες τὸ ἔργον ἀπέφυγον ἐς ὄρος τραχύτατον καὶ πάντῃ ἀπότομον: ἦσαν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τρισμυρίους. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς κουφοτάτους τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἤγεν. [11] ἐνθα δὴ προσβολαὶ πολλαὶ ἐγίνοντο τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐς τὸ ὄρος: καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀπεκρούοντο βαλλόμενοι ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τραυματῖαι ἐγένοντο καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὴν κνήμην τοξεύεται διαμπαξ καὶ τῆς περόνης τι ἀποθραύεται αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ τοξεύματος. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἔλαβέ τε τὸ χωρίον, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ κατεκόπησαν πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν ῥίψαντες σφᾶς ἀπέθανον, ὥστε ἐκ τρισμυρίων οὐ πλείους ἀποσωθῆναι ὀκτακισχιλίων.

BOOK IV.

[1] οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πρέσβεις παρὰ τε Σκυθῶν τῶν Ἀβίων καλουμένων, 'οὓς καὶ Ὅμηρος δικαιοτάτους ἀνθρώπους εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει ἐπῆνεσεν: οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ οὗτοι αὐτόνομοι, οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ πενίαν τε καὶ δικαιοτήτᾳ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Σκυθῶν, οἱ δὴ τὸ μέγιστον ἔθνος [Σκυθικὸν] ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐποικοῦσιν. [2] καὶ τούτοις ξυμπέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν ἐταίρων, πρόφασιν μὲν κατὰ πρεσβειάν φιλίαν ξυνηγομένους, ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς πομπῆς ἐς κατασκοπὴν τι μᾶλλον ἔφερε φύσεώς τε τῆς χώρας τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ πλήθους αὐτῶν καὶ νομαίων καὶ ὀπίσεως, ἦντινα ἔχοντες στέλλονται ἐς τὰς μάχας. [3] αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τῷ Τανάϊδι ποταμῷ ἐπενόει πόλιν οἰκίσαι, καὶ ταύτην ἑαυτοῦ ἐπώνυμον. ὁ τε γὰρ χῶρος ἐπιτήδειος αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο αὐξῆσαι ἐπὶ μέγα τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐν καλῷ οἰκισθῆσθαι τῆς ἐπὶ Σκύθας, εἴποτε ξυμβαῖνοι, ἐλάσεως καὶ τῆς προφυλακῆς τῆς χώρας πρὸς τὰς καταδρομὰς τῶν πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐποικούντων βαρβάρων. [4] ἐδόκει δ' ἂν καὶ μεγάλη γενέσθαι ἡ πόλις πλήθει τε τῶν ἐς αὐτὴν ξυνοικιζομένων καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῇ λαμπρότητι. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ πρόσχωροι τῷ ποταμῷ βάρβαροι τοὺς τε τὰ φρουρία ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι σφῶν ἔχοντας στρατιώτας τῶν Μακεδόνων ξυλλαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐς ἀσφάλειάν τινα μᾶλλον ὠχύρουν. [5] ξυνεπελάβοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τῶν Σογδιανῶν οἱ πολλοί, ἐπαρθέντες πρὸς τῶν ξυλλαβόντων Βῆσσον, ὥστε καὶ τῶν Βακτριανῶν ἔστιν οὓς σφισιν οὗτοι ξυναπέστησαν, εἴτε δὴ καὶ δεῖσαντες Ἀλέξανδρον, εἴτε καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει διδόντες, ὅτι ἐς ἓνα ζύλλογον ἐπηγγέλκει Ἀλέξανδρος ξυνελθεῖν τοὺς ὑπάρχους τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης εἰς Ζαρίασπα, τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν, ὥς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ οὐδενὶ τοῦ ζυλλόγου γιγνομένου.

[1] ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, παραγγείλας τοῖς πεζοῖς κατὰ λόχους κλίμακας ποιεῖσθαι ὅσαι ἐκάστῳ λόχῳ ἐπηγγέλθησαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὀρμηθέντι πόλιν προὔχῳρει, ἥ ὄνομα ἦν Γάζα: ἐς γὰρ ἐπτὰ πόλεις ξυμπεφευγένοι ἐλέγοντο οἱ ἐκ τῆς χώρας βάρβαροι: [2] κρατερόν δὲ ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην Κυρούπολιν, ἥπερ μεγίστη πασῶν καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ πλείστοι ξυνειλεγμένοι ἦσαν τῶν βαρβάρων. παρήγγελτο δὲ αὐτῷ στρατοπεδεῦσαι πλησίον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τάφρον τε ἐν κύκλῳ αὐτῆς ὀρύξαι καὶ χάρακα περιβαλέσθαι καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ὅσαι χρῆσθαι ξυμπηγνύναι, ὥς πρὸς ἀμφὶ Κρατερόν τὴν γνώμην τετραμμένοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἀδύνατοι ὧσι ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἐπωφελεῖν. [3] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Γάζαν ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο, ὥς εἶχεν ἐξ ἐφόδου σημαίνει προσβάλλειν τῷ τείχει γῆϊν τε καὶ οὐχ ὑψηλῷ ὄντι, προσθέντας ἐν κύκλῳ πάντοθεν τὰς κλίμακας: οἱ δὲ σφενδονῆται αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τοξόται τε καὶ ἀκοντισται ὁμοῦ τῇ ἐφόδῳ τῶν πεζῶν ἐσηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν ἠφίετο, ὥστε ὀξέως μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βελῶν ἐγυμνώθη τὸ τεῖχος τῶν προμαχομένων, ταχῆα δὲ ἡ πρόσθεσις τῶν κλιμάκων καὶ ἡ ἀνάβασις τῶν Μακεδόνων ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐγίγνετο. [4] τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄνδρας

πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, οὕτως ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου προστεταγμένον, γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λείαν διήρπασαν. ἔνθεν δὲ εὐθὺς ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἀπ' ἐκεῖνης πόλιν ὥκισμένην, καὶ ταύτην τῷ αὐτῷ τε τρόπῳ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ λαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς ἀλόντας τὰ αὐτὰ ἔπραξεν. ὁ δὲ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τρίτην πόλιν, καὶ ταύτην τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ εἶλεν. [5] ἐν ᾧ δὲ αὐτὸς ζὺν τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀμφὶ ταῦτα εἶχε, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὰς δύο τὰς πλησίον πόλεις προστάζας παραφυλάττειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἔνδον, μήποτε τὴν ἄλῳσιν αἰσθόμενοι τῶν πλησίον πόλεων καὶ ἅμα τὴν αὐτοῦ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἔφοδον οἱ δὲ ἐς φυγὴν τραπέντες ἄποροι αὐτῷ διώκιν γένωνται. καὶ ξυνέβη τε οὕτως ὅπως εἶκασε, καὶ ἐν δέοντι ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ἡ πομπὴ τῶν ἱππέων. [6] οἱ γὰρ τὰς δύο τὰς οὐπὼ ἐλασκυίας πόλεις ἔχοντες τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς καπνόν τε εἶδον ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς [ε] σφῶν πόλεως ἐμπιπραμένης καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ διαφυγόντες αὐτάγγελοι τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐγένοντο, ὡς τάχους ἕκαστοι εἶχον ἀθρόοι ἐκ τῶν πόλεων φεύγοντες ἐμπίπτουσιν ἐς τὸ στίφος τῶν ἱππέων ξυντεταγμένον καὶ κατεκόπησαν οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν.

[1] οὕτω δὴ τὰς πέντε πόλεις ἐν δυσὶν ἡμέραις ἐλὼν τε καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενος ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν μεγίστην αὐτῶν τὴν Κύρου πόλιν. ἡ δὲ τετειχισμένη τε ἦν ὑψηλοτέρῳ τείχει ἥπερ αἱ ἄλλαι, οἷα δὴ ὑπὸ Κύρου οἰκισθεῖσα, καὶ τοῦ πλείστου καὶ μαχιμωτάτου τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων ἐς ταύτην συμπεφευγότες οὐχ ὥσαύτως ῥαδίᾳ ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐλεῖν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐγένετο. ἀλλὰ μηχανὰς γὰρ προσάγων τῷ τείχει Ἀλέξανδρος ταύτῃ μὲν κατασεῖειν ἐπενόει τὸ τεῖχος καὶ κατὰ τὸ αἰεὶ παραρρηγνύμενον αὐτοῦ τὰς προσβολὰς ποιεῖσθαι. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς κατεῖδε τοὺς ἔκρους τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὃς διὰ τῆς πόλεως χειμάρρους ὧν διέρχεται, ξηροὺς ἐν τῷ τότε ὕδατος καὶ οὐ ξυνεχεῖς τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἀλλ' οἷους παρασχεῖν πάροδον τοῖς στρατιώταις διαδύναι ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε σωματοφύλακας καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας τετραμμένων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τοὺς ταύτῃ προσμαχομένους λανθάνει κατὰ τοὺς ἔκρους ζὺν ὀλίγοις τὸ πρῶτον παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν: [3] ἀναρρήξας δὲ ἔνδοθεν τῶν πυλῶν, αἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦσαν, δέχεται καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας εὐπετῶς. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐχομένην ἤδη τὴν πόλιν αἰσθόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ὁμῶς ἐτράπησαν: καὶ γίνεται προσβολὴ αὐτῶν καρτερά, καὶ βάλλεται λίθῳ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος βιαίως τὴν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν αὐχένα καὶ Κρατερόν τοξεύματι καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων: ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐξέωσαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοὺς βαρβάρους. [4] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος προσβεβληκότες ἔρημον ἤδη τὸ τεῖχος τῶν προμαχομένων αἰροῦσιν. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πρώτῃ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως ἀπέθανον τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ πάντες ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους μαχίμους οἱ ξυνεληλυθότες καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. καὶ τούτους περιστρατοπεδεύσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμέραν μίαν ἐφρούρησεν: οἱ δὲ ἐνδεία [5] ὕδατος ἐνεχείρισαν σφᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. τὴν δὲ ἐβδόμην πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβε, Πτολεμαῖος μὲν λέγει, ὅτι αὐτοὺς σφᾶς ἐνδόντας, Ἀριστόβουλος δέ, ὅτι βία καὶ ταύτην ἐξεῖλεν καὶ ὅτι πάντας τοὺς καταληφθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπέκτεινε. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ κατανεῖμαι λέγει αὐτὸν

τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ δεδεμένους κελεύσαι φυλάσσεσθαι ἔστ' ἂν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαλλάττηται αὐτός, ὡς μηδένα ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν τὴν ἀπόστασιν πραζάντων. [6] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Σκυθῶν στρατιὰ ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ταναΐδος, ἀκούσαντες οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἔστιν οἱ καὶ τῶν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαρβάρων ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεστᾶσιν, ὡς, εἰ δὴ τι λόγου ὂν ἄξιον νεωτερίζοιτο, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς Μακεδόσι. καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην δὲ ἀπηγγέλησαν ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Μαρακάνδοις καταλειφέντας ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ πολιορκοῦσιν. [7] ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην Ἀνδρόμαχόν τε ἀποστέλλει καὶ Μενέδημον καὶ Κάρανον, ἱππείας μὲν ἔχοντας τῶν ἐταίρων ἐς ἐξήκοντα καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὀκτακοσίους, ὧν Κάρανος ἡγεῖτο, πεζοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους ἐς χιλίους πεντακοσίους· ἐπιτάσσει δὲ αὐτοῖς Φαρνούχην τὸν ἐρμηνέα, τὸ μὲν γένος Λύκιον τὸν Φαρνούχην, ἐμπείρως δὲ τῆς τε φωνῆς τῶν ταύτη βαρβάρων ἔχοντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμιλῆσαι αὐτοῖς δεξιὸν φαινόμενον.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ἐπενόει, τειχίσας ἐν ἡμέραις εἴκοσι καὶ ξυνοικίσας ἐς αὐτὴν τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων καὶ ὅστις τῶν προσοικούντων βαρβάρων ἐθελοντῆς μετέσχε τῆς ξυνοικήσεως καὶ τινας καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου Μακεδόνων, ὅσοι ἀπόμαχοι ἤδη ἦσαν, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς νόμος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγῶνα ἱππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ποιήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλασσομένους ἑώρα τοὺς Σκύθας ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ ποταμοῦ, [2] ἀλλ' ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐωρῶντο οὐ πλατὺν ταύτῃ ὄντα, καὶ τινα καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου βαρβαρικῶς ἐθρασύναντο, ὡς οὐκ ἂν τολμήσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἄψασθαι Σκυθῶν ἢ μαθόντα ἂν ὅτι περ τὸ διάφορον Σκύθαις τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς βαρβάροις, — ὑπὸ τούτων παροξυνόμενος ἐπενόει διαβαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς διφθέρας παρεσκευάζεν ἐπὶ τῷ πόρῳ. [3] θυομένη δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τὰ ἱερὰ οὐκ ἐγίνετο· ὁ δὲ βαρέως μὲν ἔφερεν οὐ γιγνομένων, ὅμως δὲ ἐκαρτέρει καὶ ἔμενεν. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀνίεσαν οἱ Σκύθαι, αὐθις ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει ἐθύετο, καὶ αὖ ἐς κίνδυνον αὐτῷ σημαίνεσθαι Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ μάντις ἔφραζεν· ὁ δὲ κρεῖσσον ἔφη ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου ἐλθεῖν ἢ κατεστραμμένον ξύμπασαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν Ἀσίαν γέλωτα εἶναι Σκύθαις, καθάπερ Δαρεῖος ὁ Ξέρξου πατὴρ πάλαι ἐγένετο. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θείου σημαινόμενα ἄλλα ἀποδείξεσθαι, ὅτι ἄλλα ἐθέλει ἀκοῦσαι Ἀλέξανδρος. [4] ὁ δέ, ὡς αἶτε διφθέραι αὐτῷ παρεσκευασμέναι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῷ πόρῳ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐξωπλισμένος ἐφειστήκει τῷ ποταμῷ, αἶτε μηχαναὶ ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος ἐξηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας παριπτεύοντας ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ καὶ ἔστιν οἱ αὐτῶν ἐτιτρώσκοντο ἐκ τῶν βελῶν, εἷς δὲ δὴ διὰ τοῦ γέρρου τε καὶ τοῦ θώρακος διαμπὰξ πληγεῖς πίπτει ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, οἱ μὲν ἐξεπλάγησαν πρὸς τε τῶν βελῶν τὴν διὰ μακροῦ ἄφεςιν καὶ ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς αὐτοῖς τετελευτῇ, καὶ ὀλίγον ἀνεχώρησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης· [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τεταραγμένους πρὸς τὰ βέλη ἰδὼν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος· εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας ἀποβιβάσας σφενδονᾶν τε καὶ ἐκτοξεύειν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας, ὡς μὴ πελάζειν αὐτοὺς τῇ φάλαγγι τῶν πεζῶν ἐκβαίνουσι, πρὶν τὴν ἵππον αὐτῷ διαβῆναι πᾶσαν. [6] ὡς δὲ ἀθρόοι ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ ἐγένοντο, ἐφῆκεν ἐπὶ

τοὺς Σκύθας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μίαν ἱππαρχίαν τῶν ξένων καὶ τῶν σαρισσοφόρων ἴλας τέσσαρας· καὶ τούτους δεξάμενοι οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ ἐς κύκλους περιῦπνεοντες ἔβαλλον τε πολλοὶ ὀλίγους καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ χαλεπῶς διεφύγγανον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τε τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψιλοὺς, ὧν Βάλακρος ἦρχεν, ἀναμίξας τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐπήγην ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας. [7] ὥς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἐγίνοντο, ἐλάσαι ἐκέλευσεν ἐς αὐτοὺς τῶν τε ἐταίρων τρεῖς ἱππαρχίας καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς ζύμπαντας· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν ἵππον ἄγων σπουδῇ ἐνέβαλεν ὀρθαίαις ταῖς ἴλαις. οὐκ οὐν ἔτι οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἐξελίσσειν τὴν ἱπασίαν ἐς κύκλους, ὥς πρόσθεν ἔτι· ὁμοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἵππος προσέκειτο αὐτοῖς, ὁμοῦ δὲ οἱ ψιλοὶ ἀναμεμιγμένοι τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οὐκ εἶων τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς ἀσφαλεῖς ποιεῖσθαι. ἔνθα λαμπρὰ ἤδη φυγὴ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἦν· [8] καὶ πίπτουσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ εἰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Σατράκης, ἐάλωσαν δὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. ὥς δὲ ἡ δίωξις ὀξεῖα τε καὶ διὰ καύματος πολλοῦ τालαιπῶρος ἐγίνετο, δίψει τε ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα εἶχετο καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλαύνων πίνει ὅποιον ἦν ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ. [9] καὶ ἦν γὰρ πονηρὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ῥεῦμα ἀθρόον κατασκήπτει αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἡ δίωξις οὐκ ἐπὶ πάντων Σκυθῶν ἐγένετο· εἰ δὲ μή, δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι καὶ πάντες διαφθαρῆναι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, εἰ μὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸ σῶμα ἔκαμεν. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου ἐλθὼν ἐκομίσθη ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ οὕτω ξυνέβη ἡ μαντεία Ἀριστάνδρῳ.

[1] ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον παρὰ τοῦ Σκυθῶν βασιλέως ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πρέσβεις, ὑπὲρ τῶνπραχθέντων ἐς ἀπολογίαὺν ἐκπεμφθέντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐπράχθη, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἄρπαγὴν ληστικῶ τρόπῳ σταλέντων, καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι ἐθέλοι ποιεῖν τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα. καὶ τούτῳ φιλάνθρωπα ἐπιστέλλει Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅτι οὔτε ἀπιστοῦντα μὴ ἐπεξιέναι καλὸν αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, οὔτε κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν ἐν τῷ τότε ἐπεξιέναι. [2] οἱ δὲ ἐν Μαρακάνδοις ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ φρουρούμενοι Μακεδόνες προσβολῆς γενομένης τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐκ Σπιταμένους τε καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐπεκδραμόντες ἀπέκτεινάν τε τῶν πολεμίων ἔστιν οὖς καὶ ἀπώσαντο ζύμπαντας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαθεῖς ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. [3] ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐσταλμένοι ἐς Μαρακάνδα ἤδη προσάγοντες Σπιταμένει ἐξηγγέλλοντο, τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν ἐκλείπει τῆς ἄκρας, αὐτὸς δὲ ὥς ἐς τὰ βόρεια τῆς Σογδιανῆς ἀνεχώρει. Φαρνούχης δὲ καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατηγοὶ σπεύδοντες ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν παντάπασιν ἐπὶ τε τὰ ὅρια τῆς Σογδιανῆς ξυνείποντο ὑποχωροῦντι καὶ εἰς τοὺς Νομάδας τοὺς Σκύθας οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ ξυνεσβάλλουσιν. [4] ἔνθα δὲ προσλαβὼν ὁ Σπιταμένης τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱππέων ἐς ἑξακοσίους προσεπῆρθη ὑπὸ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς Σκυθικῆς δέξασθαι ἐπιόντας τοὺς Μακεδόνας· παραταξάμενος δὲ ἐν χωρίῳ ὁμαλῷ πρὸς τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Σκυθικῆς ὑπομῆναι μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ αὐτὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλε, περιῦπεύων δὲ ἐτόξευεν ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν. [5] καὶ ἐπελαυνόντων μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀμφὶ Φαρνούχην ἔφευγεν εὐπετῶς, οἷα δὲ ὠκυτέρων τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀκμαιοτέρων ὄντων τῶν ἵππων, τοῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀνδρόμαχον ὑπὸ τε τῆς ξυνεχοῦς πορείας καὶ ἅμα χιλοῦ ἀπορίας κεκάκωτο ἡ ἵππος· μένουσι δὲ ἡ ὑποχωροῦσιν ἐπέκειντο εὐρώστως οἱ Σκύθαι. [6] ἔνθα δὲ πολλῶν μὲν τιτρωσκομένων ἐκ τῶν

τοξευμάτων, ἔστι δὲ ὧν καὶ πιπτόντων, ἐς πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον τάξαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνεχώρουν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πολυτίμητον, ὅτι νάπος ταύτη ἦν, ὡς μήτε τοῖς βαρβάροις εὐπετές ἔτι εἶναι ἐκτοξεύειν ἐς αὐτούς, σφίσι τε οἱ πεζοὶ ὠφελιμώτεροι ὦσι. [7] Κάρανος δὲ ὁ ἱπάρχης οὐκ ἀνακοινώσας Ἀνδρομάχῳ μάχῳ διαβαίνειν ἐπεχείρησε τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἐς ἀσφαλὲς ταύτη καταστήσων τὴν ἵππον· καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπηκολούθησαν, οὐκ ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ φοβερὰ τε καὶ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἢ ἔσβασις ἢ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ κρημνώδεις τὰς ὄχθας. [8] καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων αὐτοῖς ἵπποις ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν πόρον. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἤδη διαβεβηκότων καὶ ἀποχωρούντων εἶχοντο, οἱ δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνοντας ἀντιμέτωποι ταχθέντες ἀνείλουν ἐς τὸν ποταμόν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πλαγίων ἐξετόξευον ἐς αὐτούς, [9] οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἔτι ἐσβαίνουσιν ἐπέκειντο, ὥστε ἀπορία πάντοθεν ξυνεχόμενοι οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐς νῆσόν τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ξυμφεύουσιν οὐ μεγάλην. καὶ περιστάντες αὐτοὺς οἱ Σκύθαι τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν Σπιταμένει ἵππεῖς ἐν κύκλῳ πάντας κατετόξευσαν· ὀλίγους δὲ ἠνδραποδίσαντο αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτους πάντας ἀπέκτειναν.

[1] Αριστόβουλος δὲ ἐνέδρα τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφθαρῆναι λέγει, τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐν παραδείσῳ κρυφέντων, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ἐπεγένοντο τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ· ἵνα τὸν μὲν Φαρνούχην παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῖς ξυμπεμφθεῖσι Μακεδόσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἐμπείρως ἔχοντα ἔργων πολεμικῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ καθομιλῆσαι τοὺς βαρβάρους μᾶλλον τι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐσταλμένον, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας τε εἶναι καὶ ἐταίρους βασιλέως. [2] Ἀνδρόμαχον δὲ καὶ Κάρανον καὶ Μενέδημον οὐ δέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὸ μὲν τι ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν παρὰ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτούς τι κατὰ σφᾶς νεωτερίζειν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δεινῷ οὐκ ἐθέλησαντας, εἰ δὴ τι πταισίειαν, μὴ ὅσον κατ' ἄνδρα μόνον μετέχειν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τὸ πᾶν αὐτοὺς κακῶς ἐξηγησαμένους. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ θορύβῳ τε καὶ τῇ ἀταξίᾳ ἐπιθεμένους αὐτοῖς τοὺς βαρβάρους κατακόψαι πάντας, ὥστε ἱππείας μὲν μὴ πλείονας τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἀποσωθῆναι, πεζοὺς δὲ ἐς τριακοσίους. [3] ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἠγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἠλγησέ τε τῷ πάθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἔγνω σπουδῇ ἐλαύνειν ὡς ἐπὶ Σπιταμένην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν βαρβάρους. ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τῶν τε ἐταίρων ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμισέας καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς ξύμπαντας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς κουφοτάτους ἦει ὡς ἐπὶ Μαράκανδα, ἵνα ἐπανήκειν Σπιταμένην ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ αὐθις πολιορκεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ. [4] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις διελθὼν χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους τῇ τετάρτῃ ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω προσῆγε τῇ πόλει. Σπιταμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτόν, ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη προσάγων Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐκ ἔμειναν, ἀλλ' ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν φεύγουσιν. [5] ὁ δὲ ἐχόμενος αὐτῶν ἐδίωκεν· ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν χῶρον ἦκεν, οὗ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, θάψας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων εἵπετο ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον τοῖς φεύγουσιν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναστρέφων ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὰ ἐρύματα καταπεφευγότας τῶν βαρβάρων ἔκτεινεν, ὅτι ξυνεπιθέσθαι ἐξηγγέλλοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι· καὶ ἐπῆλθε πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ὅσῃν ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Πολυτίμητος ἐπάρδων ἐπέρχεται. [6] ἵνα

δὲ ἀφανίζεται τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐντεῦθεν ἦδη τὸ ἐπέκεινα ἔρημος ἡ χώρα ἐστίν· ἀφανίζεται δὲ καίπερ πολλοῦ ὦν ὕδατος ἐς τὴν ψάμμον. καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ ὡσαύτως ἐκεῖ ἀφανίζονται μεγάλοι καὶ ἀέ[ν]ναοι, ὃ τε Ἑπαρδος, ὃς ῥέει διὰ Μάρδων τῆς χώρας, καὶ Ἄρειος, ὅτου ἐπώνυμος ἡ τῶν Ἀρείων γῆ ἐστίν, καὶ Ἐτύμανδρος, ὃς δι' Εὐεργετῶν ῥέει. [7] καὶ εἰσὶ ζύμπαντες οὗτοι τηλικοῦτοι ποταμοὶ ὥστε οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν μείων ἐστὶ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ τοῦ Θεσσαλικοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὃς διὰ τῶν Τεμπῶν ῥέων ἐκδίδοι ἐς θάλασσαν· ὁ δὲ Πολυτίμητος πολὺ ἔτι μείζων ἢ κατὰ τὸν Πηνειὸν ποταμὸν ἐστίν.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐς Ζαριάσπα ἀφίκετο· καὶ αὐτοῦ κατέμενεν ἔστε παρελθεῖν τὸ ἀκμαῖον τοῦ χειμῶνος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτὸν Φραταφέρνης τε ὁ Παρθυαίων σατράπης καὶ Στασάνωρ ὁ ἐς Ἀρείου ἀποπεμφθεὶς ὡς Ἀρσάκην ξυλληψόμενος, τὸν τε Ἀρσάκην δεδεμένον ἄγοντες καὶ Βραζάνην, ὄντινα Βῆσσος τῆς Παρθυαίων σατράπην κατέστησε, καὶ τινας ἄλλους τῶν τότε ξὺν Βῆσσω ἀποστάντων. [2] ἦκον δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Ἐπόκιλλος καὶ Μελαμνίδας καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῶν Θρακῶν στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, οἱ τὰ τε χρήματα τὰ ξὺν Μένητι πεμφθέντα καὶ τοὺς ζυμμάχους ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατήγαγον. καὶ Ἀσανδρος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἦκεν καὶ Νέαρχος, στρατιὰν Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων ἄγοντες, καὶ % Βῆσσός τε ὁ Συρίας σατράπης καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ ὑπαρχος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, καὶ οὗτοι στρατιὰν ἄγοντες. [3] ἔνθα δὴ ζύλλογον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ξυναγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος παρήγαγεν ἐς αὐτοὺς Βῆσσον· καὶ κατηγορήσας τὴν Δαρείου προδοσίαν τὴν τε ῥῖνα Βῆσσου ἀποτμηθῆναι καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἄκρα ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα ἄγεσθαι, ὡς ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ Μῆδων τε καὶ Περσῶν ξυλλόγῳ ἀποθανούμενον. [4] καὶ ἐγὼ οὔτε τὴν ἄγαν ταύτην τιμωρίαν Βῆσσου ἐπαινῶ, ἀλλὰ βαρβαρικὴν εἶναι τίθεμαι τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων τὴν λώβην καὶ ὑπαχθῆναι Ἀλέξανδρον ζύμφημι ἐς ζῆλον τοῦ Μηδικοῦ τε καὶ Περσικοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους βασιλέας οὐκ ἴσης ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ξυνδιαιτήσεως, ἐσθιῆτά τε ὅτι Μηδικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς τε καὶ πατρίου Ἡρακλείδης ὦν μετέλαβεν, οὐδαμῇ ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τὴν κίταριν τὴν Περσικὴν τῶν νενικημένων ἀντὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὁ νικῶν πάλαι ἐφόρει ἀμεῖψαι οὐκ ἐπηδέσθη, [5] οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπαινῶ, ἀλλ' εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλα πράγματα ἐς τεκμηρίωσιν τίθεμαι ὡς οὔτε τὸ σῶμα ὅτῳ εἴη καρτερόν, οὔτε ὅστις γένει ἐπιφανής, οὔτε κατὰ πόλεμον εἰ δὴ τις διευτυχοῖ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐδὲ εἰ τὴν Λιβύην τις πρὸς τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καθάπερ οὖν ἐπενόει ἐκεῖνος, ἐκπεριπλεύσας κατάσχοι, οὐδὲ εἰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τε καὶ Λιβύῃ τρίτην, τούτων πάντων οὐδὲν τι ὄφελος ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὴ σωφρονεῖν ἐν ταύτῳ ὑπάρχει τούτῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τὰ μεγάλα, ὡς δοκεῖ, πράγματα πράξαντι.

[1] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ Κλείτου τοῦ Δρωπίδου πάθημα καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ξυμφοράν, εἰ καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐπράχθη, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ ἀφηγήσομαι. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἡμέραν ἱερὰν τοῦ Διονύσου Μακεδόσι καὶ θύειν Διονύσῳ ὅσα ἔτη ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀλέξανδρον· [2] τὸν δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου μὲν ἐν τῷ τότε ἀμελῆσαι λέγουσι, Διοσκοῦροιν δὲ θῦσαι, ἐξ ὅτου δὴ ἐπιφρασθέντα τοῖν Διοσκοῦροιν τὴν θυσίαν· πόρρω δὲ τοῦ πότου προϊόντος 'καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῶν πότων ἦδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς τὸ βαρβαρικώτερον νενεωτέριστό ἄλλ' ἐν γε τῷ

πότῳ τότε ὑπὲρ τοῖν Διοσκούροιν λόγους γίνεσθαι, ὅπως ἐς Δία ἀνηνέχθη αὐτοῖν ἡ γένεσις ἀφαιρεθεῖσα Τυνδάρῳ. [3] καὶ τινὰς τῶν παρόντων κολακεῖα τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οἳ δὴ ἄνδρες διέφθειράν τε αἰεὶ καὶ οὐποτε παύσονται ἐπιτρίβοντες τὰ τῶν αἰεὶ βασιλέων πράγματα, κατ' οὐδὲν ἀξιοῦν συμβάλλειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργοις τὸν Πολυδεύκην καὶ τὸν Κάστορα. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀπείχοντο ἐν τῷ πότῳ: ἀλλὰ τὸν φθόνον γὰρ ἐμποδῶν ἵστασθαι τοῖς ζῶσι τὸ μὴ οὐ τὰς δικαίας τιμὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ξυνόντων γίνεσθαι. [4] Κλεῖτον δὲ δῆλον μὲν εἶναι πάλαι ἤδη ἀχθόμενον τοῦ τε Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ ἐς τὸ βαρβαρικώτερον μετακινήσει καὶ τῶν κολακευόντων αὐτὸν τοῖς λόγοις τότε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τοῦ οἴνου παροξυνόμενον οὐκ ἔαν οὔτε ἐς τὸ θεῖον ὕβριζειν, οὔτε [ἐς] τὰ τῶν πάλαι ἡρώων ἔργα ἐκφραυλίζοντας χάριν ταύτην ἄχαριν προστιθέναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [5] εἶναι γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου οὕτω τι μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ὥς ἐκεῖνοι ἐπαίρουσιν: οὐκ οὖν μόνον καταπράττει αὐτὰ, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολὺ γὰρ μέρος Μακεδόνων εἶναι τὰ ἔργα. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἀνιᾶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον λεχθέντα. οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἐπαινῶ τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ ἱκανὸν γὰρ εἶναι τίθεμαι ἐν τοιᾷδε παροινίᾳ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν σιγῶντα ἔχειν μηδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς κολακεῖαν πλημμελεῖν. [6] ὥς δὲ καὶ τῶν Φιλίππου τινὲς ἔργων, ὅτι οὐ μεγάλα οὐδὲ θαυμαστὰ Φιλίππῳ κατεπράχθη, οὐδεμιᾶ ξὺν δίκῃ ἐπεμνήσθησαν, χαριζόμενοι καὶ οὗτοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τὸν Κλεῖτον ἤδη οὐκέτι ἐν ἑαυτοῦ ὄντα πρεσβεύειν μὲν τὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου, καταβάλλειν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τὰ τούτου ἔργα, παροινούντα ἤδη τὸν Κλεῖτον, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πολὺν εἶναι ἐξονειδίζοντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρα ἐσώθη, ὅποτε ἡ ἵππομαχία ἢ ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ ξυνειστήκει πρὸς Πέρσας: [7] καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν τὴν αὐτοῦ σοβαρῶς ἀνατείναντα, αὕτη σε ἢ χεῖρ, φάναι, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἐν τῷ τότε ἔσωσε. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκέτι φέρειν τοῦ Κλεῖτου τὴν παροινίαν τε καὶ ὕβριν, ἀλλὰ ἀναπηδᾶν γὰρ ξὺν ὀργῇ ἐπ' αὐτόν, κατέχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ξυμπινόντων. Κλεῖτον δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέναι ὕβριζοντα. [8] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐβόα ἄρα καλῶν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς: οὐδενὸς δὲ ὑπακούοντος ἐς ταῦτα ἔφη καθεστηκέναι Δαρείῳ, ὅποτε πρὸς Βῆσσου τε καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον ξυλληφθεὶς ἤγετο οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ ὄνομα ὦν βασιλέως. οὐκ οὖν ἔτι οἴους τε εἶναι κατέχειν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐταίρους, ἀλλ' ἀναπηδήσαντα γὰρ οἱ μὲν λόγῃν ἀρπάσαι λέγουσι τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τινὸς καὶ ταύτην παίσαντα Κλεῖτον ἀποκτεῖναι, [9] οἱ δὲ σάρισσαν παρὰ τῶν φυλάκων τινὸς καὶ ταύτην. Ἀριστόβουλος βουλος δὲ ὅθεν μὲν ἡ παροινία ὠρμήθη οὐ λέγει, Κλεῖτου δὲ γενέσθαι μόνου τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ὃν γε ὀργισμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀναπηδήσαντος ἐπ' αὐτόν ὥς διαχρησομένου ἀπαχθῆναι μὲν διὰ θυρῶν ἔξω ὑπὲρ τὸ τεῖχος τε καὶ τὴν τάφρον τῆς ἄκρας, ἵνα ἐγίνετο, πρὸς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τοῦ σωματοφύλακος: οὐ καρτερήσαντα δὲ ἀναστρέψαι αὐθὺς καὶ περιπετὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γενέσθαι Κλεῖτον ἀνακαλοῦντι, καὶ φάναι ὅτι: οὗτός τοι ἐγὼ ὁ Κλεῖτος, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πληγέντα τῇ σαρίσσει ἀποθανεῖν.

[1] καὶ ἐγὼ Κλεῖτον μὲν τῆς ὕβρεως τῆς ἐς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν αὐτοῦ μεγαλῶσι μέμφομαι: Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς οἰκτεῖρω, ὅτι δυοῖν κακοῖν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡττημένον ἐπέδειξεν αὐτόν, ὅφ' ὅτων δὴ καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου οὐκ ἐπέοικεν ἄνδρα σωφρονοῦντα ἐξηττᾶσθαι, ὀργῆς τε καὶ παροινίας. [2]

ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε αὖ ἐπαινῶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅτι παραντίκα ἔγνω σχέλιον ἔργον ἐργασάμενος. καὶ λέγουσιν εἰσὶν οἱ [τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου] ὅτι ἐρείσας τὴν σάρισσαν πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον ἐπιπίπτειν ἐγνώκει αὐτῇ, ὥς οὐ καλὸν αὐτῷ ζῆν ἀποκτείναντι φίλον αὐτοῦ ἐν οἴνῳ. [3] οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ξυγγραφεῖς τοῦτο μὲν οὐ λέγουσιν, ἀπελθόντα δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐνὴν κεῖσθαι ὀδυρόμενον, αὐτόν τε τὸν Κλεῖτον ὀνομαστὶ ἀνακαλοῦντα καὶ τὴν Κλεῖτου μὲν ἀδελφὴν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀναθρεψαμένην, Λανίκην τὴν Δρωπίδου παῖδα, ὥς καλὰ ἄρα αὐτῇ τροφεία ἀποτετικῶς εἶη ἀνδρωθεῖς, [4] ἢ γε τοὺς μὲν παῖδας τοὺς ἑαυτῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἐπεῖδεν ἀποθανόντας, τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ αὐτῆς αὐτὸς αὐτοχειρία ἔκτεινε: φονέα τε τῶν φίλων οὐ διαλείπειν αὐτὸν ἀνακαλοῦντα, ἄσιτόν τε καὶ ἄποτον καρτερεῖν ἔστε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ τίνα ἄλλην θεραπείαν θεραπεῦσαι τὸ σῶμα. [5] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν μάντεων τινες μῆνιν ἐκ Διονύσου ἦδον, ὅτι ἡ θυσία ἐξελεῖφθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἢ τοῦ Διονύσου. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος μόγις πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων πεισθεὶς σίτου τε ἤψατο καὶ τὸ σῶμα κακῶς ἐθεράπευσε: καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὴν θυσίαν ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἄκοντι ἦν ἐς μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ μᾶλλον τι ἢ τὴν αὐτοῦ κακότητα ἀναφέρεσθαι τὴν ξυμφοράν. [6] ταῦτα μεγαλωστὶ ἐπαινῶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὸ μῆτε ἀπαυθαδιάσασθαι ἐπὶ κακῷ, μῆτε προστάτην τε καὶ ξυνήγορον κακίονα ἔτι γενέσθαι τοῦ ἁμαρτηθέντος, ἀλλὰ ξυμφῆσαι γὰρ ἐπταικένοι ἀνθρωπὸν γε ὄντα. [7] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγουσιν Ἀνάξαρχον τὸν σοφιστὴν ἔλθειν μὲν παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον κληθέντα, ὥς παραμυθησόμενον: εὐρόντα δὲ κείμενον καὶ ἐπιστένοντα, ἀγνοεῖν, φάναι ἐπιγελάσαντα, διότι ἐπὶ τῷδε οἱ πάλοι σοφοὶ ἄνδρες τὴν Δίκην παρέδρον τῷ Διὶ ἐποίησαν ὥς ὁ τι ἂν πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς κυρωθῇ, τοῦτο ξὺν δίκῃ πεπραγμένον. καὶ οὖν καὶ τὰ ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου γιγνόμενα δίκαια χρῆναι νομίζεσθαι, πρῶτα μὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλέως, ἔπειτα πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. [8] ταῦτα εἰπόντα παραμυθῆσασθαι μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ τότε, κακὸν δὲ μέγα, ὥς ἐγὼ φημι, ἐξεργάσασθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ μείζον ἔτι ἢ ὅτῳ τότε ξυνείχετο, εἴπερ οὖν σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς τήνδε ἔγνω τὴν δόξαν, ὥς οὐ τὰ δίκαια ἄρα χρή σπουδῇ ἐπιλεγόμενον πράττειν τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ ὁ τι ἂν καὶ ὅπως οὖν ἐκ βασιλέως πραχθῇ, τοῦτο δίκαιον νομίζειν. [9] ἐπεὶ καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ἐθέλειν Ἀλέξανδρον λόγος κατέχει, ὑπούσης μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἀμφὶ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος πατρὸς μᾶλλον τι ἢ Φιλίππου δόξης, θαυμάζοντα δὲ ἤδη τὰ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων τῆς τε ἐσθῆτος τῇ ἀμείψει καὶ τῆς ἄλλης θεραπείας τῇ μετακοσμήσει. οὐκ ἐνδεῆσαι δὲ οὐδὲ πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτῷ τοὺς κολακεία ἐς αὐτὸ ἐνδιδόντας, ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Ἀνάξαρχόν τε καὶ Ἅγιν Ἀργεῖον, ἐποποιόν.

[1] Καλλισθένην δὲ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον Ἀριστοτέλους τε τῶν λόγων διακηκοῦτα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὄντα ὑπαγροικότερον οὐκ ἐπαινεῖν ταῦτα. τούτου μὲν δὴ ἔνεκα καὶ αὐτὸς Καλλισθένει ξυμφέρομαι, ἐκεῖνα δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπιεικῇ δοκῶ τοῦ Καλλισθένους, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ ξυγγέγραπται, ὅτι ὑφ' αὐτῷ εἶναι ἀπέφαινε καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ξυγγραφῇ Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα, [2] οὐκ οὖν αὐτὸς ἀφίχθαι ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξαν κτησόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνον εὐκλεᾶ ἐς ἀνθρώπους ποιήσαν: καὶ οὖν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μετουσίαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν Ὀλυμπιάς ὑπὲρ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ ψεύδεται ἀνηρτηῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ὧν ἂν

αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυγγράψας ἐξενέγκη ἐς ἀνθρώπους. [3] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, ὥς ἄρα ἦρετο αὐτόν ποτε Φιλώτας ὄντινα οἶοιτο μάλιστα τιμηθῆναι πρὸς τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως: τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα, ὅτι τὸν ἕτερον τοῖν τυράννοιν ἔκτειναν καὶ τυραννίδα ὅτι κατέλυσαν. [4] ἐρέσθαι δὲ αὐθις τὸν Φιλώταν εἰ τῷ τύραννον κτείναντι ὑπάρχοι παρ' οὐστίνας ἐθέλει τῶν Ἑλλήνων φυγόντα σώζεσθαι: καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐθις Καλλισθένην, εἰ καὶ μὴ παρ' ἄλλους, παρὰ γε Ἀθηναίους ὅτι φυγόντι ὑπάρχοι σώζεσθαι. τούτους γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Εὐρυस्थέα πολεμῆσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους, τυραννοῦντα ἐν τῷ τότε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. [5] ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς προσκυνήσεως ὅπως ἠναντιώθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ τοῖόςδε κατέχει λόγος. ξυγκεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστάς τε καὶ τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους μνήμην τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε ἐν πότῳ ἐμβαλεῖν: [6] ἄρξαι δὲ τοῦ λόγου Ἀνάξαρχον, ὥς πολὺ δικαιότερον ἂν θεὸν νομιζόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον Διονύσου τε καὶ Ἡρακλέους, μὴ ὅτι τῶν ἔργων ἔνεκα ὅσα καὶ ἡλίκα καταπέπρακται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι Διόνυσος μὲν Θηβαῖος ἦν, οὐδέν τι προσήκων Μακεδόσι, καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Ἀργεῖος, οὐδὲ οὗτος προσήκων ὅτι μὴ κατὰ γένος τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου: Ἡρακλείδην γὰρ εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρον: [7] Μακεδόνας δὲ ἂν τὸν σφῶν βασιλέα δικαιότερον θεῖαις τιμαῖς κοσμοῦντας. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο εἶναι ἀμφίλογον ὅτι ἀπελθόντα γε ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὥς θεὸν τιμήσουσι: πόσῳ δὴ δικαιότερον ζῶντα γεραίρειν ἤπερ τελευτήσαντα ἐς οὐδέν ὄφελος τῷ τιμωμένῳ. λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοιούτων λόγων

[1] πρὸς Ἀναξάρχου τοὺς μὲν μετεσχηκότας τῆς βουλῆς ἐπαινεῖν τὸν λόγον καὶ δὴ ἐθέλιν ἄρχεσθαι τῆς προσκυνήσεως, τοὺς Μακεδόνας δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀχθομένους τῷ λόγῳ σιγῇ ἔχειν. [2] Καλλισθένην δὲ ὑπολαβόντα, Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν, εἰπεῖν, ὦ Ἀνάξαρχε, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνάξιον ἀποφαίνω τιμῆς ὅσαι ξύμμετροι ἀνθρώπῳ: ἀλλὰ διακεκρίσθαι γὰρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅσαι τε ἀνθρώπιναι τιμαὶ καὶ ὅσαι θεῖαι πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις, καθάπερ ναῶν τε οἰκοδομήσει καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἀναστάσει καὶ τεμένει ὅτι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξαιρεῖται καὶ θύεται ἐκείνοις καὶ σπένδεται, καὶ ὕμνοι μὲν ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς ποιοῦνται, ἔπαινοι δὲ ἐς ἀνθρώπους, — ἀτὰρ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ τῆς προσκυνήσεως νόμῳ. [3] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους φιλεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀσπαζομένων, τὸ θεῖον δέ, ὅτι ἄνω που ἰδρυμένον καὶ οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι αὐτοῦ θέμις, ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄρα τῇ προσκυνήσει γεραίρεται, καὶ χοροὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἴστανται καὶ παιᾶνες ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ᾄδονται. καὶ οὐδέν θαυμαστόν, ὅποτε γε καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἄλλοις ἄλλαι τιμαὶ πρόσκεινται, καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ἥρωσιν ἄλλαι, καὶ αὐταὶ ἀποκεκριμέναι τοῦ θείου. [4] οὐκ οὐκ εἰκὸς ξύμπαντα ταῦτα ἀναταράσσοντας τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐς σχῆμα ὑπέρογκον καθιστάναι τῶν τιμῶν ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ τό γε ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐς ταπεινότητα οὐ πρόπευσαν καταβάλλειν τὰ ἴσα ἀνθρώποις τιμώντας. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνασχέσθαι ἂν, εἰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τις εἰσποιοῖτο ταῖς βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς χειροτονία ἢ ψήφῳ οὐ δικαίᾳ. [5] πολὺ ἂν οὖν δικαιότερον τοὺς θεοὺς δυσχεραίνειν ὅσοι ἄνθρωποι ἐς τὰς θεῖας τιμὰς σφᾶς εἰσποιοῦσιν ἢ πρὸς ἄλλων εἰσποιούμενοι ἀνέχονται. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ πόρρω τοῦ ἱκανοῦ ἀνδρῶν

ἀγαθῶν τὸν ἄριστον εἶναι τε καὶ δοκεῖν, καὶ βασιλέων τὸν βασιλικώτατον καὶ στρατηγῶν τὸν ἀξιοστρατηγότατον. [6] καὶ σέ, εἴπερ τινὰ ἄλλον, ὃ Ἀνάξαρχε, εἰσηγητὴν τε τούτων τῶν λόγων ἐχρῆν γίνεσθαι καὶ κωλυτὴν τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐπὶ σοφία τε καὶ παιδεύσει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ζυνόντα. οὐκ οὐκ ἄρχειν γε τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου πρέπον ἦν, ἀλλὰ μεμνησθαι γὰρ οὐ Καμβύσῃ οὐδὲ Ξέρξῃ ζυνόντα ἢ ξυμβουλευόντα, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππου μὲν παιδί, Ἡρακλείδῃ δὲ ἀπὸ γένους καὶ Αἰακίδῃ, ὅτου οἱ πρόγονοι ἐξ Ἀργούς ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἦλθον, οὐδὲ βία, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντες διετέλεσαν. [7] οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ζῶντι ἔτι θεῖαι τιμαὶ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντι πρόσθεν ἢ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπιθεσπισθῆναι ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν Ἡρακλέα. εἰ δέ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ βαρβάρῳ γῇ οἱ λόγοι γίνονται, βαρβαρικὰ χρὴ ἔχειν τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ ἐγὼ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μεμνησθῆναι σε ἀξίῳ, ὃ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἥς ἔνεκα ὁ πᾶς στόλος σοι ἐγένετο, προσθεῖναι τὴν Ἀσίαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. [8] καὶ οὖν ἐνθυμήθητι, ἐκεῖσε ἐπανελθὼν ἄρά γε καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἐλευθερωτάτους προσαναγκάσεις ἐς τὴν προσκύνησιν, ἢ Ἑλλήνων μὲν ἀφέξῃ, Μακεδόσι δὲ προσθήσεις τήνδε τὴν ἀτιμίαν, ἢ διακεκριμένα ἔσται σοι αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν τιμῶν ἐς ἅπαν, ὡς πρὸς Ἑλλήνων μὲν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀνθρωπίνως τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς τιμασθαι, πρὸς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων μόνων βαρβαρικῶς; [9] εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσου λέγεται πρῶτον προσκυνηθῆναι ἀνθρώπων Κύρον καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐμμεῖναι Πέρσαις τε καὶ Μήδοις τήνδε τὴν ταπεινότητα, χρὴ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ὅτι τὸν Κύρον ἐκείνον Σκύθαι ἐσωφρόνισαν, πένητες ἄνδρες καὶ αὐτόνομοι, καὶ Δαρεῖον ἄλλοι αὖ Σκύθαι, καὶ Ξέρξην Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξην Κλέαρχος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ζῶντες τούτοις μῦριοι, καὶ Δαρεῖον τοῦτον Ἀλέξανδρος μὴ προσκυνούμενος.

[1] ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα εἰπόντα Καλλιस्थένῃ ἀνιάσαι μὲν μεγαλωστί Ἀλέξανδρον, Μακεδόσι δὲ πρὸς θυμοῦ εἰπεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο γνόντα Ἀλέξανδρον πέμψαντα κωλύσαι [Μακεδόνας] μεμνησθαι ἔτι τῆς προσκυνήσεως. [2] ἀλλὰ σιγῆς γὰρ γενομένης ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀναστάντας Περσῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἐφεξῆς προσκυνεῖν. Λεοννάτον δέ, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐπειδὴ τις ἐδόκει τῶν Περσῶν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ προσκυνῆσαι, τὸν δὲ ἐπιγελάσαι τῷ σχήματι τοῦ Περσοῦ ὡς ταπεινῷ: καὶ τούτῳ χαλεπήναντα τότε Ἀλέξανδρον ξυναλλαγήναι αὐθις. ἀναγέγραπται δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῖσδε λόγοις. [3] προπίνειν φιάλην χρυσὴν ἐν κύκλῳ Ἀλέξανδρον πρῶτοις μὲν τούτοις πρὸς οὐστinas ξυνέκειτο αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως, τὸν δὲ πρῶτον ἐκπιόντα τὴν φιάλην προσκυνῆσαί τε ἀναστάντα καὶ φιληθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο ἐφεξῆς διὰ πάντων χωρήσαι. [4] ὡς δὲ ἐς Καλλιस्थένῃ ἦκεν ἡ πρόποσις, ἀναστῆναι μὲν Καλλιस्थένῃ καὶ ἐκπιεῖν τὴν φιάλην, καὶ προσελθόντα ἐθέλειν φιλεῖν οὐ προσκυνήσαντα. τὸν δὲ τυχεῖν μὲν τότε διαλεγόμενον Ἡφαιστίῳ: οὐκ οὐκ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, εἰ καὶ τὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως ἐπιτελεῖ τῷ Καλλιस्थένει ἐγένετο. [5] ἀλλὰ Δημήτριον γὰρ τὸν Πυθώνακτος, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, ὡς προσήει αὐτῷ ὁ Καλλιस्थένης φιλήσων, φάναι ὅτι οὐ προσκυνήσας πρόσσεισιν. καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ παρασχεῖν φιλεῖν αὐτόν: τὸν δὲ Καλλιस्थένῃ, φιλήματι, φάναι, ἔλαττον ἔχων ἅπειμι. [6] καὶ τούτων ἐγὼ, ὅσα ἐς ὕβριν τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν ἐν τῷ παραντίκα καὶ ἐς σκαιότητα τὴν Καλλιस्थένους

φέροντα, οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ ἐπαινῶ, ἀλλὰ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν γὰρ κοσμίως τίθεσθαι ἐξαρκεῖν φημί, αὖξοντα ὡς ἀνυστὸν τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα ὅτῳ τις ξυνεῖναι οὐκ ἀπηξίωσεν. [7] οὐκουν ἀπεικότης δι' ἀπεχθείας γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Καλλισθένην τίθεμαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαίρῳ τε παρρησίᾳ καὶ ὑπερόγκῳ ἀβελτερίᾳ. ἐφ' ὅτῳ τεκμαίρομαι μὴ χαλεπῶς πιστευθῆναι τοὺς κατειπόντας Καλλισθένους, ὅτι μετέσχε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς γενομένης Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ τῶν παίδων, τοὺς δέ, ὅτι καὶ ἐπῆρεν αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσαι. ξυνέβη δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὧδε.

[1] ἐκ Φιλίππου ἦν ἡδὴ καθεστηκὸς τῶν ἐν τέλει Μακεδόνων τοὺς παῖδας ὅσοι ἐς ἡλικίαν ἐμειρακιεύοντο καταλέγεσθαι ἐς θεραπείαν τοῦ βασιλέως, τά τε περὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαίταν τοῦ σώματος διακονεῖσθαι βασιλεῖ καὶ κοιμώμενον φυλάσσειν τούτοις ἐπετέτραπτο. καὶ ὁπότε ἐξελαύνει βασιλεύς, τοὺς ἵππους παρὰ τῶν ἱπποκόμων δεχόμενοι ἐκεῖνοι προσήγον καὶ ἀνέβαλλον οὗτοι βασιλέα τὸν Περσικὸν τρόπον καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θήρᾳ φιλοτιμίας βασιλεῖ κοινωνοὶ ἦσαν. [2] τούτων καὶ Ἑρμόλαος ἦν, Σωπόλιδος μὲν παῖς, φιλοσοφία δὲ ἐδόκει προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν καὶ Καλλισθένην θεραπεύειν ἐπὶ τῷδε. ὑπὲρ τούτου λόγος κατέχει, ὅτι ἐν θήρᾳ προσφερομένου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συὸς ἔφθη βαλὼν τὸν σὺν ὃ Ἑρμόλαος: καὶ ὁ μὲν σὺς πίπτει βληθείς, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ ὑστερήσας ἐχαλέπηνε τῷ Ἑρμόλῳ καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν πρὸς ὀργὴν πληγὰς λαβεῖν ὁρώντων τῶν ἄλλων παίδων, καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ ἀφείλετο. [3] τοῦτον τὸν Ἑρμόλαον ἀλγήσαντα τῇ ὕβρει φράσαι πρὸς Σώστρατον τὸν Ἀμύντου, ἡλικιώτην τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἑραστὴν ὄντα, ὅτι οὐ βιωτὸν οἷ ἐστὶ μὴ τιμωρησαμένῳ Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς ὕβρεως, καὶ τὸν Σώστρατον οὐ χαλεπῶς συμπεῖσαι μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ἅτε ἐρῶντα. [4] ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ ἀναπεισθῆναι Ἀντίπατρόν τε τὸν Ἀσκληπιοδώρου τοῦ Συρίας σατραπεύσαντος καὶ Ἐπιμένην τὸν Ἀρσαίου καὶ Ἀντικλέα τὸν Θεοκρίτου καὶ Φιλώταν τὸν Κάρσιδος τοῦ Θρακός. ὡς οὖν περιῆκεν ἐς Ἀντίπατρον ἢ νυκτερινὴ φυλακὴ, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ξυγκείμενον εἶναι ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον, κοιμωμένῳ ἐπιπεσόντας. [5] ξυμβῆναι δὲ οἱ μὲν αὐτομάτως λέγουσιν ἔστε ἐφ' ἡμέραν πίνειν Ἀλέξανδρον, Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ὧδε ἀνέγραψε. Σύραν γυναῖκα ἐφομαρτεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κάτοχον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γιγνομένην: καὶ ταύτην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γέλωτα εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν: ὡς δὲ τὰ πάντα ἐν τῇ κατοχῇ ἀληθεύουσα ἐφαίνετο, οὐκέτι ἀμελεῖσθαι ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀλλ' εἶναι γὰρ τῇ Σύρᾳ πρόσοδον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ καθεύδοντι πολλάκις ἡδὴ ἐπιστῆναι. [6] καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἀπαλλασσομένου ἐκ τοῦ πότου κατεχομένην ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντυχεῖν, καὶ δεῖσθαι ἐπανελθόντα πίνειν ὅλην τὴν νύκτα: καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον θεῖόν τι εἶναι νομίσαντα ἐπανελθεῖν τε καὶ πίνειν, καὶ οὕτως τοῖς παισὶ διαπρεσεῖν τὸ ἔργον. [7] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἐπιμένης ὁ Ἀρσαίου τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς φράζει τὴν πρᾶξιν Χαρικλεῖ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ, ἑραστῇ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονότι: Χαρικλῆς δὲ φράζει Εὐρύλοχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Ἐπιμένους. καὶ ὁ Εὐρύλοχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου τῷ σωματοφύλακι καταλέγει ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα: ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔφρασε. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ξυλλαβεῖν κελεύει ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα εἶπεν ὁ Εὐρύλοχος: καὶ οὗτοι στρεβλούμενοι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν κατεῖπον τὴν ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους ὠνόμασαν.

[1] Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν λέγει ὅτι καὶ Καλλισθένην ἐπᾶραι σφᾶς ἔφασαν ἐς τὸ τόλμημα· καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὡσαύτως λέγει. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ ταύτη λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μῖσος γὰρ τὸ ἤδη ὄν πρὸς Καλλισθένην ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἑρμόλαος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτήδειος ἦν τῷ Καλλισθένει, οὐ χαλεπῶς πιστεῦσαι τὰ χεῖρω ὑπὲρ Καλλισθένους Ἀλέξανδρον. [2] ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, τὸν Ἑρμόλαον προαχθέντα ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὁμολογεῖν τε ἐπιβουλευσαι — καὶ γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι ἔτι ἐλευθέρῳ ἀνδρὶ φέρειν τὴν ὕβριν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου — πάντα καταλέγοντα, τὴν τε Φιλῶτα οὐκ ἔνδικον τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἔτι ἐκνομωτέραν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τότε ἀποθανόντων, καὶ τὴν Κλείτου ἐν μέθῃ ἀναίρεσιν, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν Μηδικήν, καὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν τὴν βουλευθεῖσαν καὶ οὐπῶ πεπαυμένην, καὶ πότους τε καὶ ὕπνους τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου· ταῦτα οὐ φέροντα ἔτι ἐλευθερῶσαι ἐθέλῃσαι ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μακεδόνας. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ξυλληφθέντας καταλευσθῆναι πρὸς τῶν παρόντων. [3] Καλλισθένην δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν λέγει δεδεδεμένον ἐν πέδαις ξυμπεριάγεσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἔπειτα νόσφ τελευτῆσαι, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου στρεβλωθέντα καὶ κρεμασθέντα θέντα ἀποθανεῖν. οὕτως οὐδὲ οἱ πάνυ πιστοὶ ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν καὶ ξυγγενόμενοι ἐν τῷ τότε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν γνωρίμων τε καὶ οὐ λαθόντων σφᾶς ὅπως ἐπράχθη ζύμφωνα ἀνέγραψαν. [4] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὲρ τούτων αὐτῶν ἄλλοι ἄλλως ἀφηγήσαντο, ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα ἀποχρῶντα ἔστω ἀναγεγραμμένα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον πραχθέντα ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κλείτον ξυνενεχθεῖσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀνέγραψα, τούτοις μᾶλλον τι οἰκεῖα ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν.

[1] παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἦκεν καὶ αὐθις Σκυθῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης πρεσβεία ξὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν οἷς αὐτὸς ἐς Σκύθας ἔστειλεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ τότε βασιλεὺς τῶν Σκυθῶν ὅτε οὗτοι ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπέμποντο τετελευτηκῶς ἐτύγχανεν, ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἐκείνου ἐβασίλευεν. [2] ἦν δὲ ὁ νοῦς τῆς πρεσβείας ἐθέλειν ποιεῖν πᾶν τὸ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπαγγελλλόμενον Σκύθας· καὶ δῶρα ἔφερον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Σκυθῶν ὅσα μέγιστα νομίζεται ἐν Σκύθαις· καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα ὅτι ἐθέλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοῦναι γυναῖκα βεβαιότητος οὐνεκα τῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον φιλίας τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας. [3] εἰ δὲ ἀπαξιοὶ τὴν Σκυθῶν βασιλίσσαν γῆμαι Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ τῶν γε σατραπῶν τῶν τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι δυνάσται κατὰ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σκυθίδα, τούτων τὰς παῖδας ἐθέλειν δοῦναι τοῖς πιστοτάτοις τῶν ἀμφ’ Ἀλέξανδρον· ἥξειν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, εἰ κελεύοιτο, ὥς παρ’ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀκοῦσαι ὅσα ἐπαγγέλλοι. [4] ἀφίκετο δ’ ἐν τούτῳ παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φαρασμάνης ὁ Χορασμίων βασιλεὺς ξὺν ἱππεῦσι χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις. ἔφασκεν δὲ ὁ Φαρασμάνης ὁμορος οἰκεῖν τῷ τε Κόλχων γένει καὶ ταῖς γυναῖξιν ταῖς Ἀμαζόσι, καὶ εἰ θέλοι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ Κόλχους τε καὶ Ἀμαζόνας ἐλάσας καταστρέψασθαι τὰ ἐπὶ τὸν πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνιον ταύτη καθήκοντα γένη, ὁδῶν τε ἡγεμῶν ἔσσεσθαι ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ παρασκευάσειν. [5] τοῖς τε οὖν παρὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἤκουσι φιλόφροντα ἀποκρίνεται Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἐς τὸν τότε καιρὸν ζύμφορα, γάμου δὲ οὐδὲν δεῖσθαι Σκυθικοῦ, καὶ Φαρασμάνην ἐπαινέσας τε καὶ φιλίαν καὶ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ξυνθέμενος

αὐτῷ μὲν τότε οὐκ ἔφη ἐν καιρῷ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον: Ἀρταβάζω δὲ τῷ Πέρσῃ, ὅτῳ τὰ Βακτριῶν ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπετέτακτο, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι πρόσχωροι τούτῳ σατράπαι ξυστήσας Φαρασμάνην ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὰ ἦθη τὰ αὐτοῦ. [6] αὐτῷ δὲ τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἔφη ἐν τῷ τότε μέλειν. τούτους γὰρ καταστρεψάμενος πᾶσαν ἂν ἤδη ἔχειν τὴν Ἀσίαν: ἐχομένης δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπανιέναι ἂν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου τε καὶ τῆς Προποντίδος ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ τῇ τε ναυτικῇ καὶ τῇ πεζικῇ ἐλάσειν εἰσω τοῦ Πόντου: καὶ ἐς τὸ τότε ἡξίου ἀποθέσθαι Φαρασμάνην ὅσα ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐπηγγέλλετο. [7] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὄξον τε ποταμὸν ἦει αὐθις καὶ εἰς τὴν Σογδιανὴν προχωρεῖν ἐγνώκει, ὅτι πολλοὺς τῶν Σογδιανῶν ἐς τὰ ἐρύματα ξυμπεφευγέναι ἠγγέλλετο οὐδὲ ἐθέλειν κατακούειν τοῦ σατράπου, ὅστις αὐτοῖς ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπετέτακτο. στρατοπεδεύοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὄξῳ οὐ μακρὰν τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πηγὴ ὕδατος καὶ ἄλλη ἐλαίου πηγὴ πλησίον αὐτῆς ἀνέσχε. [8] καὶ Πτολεμαῖω τῷ Λάγου τῷ σωματοφύλακι ἐπειδὴ ἐσηγγέλθη τὸ τέρας, Πτολεμαῖος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔφρασεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἔθυνεν ἐπὶ τῷ φάσματι ὅσα οἱ μάντις ἐξηγοῦντο. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ πόνων εἶναι σημεῖον τοῦ ἐλαίου τὴν πηγὴν ἔφρασκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νίκην ἐπὶ τοῖς πόνοις σημαίνειν.

[1] διαβὰς οὖν ξὺν μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐς τὴν Σογδιανήν, Πολυπέρχοντα δὲ καὶ Ἀτταλον καὶ Γοργίαν καὶ Μελέαγρον αὐτοῦ ἐν Βάκτροις ὑπολιπόμενος τούτοις μὲν παρήγγειλεν τὴν τε χώραν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, ὥς μὴ τι νεωτερίσωσιν οἱ ταύτῃ βάρβαροι, καὶ τοὺς ἔτι ἀφεστηκότας αὐτῶν ἐξαίρειν: [2] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς πέντε μέρη διελὼν τὴν ἅμα οἱ στρατιὰν τῶν μὲν Ἡφαιστίωνα ἄρχειν ἔταξε, τῶν δὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου τὸν σωματοφύλακα: τοῖς τρίτοις δὲ Περδίκκαν ἐπέταξε: τῆς δὲ τετάρτης τάξεως Κοῖνος καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ἡγοῦντο αὐτῷ: τὴν δὲ πέμπτην μοῖραν ἀναλαβὼν αὐτὸς ἐπῆει τὴν χώραν ὥς ἐπὶ Μαράκανδα. [3] καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὥς ἐκάστοις προὔχῳρει ἐπήεσαν, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς τῶν ἐς τὰ ἐρύματα ξυμπεφευγόντων βία ἐξαίρουντες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία προσχωροῦντάς σφισιν ἀναλαμβάνοντες. ὥς δὲ ξύμπασα αὐτῷ ἡ δύναμις ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Σογδιανῶν τῆς χώρας τὴν πολλὴν ἐς Μαράκανδα ἀφίκετο, Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐκπέμπει τὰς ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ πόλεις συνοικίζειν, Κοῖνον δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάβαζον ὥς ἐς Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐς Σκύθας καταπεφευγέναι Σπιταμένης αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπὶ τῆς Σογδιανῆς ὅσα ἔτι πρὸς τῶν ἀφεστηκότων κατείχετο ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐξήρει. [4] ἐν τούτοις δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος Σπιταμένης τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν Σογδιανῶν τινες φυγάδων ἐς τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Μασσαγετῶν καλουμένων τὴν χώραν ξυμπεφευγότες ξυναγαγόντες τῶν Μασσαγετῶν ἱππέας ἐξακοσίους ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τι φρούριον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βακτριανήν. [5] καὶ τῷ τε φρουράρχῳ οὐδὲν πολέμιον προσδεχομένῳ ἐπιπεσόντες καὶ τοῖς ξὺν τούτῳ τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχουσιν τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας διέφθειραν, τὸν φρούραρχον δὲ ἐλόντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον. θαρσήσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τῇ καταλήψει ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὕστερον Ζαριάσποις πελάσαντες τῇ μὲν πόλει προσβαλεῖν ἀπέγνωσαν, λείαν δὲ πολλὴν περιβαλλόμενοι ἤλαυνον. [6] ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ζαριάσποις νόσφ' ὑπολελειμμένοι τῶν ἐταίρων ἱππέων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ ξὺν

τούτοις Πείθων τε ὁ Σωσικλέους, ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς θεραπείας τῆς ἐν Ζαριάσποις τεταγμένος, καὶ Ἀριστόνικος ὁ κιθαρωδός. καὶ οὗτοι αἰσθόμενοι τῶν Σκυθῶν τὴν καταδρομὴν ἥδη γὰρ ἐκ τῆς νόσου ἀναρρωσθέντες ὅπλα τε ἔφερον καὶ τῶν ἵππων ἐπέβαινον ἔξαναγόντες τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους ἱππείας ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα, οἱ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν Ζαριάσπων ὑπολελειμμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν παίδων τινὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐκβοηθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας. [7] καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτη προσβολῇ οὐδὲν ὑποτοπῆσασι τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐπιπεσόντες τὴν τε λείαν ζύμπασαν ἀφείλοντο αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀγόντων τὴν λείαν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐπανιόντες δὲ αὐτοὶ ἀτάκτως, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ἐξηγουμένου, ἐνεδρευθέντες πρὸς Σπιταμένους καὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν μὲν ἐταίρων ἀποβάλλουσιν ἐπτά, τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων ἱππέων ἐξήκοντα. καὶ Ἀριστόνικος ὁ κιθαρωδός αὐτοῦ ἀποθνήσκει, οὐ κατὰ κιθαρωδὸν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος. πείθων δὲ τρωθεὶς ζῶν λαμβάνεται πρὸς τῶν Σκυθῶν.

[1] καὶ ταῦτα ὡς Κρατερῷ ἐξηγγέλη, σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας ἤλαυνεν. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο πλησίον ἐπελαύνοντά σφισι Κρατερὸν, ἔφευγον ἀνὰ κράτος ὡς εἰς τὴν ἐρήμην. καὶ Κρατερὸς ἐχόμενος αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις περιπίπτει οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ἄλλοις ἱππεῦσι Μασσαγετῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους. [2] καὶ μάχη γίνεταί τῶν τε Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν καρτερά· καὶ ἐνίκων οἱ Μακεδόνες. τῶν δὲ Σκυθῶν ἀπέθανον μὲν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα ἱππεῖς· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐς τὴν ἐρήμην διεσώθησαν, ὅτι ἄπορον ἦν προσωτέρω τοῖς Μακεδόσι διώκειν. [3] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀρτάβαζον μὲν τῆς σατραπείας τῆς Βακτριῶν ἀπαλλάττει δεηθέντα διὰ γῆρας, Ἀμύνταν δὲ τὸν Νικολάου σατράπην ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καθίστησι. Κοῖνον δὲ ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν καὶ τὴν Μελεάγρου ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἱππέων ἐς τετρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς ἵππακοντιστὰς πάντας καὶ τῶν Βακτριῶν τε καὶ Σογδιανῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετὰ Ἀμύντου ἐτάχθησαν, προστάξας ἅπασιν ἀκούειν Κοίνου καὶ διαχειμάζειν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ, τῆς τε χώρας ἔνεκα τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ εἴ πῃ ἄρα Σπιταμένην περιφερόμενον κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐνεδρεύσαντας ξυλλαβεῖν. [4] Σπιταμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ὡς φρουραῖς τε πάντα κατειλημμένα ἐώρων ἐκ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ σφιν ἄπορα πάντα τὰ τῆς φυγῆς ἐγίγνετο, ὡς ἐπὶ Κοῖνόν τε καὶ τὴν ξὺν τούτῳ στρατιὰν ἐτράποντο, ὡς ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τι ἀξιόμαχοι ἐσόμενοι. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Γαβάς, χωρίον τῆς Σογδιανῆς ὀχυρὸν ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς τε Σογδιανῶν γῆς καὶ τῆς Μασσαγετῶν Σκυθῶν ὤκισμένον, ἀναπείθουσιν οὐ χαλεπῶς τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱππείας ἐς τρισχιλίους συνεμβάλλειν σφίσιν ἐς τὴν Σογδιανήν. [5] οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὗτοι ἀπορία τε πολλῇ ἔχονται καὶ ἅμα ὅτι οὔτε πόλεις εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἐδραῖοι οἰκοῦσιν, ὡς δειμαίνειν ἂν περὶ τῶν φιλτάτων, οὐ χαλεποὶ ἀναπεισθῆναι εἰσιν ἐς ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον πόλεμον. ὡς δὲ Κοῖνός τε καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἔμαθον προσιόντας τοὺς ξὺν Σπιταμένει ἱππείας, ἀπῆντων καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς. [6] καὶ γίνεταί αὐτῶν μάχη καρτερά, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ὥστε τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων ἱππέων ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους πεσεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τῶν δὲ ξὺν Κοίνῳ ἱππείας μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε, πεζοὺς δὲ δώδεκα. οἳ τε οὖν Σογδιανοὶ οἱ ἔτι ὑπολείπομενοι ξὺν Σπιταμένει καὶ τῶν Βακτριῶν οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπολείπουσιν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ Σπιταμένην καὶ ἀφικόμενοι

παρὰ Κοῖνον παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Κοῖνω, [7] οἱ τε Μασσαγέται οἱ Σκύθαι κακῶς πεπραγότες τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν ξυμπαρταξαμένων σφίσι Βακτρίων τε καὶ Σογδιανῶν διήρπασαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ξὺν Σπιταμένει ἐς τὴν ἔρημον ἔφευγον. ὥς δὲ ἐξηγγέλλετο αὐτοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ὁρμῇ ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον ἐλαύνειν ἀποτεμόντες τοῦ Σπιταμένου τὴν κεφαλὴν παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον πέμπουσιν, ὥς ἀποτρέψοντες ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ.

[1] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κοῖνός τε ἐς Ναύτακα παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπανερχεται καὶ οἱ ἄμφι Κρατερόν τε καὶ Φραταφέρνην τὸν τῶν Παρθυαίων σατράπην καὶ Στασάνωρ ὁ Ἀρείων, πεπραγμένων σφίσι πάντων ὅσα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐτέτακτο. [2] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περὶ Ναύτακα ἀναπαύων τὴν στρατιὰν ὃ τι περ ἄκμαϊον τοῦ χειμῶνος, Φραταφέρνην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἐς Μάρδους καὶ Ταπούρους Αὐτοφραδάτην ἐπανάξοντα τὸν σατράπην, ὅτι πολλάκις ἤδη μετὰπεμπος ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου γιγνόμενος οὐχ ὑπήκουε καλοῦντι. [3] Στασάνωρα δὲ ἐς Δράγγας σατράπην ἐκπέμπει, ἐς Μήδους δὲ Ἀτροπάτην ἐπὶ σατραπείᾳ καὶ τοῦτον τῇ Μήδων, ὅτι Ὁξυδάτης ἐθελοκακεῖν αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο. Σταμένην δὲ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος στέλλει, ὅτι Μαζαῖος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ὑπαρχος τετελευτηκέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο. Σώπολιν δὲ καὶ Ἐπόκιλλον καὶ Μεν[ν]ίδαν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐκπέμπει, τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν ἐκ Μακεδονίας αὐτῷ ἀνάξοντας. [4] ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἥρι ὑποφαίνονται προὔχῳ ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ πέτρᾳ, ἐς ἣν πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Σογδιανῶν ξυμπεφευγέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο· καὶ ἡ Ὁξυάρτου δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Βακτρίου καὶ αἱ παῖδες αἱ Ὁξυάρτου ἐς τὴν πέτρᾳ ταύτην ξυμπεφευγέναι ἐλέγοντο, Ὁξυάρτου αὐτὰς ὥς ἐς ἀνάλωτον διήθεν τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ὑπεκθεμένου, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφειστήκει ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου. ταύτης γὰρ ἐξαιρεθείσης οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ὑπολειφθήσεσθαι ἐδόκει τῶν Σογδιανῶν τοῖς νεωτερίζειν ἐθέλουσιν. [5] ὥς δὲ ἐπέλασαν τῇ πέτρᾳ, καταλαμβάνει πάντῃ ἀπότομον ἐς τὴν προσβολὴν σιτία τε ξυγκεκομισμένους τοὺς βαρβάρους ὥς ἐς χρόνιον πολιορκίαν. καὶ χιὼν πολλὴ ἐπιτεσοῦσα τὴν τε πρόσβασιν ἀπορωτέραν ἐποίει τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ ἅμα ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ ὕδατος τοὺς βαρβάρους διῆγεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς προσβάλλειν ἐδόκει τῷ χωρίῳ. [6] καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ὑπέρογκον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων λεχθὲν ἐς φιλοτιμίαν. ξὺν ὀργῇ ἐμβεβλήκει Ἀλέξανδρον. προκληθέντες γὰρ ἐς ξύμβασιν καὶ προτεινομένου σφίσιν, ὅτι σώοις ὑπάρξει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἀπαλλαγῆναι παραδοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ δὲ σὺν γέλῳτι βαρβαρίζοντες πτηνοὺς ἐκέλευον ζητεῖν στρατιώτας Ἀλέξανδρον, οἵτινες αὐτῷ ἐξαιρήσουσι τὸ ὄρος, ὥς τῶν γε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδεμίαν ὥραν σφίσιν οὔσαν. [7] ἔνθα δὲ ἐκήρυξεν Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ ἀναβάντι δώδεκα τάλαντα εἶναι τὸ γέρας, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ δευτέρα καὶ τρίτῳ τὰ ἐφεξῆς, ὥς τελευταῖον εἶναι τῷ τελευταίῳ ἀνελθόντι τριακοσίους Δαρεικοὺς τὸ γέρας. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρῳζυνεν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ ἄλλως τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὠρμημένους.

[1] ξυνταξάμενοι δὴ ὅσοι πετροβατεῖν ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις αὐτῷ μεμελετήκεσαν, ἐς τριακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμόν, καὶ πασσάλους μικροὺς σιδηροῦς, οἷς αἱ σκηναὶ καταπεπήγεσαν αὐτοῖς, παρασκευάσαντες, τοῦ καταπηγνύναι αὐτοὺς ἐς τε τὴν χιόνα ὅπου πεπηγυῖα φανείη καὶ εἴ πού τι τῆς χώρας ἔρημον χιόνος ὑποφαίνοιτο, καὶ τούτους καλωδίους ἐκ λίνου ἰσχυροῖς

ἐκδήσαντες τῆς νυκτὸς προὐχῶρουν κατὰ τὸ ἀποτομώτατόν τε τῆς πέτρας καὶ ταύτῃ ἀφυλακτότατον. [2] καὶ τούτους τοὺς πασσάλους καταπηγνύντες τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν, ὅπου διεφαίνετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τῆς χιόνος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα οὐ θρυφθησόμενα, ἀνεῖλκον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ τῆς πέτρας. καὶ τούτων ἐς τριάκοντα μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει διεφθάρησαν, ὥστε οὐδὲ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐς ταφὴν εὐρέθῃ ἐμπεσόντα ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ τῆς χιόνος. [3] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀναβάντες ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω καὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ὄρους καταλαβόντες σινδόνας κατέσειον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Μακεδόνων, οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρηγγελμένον. πέμψας δὴ κήρυκα ἐμβοῆσαι ἐκέλευσε τοῖς προφυλάσσουσι τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ διατρίβειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς· ἐξευρῆσθαι γὰρ δὴ τοὺς πτηνοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἔχεσθαι ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἄκρα· καὶ ἅμα ἐδείκνυνεν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κορυφῆς στρατιώτας. [4] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ πλείονάς τε ὑποτοπήσαντες εἶναι τοὺς κατέχοντας τὰ ἄκρα καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὠπλισμένους ἐνέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς· οὕτω πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῶν ὀλίγων ἐκείνων Μακεδόνων φοβεροὶ ἐγένοντο. ἐνθα δὴ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες ἐλήφθησαν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ὀξυάρτου καὶ οἱ παῖδες. [5] καὶ ἦν γὰρ Ὀξυάρτη παῖς παρθένος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου, Ῥωξάνῃ ὀνόματι, ἦν δὴ καλλίστην τῶν Ἀσιανῶν γυναικῶν λέγουσιν ὀφθῆναι οἱ ζὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες μετὰ γε τὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα. καὶ ταύτην ἰδόντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς ἔρωτα ἐλθεῖν αὐτῆς· ἐρασθέντα δὲ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι ὑβρίσαι καθάπερ αἰχμάλωτον, ἀλλὰ γῆμαι γὰρ οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαι. [6] καὶ τοῦτο ἐγὼ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ ἔργον ἐπαινῶ μᾶλλον τι ἢ μέφομαι. καίτοι τῆς γε Δαρείου γυναικός, ἡ καλλίστη δὴ ἐλέγετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ γυναικῶν, ἡ οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν ἢ καρτερὸς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, νέος τε ὢν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς εὐτυχίας, ὅποτε ὑβρίζουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ὁ δὲ κατηδέσθη τε καὶ ἐφείσατο, σωφροσύνη τε πολλῇ διαχρώμενος καὶ δόξης ἅμα ἀγαθῆς οὐκ ἀτόπῳ ἐφέσει.

[1] καὶ τοίνυν καὶ λόγος κατέχει ὀλίγον μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ἡ πρὸς Ἴσῳ Δαρεῖω τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυνέβη, ἀποδράντα ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Δαρεῖον τὸν εὐνοῦχον τὸν φύλακα αὐτῷ τῆς γυναικός. καὶ τοῦτον ὡς εἶδε Δαρεῖος, πρῶτα μὲν πυθέσθαι εἰ ζῶσιν αὐτῷ αἱ παῖδες [καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ] καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τε καὶ ἡ μήτηρ. [2] ὡς δὲ ζώσας τε ἐπύθετο καὶ βασιλίσσαι ὅτι καλοῦνται καὶ ἡ θεραπεία ὅτι ἅμφ' αὐτάς ἐστιν, ἦντινα καὶ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἐθεραπεύοντο, ἐπὶ τῷδε αὖ πυθέσθαι εἰ σωφρονεῖ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ ἔτι. ὡς δὲ σωφρονοῦσαν ἐπύθετο, αἰθῆς ἐρέσθαι μὴ τι βίαιον ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτῇ ἐς ὕβριν ξυνέβη· καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐπομόσαντα φάναι ὅτι· ὃ βασιλεῦ, οὕτω τοι ὡς ἀπέλιπες ἔχει ἡ σὴ γυνή, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνδρῶν ἄριστός τέ ἐστι καὶ σωφρονέστατος. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀνατείνει Δαρεῖον ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εὐξασθαι ὥδε· [3] ἀλλ' ὃ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, ὅτω ἐπιτέτραπται νέμειν τὰ βασιλέων πράγματα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, σὺ νῦν μάλιστα μὲν ἐμοὶ φύλαξον Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἔδωκας· εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐγὼ οὐκέτι σοι βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας, σὺ δὲ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὅτι μὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραδοῦναι τὸ ἐμὸν κράτος. οὕτως οὐδὲ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄρα ἀμελεῖται ὅσα σώφρονα ἔργα. [4] Ὀξυάρτης δὲ ἀκούσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐχομένους, ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ Ῥωξάνης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὅτι μέλει αὐτῆς

Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, θαρσύνσας ἀφίκετο παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἦν ἐν τιμῇ παρ' αὐτῷ, ἥπερ εἰκὸς ἐπὶ ζυντυχίᾳ τοιαύτῃ.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς τὰ ἐν Σογδιανοῖς αὐτῷ διεπéπρακτο, ἐχομένης ἤδη καὶ τῆς πέτρας ἐς Παρειτάκας προὔχῳρει, ὅτι καὶ ἐν Παρειτάκαις χωρίον τι ὀχυρόν, ἄλλην πέτραν, κατέχειν ἐλέγοντο πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ αὕτη Χοριήνου ἡ πέτρα: καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν αὐτός τε ὁ Χοριήνης ζυμπεφεύγει καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ὑπάρχων οὐκ ὀλίγοι. [2] ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν ὕψος τῆς πέτρας ἐς σταδίους εἴκοσι, κύκλος δὲ ἐς ἐξήκοντα: αὕτη δὲ ἀπότομος πάντοθεν, ἄνοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν μία καὶ αὕτη στενὴ τε καὶ οὐκ εὖπορος, οἷα δὴ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ χωρίου πεποιημένη, ὡς χαλεπὴ εἶναι καὶ μηδενὸς εἵργοντος καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἀνελθεῖν, φάραγξ τε κύκλῳ περιεῖργε τὴν πέτραν βαθεῖα, ὥστε ὅστις προσάξειν στρατιὰν τῇ πέτρᾳ ἔμελλε, πολὺ πρόσθεν αὐτῷ τὴν φάραγγα εἶναι χωστέον, ὡς ἐξ ὁμαλοῦ ὀρμαῖσθαι προσάγοντα ἐς προσβολὴν τὸν στρατόν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἤπτετο τοῦ ἔργου: [3] οὕτως πάντα ᾤετο χρῆναι βατά τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξαιρετέα εἶναι, ἐς τοσόνδε τόλμης τε καὶ εὐτυχίας προκεχωρήκει. τέμνων δὴ τὰς ἐλάτας 'πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑπερύψηλοι ἐλάται ἦσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ὄρουσ' κλίμακας ἐκ τούτων ἐποίει, ὡς κάθοδον εἶναι ἐς τὴν φάραγγα τῇ στρατιᾷ: οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως κατελθεῖν ἐς αὐτήν. [4] καὶ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφειστήκει τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχων ἐργαζόμενον, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐν μέρει οἱ σωματοφύλακες αὐτῷ εἰργάζοντο, Περδίκκας τε καὶ Λεοννάτος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, τῷ λοιπῷ μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς τριχῇ διανενημεμένῳ, ὅπερ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν νύκτα ἀπετέτακτο. ἦνυτον δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας οὐ πλέον ἥπερ εἴκοσι πῆχεις καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ὀλίγον ἀποδέον, καίτοι ζυμπάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐργαζομένης: οὕτω τὸ τε χωρίον ἄπορον ἦν καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐν αὐτῷ χαλεπόν. [5] κατιόντες δ' ἐς τὴν φάραγγα πασσάλους κατεπήγνυν ἐς τὸ ὀξύτατον τῆς φάραγγος, διέχοντας ἀλλήλων ὅσον ζύμμετρον πρὸς ἰσχύν τε καὶ ξυνοχὴν τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων. ἐπέβαλλον δὲ πλέγματα ἐκ λύγων εἰς γεφύρας μάλιστα ιδέαν, καὶ ταῦτα ξυνδιδόντες χοῦν ἄνωθεν ἐπεφόρου, ὡς ἐξ ὁμαλοῦ γίνεσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν πρόσοδον τὴν πρὸς τὴν πέτραν. [6] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατεφρόνουν ὡς ἀπόρου πάντῃ τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος: ὡς δὲ τοξεύματα ἤδη ἐς τὴν πέτραν ἐξικνεῖτο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν ἄνωθεν ἐξείργειν τοὺς Μακεδόνας 'ἐπεποίητο γὰρ αὐτοῖς προκαλύμματα πρὸς τὰ βέλη, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἀβλαβῶς ἐργάζεσθαι ἐκπλαγεῖς ὁ Χοριήνης πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα κήρυκα πέμπει πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, δεόμενος Ὁξυάρτην οἱ ἀναπέμψαι. καὶ πέμπει Ὁξυάρτην Ἀλέξανδρος. [7] ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πείθει Χοριήνην ἐπιτρέψαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ χωρίον. βία μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχ ἄλωτὸν εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ ἐκείνου, ἐς πίστιν δὲ ἐλθόντος καὶ φιλίαν, τὴν πίστιν τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην μεγαλωστί ἐπῆνει τοῦ βασιλέως, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐν πρώτοις ἐς βεβαίωσιν τοῦ λόγου προφέρων. [8] τούτοις πεισθεὶς ὁ Χοριήνης αὐτός τε ἦκε παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τῶν οἰκείων τινὲς καὶ ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ. ἐλθόντι δὲ τῷ Χοριήνῃ φιλάνθρωπά τε ἀποκρινάμενος καὶ πίστιν ἐς φιλίαν δούς αὐτὸν μὲν κατέχει, πέμψαι δὲ κελεύει τῶν συγκατελθόντων τινὰς αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν πέτραν τοὺς κελεύσοντας ἐνδοῦναι τὸ χωρίον. [9] καὶ ἐνδίδεται ὑπὸ τῶν

ξυμπεφευγόντων, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναλαβὼν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους ἀνέβη κατὰ θέαν τῆς πέτρας, καὶ τοσοῦτου ἐδέησεν ἀνεπιεικὲς τι ἐς τὸν Χοριήνην ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ἐπιτρέπει Χοριήνη καὶ ὑπαρχον εἶναι ὅσων περ καὶ πρόσθεν ἔδωκεν. [10] ξυνέβη δὲ χειμῶνι τε κακοπαθῆσαι αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιὰν πολλῆς χιόνος ἐπιτεσούσης ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ ἅμα ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπιέσθησαν. ἀλλὰ Χοριήνης ἐς δίμηνον σιτία ἔφη δώσειν τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ ἔδωκεν σιτόν τε καὶ οἶνον τῶν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ ἀποθέτων κρέα τε ταριχηρὰ κατὰ σκηνήν. καὶ ταῦτα δοὺς οὐκ ἔφασκεν ἀναλῶσαι τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν οὐδὲ τὴν δεκάτην μοῖραν. ἔνθεν ἐν τιμῇ μᾶλλον τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦν ὡς οὐ πρὸς βίαν μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γνώμην ἐνδοὺς τὴν πέτραν.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ καταπραξάμενος Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Βάκτρα ἦει, Κρατερὸν δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων ἱππέας ἔχοντα ἐξακοσίους καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν καὶ τὴν Πολυπέρχοντος καὶ Αἰτάλου καὶ τὴν Ἀλκέτα ἐπὶ Κατάνην τε καὶ Αὐστάνην ἐκπέμπει, οἱ δὲ μόνοι ἔτι ὑπελείποντο ἐν τῇ Παρειτακηνῶν χώρα ἀφεστηκότες. [2] καὶ μάχης γενομένης πρὸς αὐτοὺς καρτερᾶς νικῶσιν οἱ ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν τῇ μάχῃ· καὶ Κατάνης μὲν ἀποθνήσκει αὐτοῦ μαχόμενος, Αὐστάνης δὲ ξυλληφθεὶς ἀνήχθη παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον· τῶν δὲ ξὺν αὐτοῖς βαρβάρων ἱππεῖς μὲν ἀπέθανον ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι, πεζοὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους πεντακοσίους. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἐπράχθη τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν, καὶ οὗτοι ἐς Βάκτρα ἦσαν. καὶ ἐν Βάκτροις τὸ ἀμφὶ Καλλισθένην τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας πάθημα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυνηνέχθη. [3] ἐκ Βάκτρων δὲ ἐξήκοντος ἤδη τοῦ ἥρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν προὐχώρει ὡς ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς, Ἀμύνταν ἀπολιπὼν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Βακτρίων καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἱππέας μὲν τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὺς δὲ μυρίους. [4] ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὸν Καύκασον ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις ἀφίκετο εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πόλιν τὴν κτισθεῖσαν ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ Βάκτρων ἐστέλλετο. καὶ τὸν μὲν ὑπαρχον, ὅστις αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως τότε ἐτάχθη, παραλύει τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἔδοξε· [5] προσκατοικίσας δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν περιοίκων τε καὶ ὅσοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Νικάνορα μὲν, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν κοσμεῖν ἐκέλευσε, σατράπην δὲ Τυρίεσπιν κατέστησε τῆς τε χώρας τῆς Παραπαμισαδῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα ποταμόν. [6] ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς Νίκαιαν πόλιν καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ θύσας προὐχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα, προπέμψας κήρυκα ὡς Ταξίλην τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, κελεύσας ἀπαντᾶν ὅπως ἂν ἐκάστοις προχωρῇ. καὶ Ταξίλης τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπαρχοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν, δῶρα τὰ μέγιστα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς νομιζόμενα κομίζοντες, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας δώσειν ἔφασκεν τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ὄντας, ἀριθμὸν ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν. [7] ἔνθα δὲ διελὼν τὴν στρατιὰν Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν καὶ Περδίκκαν ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὴν Πευκελαῶτιν χώραν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, ἔχοντας τὴν τε Γοργίου τάξιν καὶ Κλείτου καὶ Μελεάγρου καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἱππέας ξύμπαντας, προστάξας τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν χωρία ἢ βία ἐξαρεῖν ἢ ὁμολογία παρίστασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν ἀφικομένους παρασκευάζειν ὅσα ἐς τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ξύμφορα. ξὺν τούτοις δὲ καὶ Ταξίλης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπαρχοὶ στέλλονται. [8] καὶ

οὗτοι ὡς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, ἔπρασσον ὅσα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἦν τεταγμένα. Ἄστις δὲ ὁ τῆς Πευκελαώτιδος ὑπαρχος νεωτερίσας αὐτὸς τε ἀπόλλυται καὶ τὴν πόλιν προσαπώλεσεν, ἐς ἣντινα ξυμπεφεύγει. ἐξεῖλον γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις προσκαθήμενοι οἱ ξὺν Ἡφαιστίωνι. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν Ἄστις ἀποθνήσκει, τῆς πόλεως δὲ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἐτάχθη Σαγγαῖος, ὃς ἐτι πρόσθεν πεφευγὼς Ἄστιν παρὰ Ταξίλῃν ἡτομολήκει· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ πιστὸν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἄγων τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἱππέων ὅσοι μὴ σὺν Ἡφαιστίωνι ἐτετάχατο καὶ τῶν πεζεταίρων καλουμένων τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστάς, προὐχώρει ἐς τὴν Ἀσπασίων τε καὶ Γουραίων χώραν καὶ Ἀσσακηνῶν. [2] πορευθεὶς δὲ παρὰ τὸν Χόην καλούμενον ποταμὸν ὀρεινὴν τε ὁδὸν καὶ τραχεῖαν καὶ τοῦτον διαβάς χαλεπῶς τῶν μὲν πεζῶν τὸ πλῆθος βάδην ἔπεσθαι οἱ ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἱππέας ξύμπαντας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς ὀκτακοσίους ἐπιβιβάσας τῶν ἵππων ξὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς πεζικαῖς σπουδῇ ἦγεν, ὅτι τοὺς ταύτῃ οἰκοῦντας βαρβάρους ξυμπεφευγένας ἐς τε τὰ ὄρη τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐξηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ὀχυραὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι. [3] καὶ τούτων τῇ πρώτῃ καθ' ὁδὸν πόλει ὠκισμένη προσβαλὼν τοὺς μὲν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τεταγμένους ὡς εἶχεν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐτρέψατο καὶ κατέκλεισεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τιτρώσκεται βέλει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸν ὦμον· τὸ δὲ τραῦμα οὐ χαλεπὸν αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ θώραξ ἔσχε τὸ μὴ οὐ διαμπαῖς διὰ τοῦ ὤμου ἐλθεῖν τὸ βέλος· καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐτρώθη καὶ Λεοννάτος. [4] τότε μὲν δὴ ἵνα ἐπιμαχώτατον τοῦ τείχους ἐφαίνετο ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο πρὸς τῇ πόλει· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω, διπλοῦν γὰρ τεῖχος περιεβέβλητο τῇ πόλει, ἐς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ἅτε οὐκ ἀκριβῶς τετειχισμένον οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐβιάσαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες, πρὸς δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ὡς αἶ τε κλίμακες προσέκειντο ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν πάντοθεν ἐτιτρώσκοντο οἱ προμαχόμενοι, οὐκ ἔμειναν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἐκίπτουσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. [5] καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ὅσους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον αὐτῶν, ξύμπαντας ἀποκτείνουσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ὅτι ἐτρώθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ὀργιζόμενοι· οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐς τὰ ὄρη, ὅτι οὐ μακρὰν τῆς πόλεως τὰ ὄρη ἦν, ἀπέφυγον. τὴν πόλιν δὲ κατασκάψας ἐς Ἄνδακα ἄλλην πόλιν ἦγε. ταύτην δὲ ὁμολογία ἐνδοθεῖσαν κατασχὼν Κρατερὸν μὲν ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι τῶν πεζῶν καταλείπει αὐτοῦ ἐξαίρειν ὅσαι ἂν ἄλλαι πόλεις μὴ ἐκοῦσαι προσχωρῶσι καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὅπως ξυμφορώτατον ἐς τὰ παρόντα κοσμεῖν.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν Κοίνου τε καὶ Ἀττάλου τάξιν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἄγημα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων ἐς τέσσαρας μάλιστα ἱπαρχίας καὶ τῶν ἱπποτοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν % Εὐας ... πόλεως προὐχώρει, ἵνα ὁ τῶν Ἀσπασίων ὑπαρχος ἦν· καὶ διελθὼν πολλὴν ὁδὸν δευτεραῖος ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. [2] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσάγοντα αἰσθόμενοι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ ὄρη. οἱ δ' ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχοντο τῶν φευγόντων ἔστε ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ φόνος πολὺς γίγνεται τῶν βαρβάρων, πρὶν ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας

φθάσαι ἀπελθόντας. [3] τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα αὐτὸν τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου πρὸς τινι ἤδη γηλόφῳ ὄντα κατιδὼν καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἔστιν οὗς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ζὺν πολὺ ἐλάττοσιν αὐτὸς ὢν ὁμῶς ἐδίωκεν ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου· ὡς δὲ χαλεπὸς ὁ γήλοφος τῷ ἵππῳ ἀναδραμεῖν ἦν, τοῦτον μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλείπει παραδούς τινι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἄγειν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς εἶχε πεζὸς τῷ Ἰνδῷ εἵπετο. [4] ὁ δὲ ὡς πελάζοντα ἤδη κατεῖδε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, αὐτὸς τε μεταβάλλει ἐς τὸ ἔμπαλιν καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισται ζὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰνδὸς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διὰ τοῦ θώρακος παίει ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς τὸ στήθος ζυστῷ μακρῷ, καὶ ὁ θώραξ ἔσχε τὴν πληγὴν· Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τὸν μηρὸν διαμπὰξ βαλὼν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καταβάλλει τε καὶ σκυλεύει αὐτόν. [5] ὡς δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα σφῶν κείμενον οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν εἶδον, οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι ἔμενον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν αἰρόμενον τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ ὑπάρχου ἰδόντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἡλγησάν τε καὶ καταδραμόντες ξυνάπτουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ μάχην καρτερὰν πρὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ. ἤδη γὰρ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔχων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καταβεβηκότας πεζοὺς πρὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ ἦν. καὶ οὗτοι ἐπιγενόμενοι μόγις ἐξέωσαν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐς τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐκράτησαν. [6] ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὰ ὄρη Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς πόλιν κατῆλθεν, ἣ ὄνομα ἦν Ἀριγαῖον· καὶ ταύτην καταλαμβάνει ἐμπερησμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πεφευγότας. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πεπραγμένων σφίσι ξυμπάντων ὅσα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτέτακτο. [7] ταύτην μὲν δὴ τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ χωρίῳ ἐδόκει ὤκισθαι, ἐκτείχισαι τε προστάσσει Κρατερῷ καὶ ξυνοικίσαι ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς τε προσχώρους ὅσοι ἐθελονταὶ καὶ εἰ δὴ τινες ἀπόμαχοι τῆς στρατιᾶς. αὐτὸς δὲ προϋχῶρει ἵνα ξυμπεφευγῆναι ἐπυνθάνετο τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς τι ὄρος κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ὑπὸ ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τοῦ ὄρους. [8] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐκπεμφθεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς προνομὴν, προελθὼν δὲ προσωτέρῳ αὐτὸς ζὺν ὀλίγοις ὡς ἐς κατασκοπὴν, ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πυρὰ κατιδεῖν τῶν βαρβάρων πλείονα ἢ ἐν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατοπέδῳ. [9] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μὲν πλήθει τῶν πυρῶν ἠπίστησεν, εἶναι δὲ τι ξυνεσθηκὸς τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων αἰσθόμενος μέρος μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ καταλείπει πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ὡς εἶχον ἐστρατοπεδευμένους· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ὅσοι ἀποχρῶντες ἐς τὰ ἀπηγγελμένα ἐφαίνοντο, ὡς πλησίον ἤδη ἀφεώρων τὰ πυρὰ, τρίχα διανέμει τὴν στρατιάν. [10] καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐνὶ ἐπέταξε Λεοννάτον τὸν σωματοφύλακα, ξυντάζας αὐτῷ τὴν τε Ἀττάλου καὶ τὴν Βαλάκρου τάξιν· τὴν δευτέραν δὲ μοῖραν Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου ἄγειν ἔδωκε, τῶν τε ὑπασπιστῶν τῶν βασιλικῶν τὸ τρίτον μέρος καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου καὶ Φιλώτα τάξιν καὶ δύο χιλιαρχίας τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας· τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν αὐτὸς ἦγεν ἵνα οἱ πλείστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐφαίνοντο.

[1] οἱ δὲ ὡς ἦσθοντο προσάγοντας τοὺς Μακεδόνας, κατεῖχον γὰρ χωρία ὑπερδέξια, τῷ τε πλήθει σφῶν θαρσήσαντες καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὅτι ὀλίγοι ἐφαίνοντο, καταφρονήσαντες ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ὑποκατέβησαν· καὶ μάχῃ γίγνεται καρτερὰ. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οὐ ζὺν πόνῳ ἐνίκα Ἀλέξανδρος· [2] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ παρετάξαντο, ἀλλὰ γήλοφον γὰρ κατεῖχον οἱ βάρβαροι, ὀρθίους ποιήσαντες τοὺς λόχους, Πτολεμαῖος προσῆγεν ἥπερ

ἐπιμαχ[ιμ]ώτατον τοῦ λόφου ἐφαίνετο, οὐ πάντῃ τὸν λόφον κυκλωσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἀπολιπών, εἰ φεύγειν ἐθέλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι, χώραν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν φυγὴν. [3] καὶ γίνεταί καὶ τούτοις μάχῃ καρτερὰ τοῦ χωρίου τῇ χαλεπότητι καὶ ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀλλὰ πολὺ δὴ τι ἀλκιμώτατοι τῶν προσχώρων εἰσίν. ἐξώσθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων· καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεοννάτον τῇ τρίτῃ μοίρᾳ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡσαύτως ἔπραξαν· ἐνίκων γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς. [4] καὶ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ἀνθρώπους μὲν ληφθῆναι τοὺς πάντας ὑπὲρ τετρακισμυρίους, βοῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας· καὶ τούτων τὰς καλλίστας ἐπιλεξάμενον Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅτι διαφέρουσαι αὐτῷ κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει ἐφαίνοντο, πέμψαι ἐθέλειν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν χώραν. [5] ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν ἦγεν· τούτους γὰρ ἐξηγγέλλετο παρεσκευάσαι ὡς μαχουμένους, ἱππέας μὲν ἐς δισχιλίους ἔχοντας, πεζοὺς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τρισμυρίους, τριάκοντα δὲ ἐλέφαντας. κρατερὸς μὲν δὴ ἐκτετεικνῶς ἤδη τὴν πόλιν, ἐφ' ἧς τῷ οἰκισμῷ κατελέλειπτο, τοὺς τε βαρύτερον ὠπλισμένους τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦγεν καὶ τὰς μηχανάς, εἴ που πολιορκίας δεήσειεν. [6] αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς τε ἐταίρους ἱππέας ἄγων καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστάς καὶ τὴν Κοίνου καὶ Πολυπέρχοντος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας τοὺς χιλίους καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἦε ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσακηνούς· ἦγε δὲ διὰ τῆς Γουραίων χώρας. [7] καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπώνυμον τῆς χώρας τὸν Γουραῖον χαλεπῶς διέβη, διὰ βαθύτητά τε καὶ ὅτι ὀξὺς ὁ ροῦς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ λίθοι στρογγύλοι ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ὄντες σφαλεροὶ τοῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐγίνοντο. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς προσάγοντα ἦσθοντο Ἀλέξανδρον, ἄθροοι μὲν ἐς μάχην καταστῆναι οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν, διαλυθέντες δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις ταύτας ἐπενόουν ἀπομαχόμενοι διασώζειν. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ Μάσσαγα ἦγε, τὴν

[1] μεγίστην τῶν ταύτῃ πόλεων. ὡς δὲ προσῆγεν ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσι, θαρρήσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοῖς μισθοφόροις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πρόσω Ἰνδῶν, ἦσαν γὰρ οὗτοι ἐς ἐπτακισχιλίους, ὡς στρατοπεδευομένους εἶδον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦεσαν. [2] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἰδὼν πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐσομένην τὴν μάχην προσωτέρῳ ἐκκαλέσασθαι αὐτοὺς βουλευθεὶς τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς εἰ τροπὴ γίνοιτο, ἐγίνωσκεν γὰρ ἐσομένην, μὴ δὲ ὀλίγου ἐς τὴν πόλιν καταφυγόντες εὐμαρῶς διασώζοιντο, ὡς ἐκθέοντας εἶδε τοὺς βαρβάρους, μεταβαλλομένους κελεύει τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὀπίσω ἀποχωρεῖν ὡς πρὸς γήλοφόν τινα ἀπέχοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου, ἵνα περ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐγνώκει, ἐπτά που μάλιστα σταδίου. [3] καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἀναθαρσήσαντες, ὡς ἐγκεκλικότων ἤδη τῶν Μακεδόνων, δρόμῳ τε καὶ ξὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐφέροντο ἐς αὐτούς. ὡς δὲ ἐξικνεῖτο ἤδη τὰ τοξεύματα, ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ ξυνηθήματος ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτοὺς τὴν φάλαγγα δρόμῳ ἀντεπῆγε. [4] πρῶτοι δὲ οἱ ἱππακοντισταὶ τε αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Ἀγριᾶνες καὶ οἱ τοξόται ἐκδραμόντες ξυνέμιζαν τοῖς βαρβάροις· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐν τάξει ἦγεν. οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ τῷ τε παραλόγῳ ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ ἅμα ἐν χερσὶ γεγενημένης τῆς μάχης ἐγκλίναντες ἔφευγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακοσίους, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς τὰ τεῖχη κατεκλείσθησαν. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προσῆγε τῷ τείχει τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τοξεύεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους ἐς τὸ σφυρὸν οὐ

χαλεπῶς. [5] ἐπαγαγὼν δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν μὲν τειχῶν τι εὐμαρῶς κατέσεισε, βιαζομένους δὲ ταύτῃ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἢ παρέρρηκτο τοῦ τείχους οὐκ ἀτόλμως οἱ Ἴνδοι ἡμύνοντο, ὥστε ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνεκαλέσατο τὴν στρατιάν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν τε Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν ἢ προσβολὴ καρτερωτέρα ἐγίνετο καὶ πύργος ἐπήχθη ξύλινος τοῖς τείχεσιν, ὅθεν ἐκτοξεύοντες οἱ τοξῆται καὶ βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν ἀφιέμενα ἀνέστελλεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς Ἴνδους. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὥς βιάσασθαι εἴσω τοῦ τείχους οἶοι τε ἐγένοντο. [6] τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ προσαγαγὼν αὖθις τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς γέφυραν ἐπιβαλὼν τοῦ τείχους ἢ παρερρωγὸς ἦν, ταύτῃ ἐπήγε τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, οἵπερ αὐτῷ καὶ Τύρον ὡσαύτως ἐξεῖλον. πολλῶν δὲ ὑπὸ προθυμίας ὠθουμένων ἄχθος λαβοῦσα μεῖζον ἢ γέφυρα κατερράγη καὶ πίπτουσι ξὺν αὐτῇ οἱ Μακεδόνες. [7] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἰδόντες τὸ γινόμενον λίθοις τε ξὺν βοῇ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ ἄλλῳ ὅτῳ τις μετὰ χειρὸς ἔχων ἐτύγγανεν ἢ ὅτῳ τις ἐν τῷ τότε ἔλαβεν ἐξηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ θύρας, αἵτινες αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰ μεσοπύργια μικραὶ ἦσαν, ἐκθέοντες ἐκ χειρὸς ἔβαιον τετραγαγμένους.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ πέμπει Ἀλκétαν ξὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τάξει τοὺς τε κατατετρωμένους ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ὅσοι προσεμάχοντο ἐπανακαλέσασθαι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ τῇ τετάρτῃ ὡσαύτως ἀπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς ἄλλη ἐπιβάθρα αὐτῷ προσήγετο πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. [2] καὶ οἱ Ἴνδοί, ἕως μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ χωρίου περιῆν, ἀπεμάχοντο καρτερῶς· ὡς δὲ βέλει ἀπὸ μηχανῆς τυπεῖς ἀποθνήσκει ἐκεῖνος, αὐτῶν τε οἱ μὲν τινες πεπτωκότες ἐν τῇ ξυνεχεῖ πολιορκίᾳ, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τραυματίαι τε καὶ ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. [3] τῷ δὲ ἀσμένῳ γίνεται ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς διασῶσαι· καὶ ξυμβαίνει ἐπὶ τῷδε Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς μισθοφόροις Ἴνδοις ὡς καταταχθέντας ἐς τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐξῆλθον ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπὶ γηλόφῳ, ὃς ἦν ἀντίπορος τοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων στρατοπέδου. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπενόουν δρασμῷ διαχρησάμενοι ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἦθι ἀπαναστῆναι οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐναντία αἶρεσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἴνδοις ὅπλα. [4] καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, περιστήσας τῆς νυκτὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ τὴν στρατιάν πᾶσαν κατακόπτει τοὺς Ἴνδους ἐν μέσῳ ἀπολαβών, τὴν τε πόλιν αἰρεῖ κατὰ κράτος ἐρημωθείσαν τῶν προμαχομένων, καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἀσσακάνου καὶ τὴν παῖδα ἔλαβεν. ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν. [5] ἔνθεν δὲ Κοῖνον μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Βάζιρα ἐκπέμπει, γνώμην ποιησάμενος ὅτι μαθόντες τῶν Μασσακανῶν τὴν ἄλωσιν ἐνδῶσουσι σφᾶς αὐτούς. Ἄτταλον δὲ καὶ Ἀλκétαν καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν ἱππάρχην ἐπὶ Ὠρα στέλλει, ἄλλην πόλιν, παραγγείλας περιτειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν ἔστ' ἂν ἀφίκηται αὐτός. [6] καὶ γίνεται ἐκδρομὴ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀλκétαν. οὐ χαλεπῶς δὲ τρεψάμενοι αὐτοὺς οἱ Μακεδόνες εἴσω τοῦ τείχους ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀποστρέφουσι. καὶ Κοῖνῳ οὐ προχωρεῖ τὰ ἐν τοῖς Βαζίροις, ἀλλὰ πιστεύοντες γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου τῇ ὀχυρότητι, ὅτι ὑπερύψηλόν τε ἦν καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς τετειχισμένον, οὐδὲν ξυμβατικὸν ἐνεδίδοσαν. [7] ταῦτα μαθὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὥρμητο μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Βάζιρα, γνοὺς δὲ ὅτι τῶν προσοίκων τινὲς βαρβάρων παριέναι ἐς τὰ Ὠρα τὴν πόλιν λαθόντες μέλλουσι, πρὸς Ἀβισάρου ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐσταλμένοι, ἐπὶ τὰ Ὠρα πρῶτον ἦγε· Κοῖνον δὲ

ἐπιτείχισαι τῇ πόλει τῶν Βαζιρέων καρτερόν τι χωρίον προσέταξε, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ φυλακὴν καταλιπόντα ἀποχρῶσαν, ὥς μὴ ἄδεια εἴη τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι τῇ χώρᾳ, αὐτὸν ἄγοντα τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν λοιπὴν παρ' αὐτὸν ἰέναι. [8] οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Βαζιρέων ὡς εἶδον ἀπιόντα ξὺν τῷ πλείστῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸν Κοῖνον, καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὥς οὐ γενομένων ἂν σφισιν ἀξιωμαχῶν, ἐπεκθέουσιν ἐς τὸ πεδίον· καὶ γίνεται αὐτῶν μάχη καρτερά. καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ πίπτουσι μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς πεντακοσίους, ζῶντες δὲ ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ξυμφυγόντες βεβαιοτέρων ἤδη εἵργοντο τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιτείχισματος. [9] καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τῶν ὤρων ἡ πολιορκία οὐ χαλεπὴ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐξ ἐφόδου προσβαλὼν τοῖς τείχεσι τῆς πόλεως ἐκράτησε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἔλαβε. καὶ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τοῖς Βαζίροις ὡς ἔμαθον, ἀπογνόντες

[1] τὰ σφέτερα πράγματα ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας τὴν πόλιν ἐκλείπουσιν, ἔφυγον δὲ ἐς τὴν πέτραν. ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι ἔπραττον· ἀπολιπόντες τὰς πόλεις ξύμπαντες ἔφευγον ἐς τὴν πέτραν τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τὴν Ἄορνον καλουμένην. μέγα γάρ τι τοῦτο χρῆμα πέτρας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐστὶ, καὶ λόγος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κατέχει οὐδὲ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Διὸς ἀλωτὸν γενέσθαι τὴν πέτραν. [2] εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀφίκετο ὁ Ἡρακλεῖς ὁ Θηβαῖος ἢ ὁ Τύριος ἢ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐς οὐδέτερα ἔχω ἰσχυρίσασθαι· μᾶλλον δὲ δοκῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίκετο, ἀλλὰ πάντα γὰρ ὅσα χαλεπὰ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐς τοσόνδε ἄρα αὔξουσιν αὐτῶν τὴν χαλεπότητα, ὥς καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἂν ἄπορα γενέσθαι μυθεύειν. κἀγὼ ὑπὲρ τῆς πέτρας ταύτης οὕτω γινώσκω, τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐς κόμπον τοῦ λόγου ἐπιφημίζεσθαι. [3] τὸν μὲν δὴ κύκλον τῆς πέτρας λέγουσιν ἐς διακοσίους σταδίους μάλιστα εἶναι, ὕψος δὲ αὐτῆς, ἵνα περ χθαμαλώτατον, σταδίων ἑνδεκα, καὶ ἀνάβασιν χειροποίητον μίαν χαλεπὴν· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν ἄκρᾳ τῇ πέτρᾳ πολὺ καὶ καθαρὸν, πηγὴν ἀνίσχουσιν, ὥς καὶ ἀπορρεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ὕδωρ, καὶ ὕλην καὶ γῆν ἀγαθὴν ἐργάσιμον ὅσῃν καὶ χιλίοις ἀνθρώποις ἀποχρῶσαν ἂν εἶναι ἐργάζεσθαι. [4] καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούοντα Ἀλέξανδρον πόθος λαμβάνει ἐξελεῖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος, οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μύθῳ πεφημισμένῳ. τὰ μὲν δὴ ὧρα καὶ τὰ Μάσσαγα φρούρια ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ, τὰ Βάζιρα δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐξετείχισε. [5] καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἡφαιστιῶνά τε καὶ Περδίκκαν αὐτῷ ἄλλην πόλιν ἐκτειχίσαντες, Ὀροβάτις ὄνομα τῇ πόλει ἦν, καὶ φρουρὰν καταλιπόντες ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἦσαν· ὥς δὲ ἀφίκοντο, ἔπρασσον ἤδη ὅσα ἐς τὸ ζεῦξαι τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐτέτακτο. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς μὲν χώρας τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ σατράπην κατέστησε Νικάνορα τῶν ἐταίρων. αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἦγε, καὶ πόλιν τε Πευκελαῶτιν οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ὥκισμένην ὁμολογία παρεστήσατο καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ φρουρὰν καταστήσας τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ Φίλιππον ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ ἡγεμόνα, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα προσηγάγετο μικρὰ πολίσματα πρὸς τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ ὥκισμένα. ξυνείποντο δὲ αὐτῷ Κωφαῖός τε καὶ Ἀσσαγέτης οἱ ὑπαρχοὶ τῆς χώρας. [7] ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐμβόλιμα πόλιν, ἢ ξύνεγγυς τῆς πέτρας τῆς Ἀόρνου ὥκεῖτο, Κρατερόν μὲν ξὺν μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς καταλείπει αὐτοῦ, σῖτόν τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὥς πλείστον ξυνάγειν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς χρόνιον τριβὴν, ὥς ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμωμένους τοὺς Μακεδόνας

χρονίῳ πολιορκίᾳ ἐκτρυχῶσαι τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν πέτραν, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ἐφόδου ληφθεῖν. [8] αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τοξότας τε ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν Κοίνου τάξιν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης φάλαγγος ἐπιλέξας τοὺς κουφοτάτους τε καὶ ἅμα εὐοπλοτάτους καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἱππέων ἐς διακοσίους καὶ ἱπποτοξότας ἐς ἑκατὸν προσῆγε τῇ πέτρᾳ. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἵνα ἐπιτήδειον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὀλίγον προελθὼν ὡς πρὸς τὴν πέτραν αὐθις ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἦκον παρ' αὐτὸν τῶν προσχώρων

[1] τινές, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ἐνδιδόντες καὶ ἡγήσεσθαι φάσκοντες ἐς τῆς πέτρας τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον, ὅθεν οὐ χαλεπὸν αὐτῷ ἔσεσθαι ἐλεῖν τὸ χωρίον. καὶ ζὺν τούτοις πέμπει Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου τὸν σωματοφύλακα τοὺς τε Ἀγριᾶνας ἄγοντα καὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐπιλέκτους, προστάζας, ἐπειδὴν καταλάβῃ τὸ χωρίον, κατέχειν μὲν αὐτὸ ἰσχυρᾷ φυλακῇ, οἳ δὲ σημαίνειν ὅτι ἔχεται. [2] καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἐλθὼν ὁδὸν τραχεῖάν τε καὶ δύσπορον λανθάνει τοὺς βαρβάρους κατασχὼν τὸν τόπον: καὶ τοῦτον χάρακι ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ τάφρῳ ὀχυρώσας πυρσὸν αἶρει ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἔνθεν ὀφθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔμελλεν. καὶ ὥφθη τε ἅμα ἡ φλόξ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπῆγε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν στρατιάν: ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν πλέον αὐτῷ ὑπὸ δυσχωρίας ἐγίνετο. [3] ὡς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄπορον τὴν προσβολὴν κατέμαθον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀναστρέψαντες τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον αὐτοὶ προσέβαλλον: καὶ γίνεται αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων μάχη καρτερὰ, τῶν μὲν διασπάσαι τὸν χάρακα σπουδῇν ποιουμένων, τῶν Ἰνδῶν, Πτολεμαίου δὲ διαφυλάξαι τὸ χωρίον: καὶ μείον σχόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐν τῷ ἀκροβολισμῷ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπεχώρησαν. [4] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τινα τῶν αὐτομόλων πιστὸν τε ἄλλως καὶ τῶν χωρίων δαήμονα ἐπιλεξάμενος πέμπει παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον τῆς νυκτὸς, γράμματα φέροντα τὸν Ἰνδόν, ἵνα ἐνεγέγραπτο, ἐπειδὴν αὐτὸς προσβάλλῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ, τὸν δὲ ἐπιέναι τοῖς βαρβάροις κατὰ τὸ ὄρος μηδὲ ἀγαπᾶν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντα τὸ χωρίον, ὡς ἀμφοτέρωθεν βαλλομένους τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἀμφιβόλους γίνεσθαι. [5] καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἄρας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσῆγε τὴν στρατιάν κατὰ τὴν πρόσβασιν, ἣ Πτολεμαῖος λαθὼν ἀνέβη, γνώμην ποιούμενος, ὡς, εἰ ταύτῃ βιασάμενος ξυμίζει τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἔτι ἐσόμενον αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον. καὶ ξυνέβη οὕτως. [6] ἔστε μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ξυνειστήκει καρτερὰ μάχη τοῖς τε Ἰνδοῖς καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν, τῶν μὲν ἐκβιαζομένων ἐς τὴν πρόσβασιν, τῶν δὲ βαλλόντων ἀνιόντας: ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀνίσταν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπιόντες, οἳ δὲ πρόσθεν ἀναπαυόμενοι, μόγις δὴ ἀμφὶ δεῖλιν ἐκράτησαν τῆς παρόδου καὶ ξυνέμιξαν τοῖς ζὺν Πτολεμαίῳ. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη γενομένη ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐπήγετο αὐθις ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν πέτραν: ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτι ἄπορος ἦν αὐτῇ ἡ προσβολή, ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος γίνεται. [7] ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑω παραγγέλλει στρατιώτῃ ἐκάστῳ κόπτειν χάρακα ἐκατὸν κατ' ἄνδρα. καὶ οὗτοι κεκομμένοι ἦσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐχώννυν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ λόφου, ἵνα ἐστρατοπεδευκότες ἦσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν χῶμα μέγα, ἔνθεν τοξεύματά τε ἂν ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους [δυνατὰ] αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βέλῃ

ἀφιέμενα: καὶ ἐχώννουν αὐτῷ πᾶς τις ἀντιλαμβάνομενος τοῦ ἔργου: καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφειστήκει θεατῆς καὶ ἐπαινέτης τοῦ ξὺν προθυμίας περαινομένου, κολαστῆς δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα ἐκλιπούς.

[1] τῇ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἡμέρᾳ ὡς ἐπὶ στάδιον ἔχωσεν αὐτῷ ὁ στρατός. ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν οἱ τε σφενδονῆται σφενδονῶντες ἐς τοὺς Ἴνδους ἐκ τοῦ ἥδη κεχωσμένου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μηχανῶν βέλη ἀφιέμενα ἀνέστελλε τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς χωννύοντας. καὶ ἐχώννυτο αὐτῷ ἐς τρεῖς ἡμέρας ξυνεχῶς τὸ χωρίον. τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ βιασάμενοι τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐ πολλοὶ κατέσχον ὀλίγον γήλοφον ισόπεδον τῇ πέτρᾳ. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδέν τι ἐλινύων ἐπῆγε τὸ χῶμα ξυνάψαι ἐθέλων τὸ χωννύμενον τῷ γηλόφῳ, ὅντινα οἱ ὀλίγοι αὐτῷ ἥδη κατεῖχον. [2] οἱ δὲ Ἴνδοι πρὸς τε τὴν ἀδιήγητον τόλμαν τῶν ἐς τὸν γήλοφον βιασαμένων Μακεδόνων ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ τὸ χῶμα ξυνάπτον ἥδη ὀρῶντες, τοῦ μὲν ἀπομάχεσθαι ἔτι ἀπείχοντο, πέμψαντες δὲ κήρυκας σφῶν παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐθέλειν ἔφασκον ἐνδοῦναι τὴν πέτραν, εἰ σφισι σπένδοιτο. γνώμην δὲ ἐπεποίηντο ἐν τῷ ἔτι διαμέλλοντι τῶν σπονδῶν διαγαγόντες τὴν ἡμέραν νυκτὸς ὡς ἕκαστοι διασκεδάννυσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἤθη. [3] καὶ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπύθετο Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐνδίδωσιν αὐτοῖς χρόνον τε ἐς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τὴν κύκλωσιν τὴν πάντῃ ἀφελεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμενεν ἔστε ἥρξαντο τῆς ἀποχωρήσεως: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐς ἑπτακοσίους κατὰ τὸ ἐκλείμμενον τῆς πέτρας ἀνέρχεται ἐς αὐτὴν πρῶτος, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἀνιμῶντες ἀλλήλους ἀνῆσαν. [4] καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποχωροῦντας τῶν βαρβάρων τραπόμενοι ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πεφοβημένως ἀποχωροῦντες κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ρίψαντες σφᾶς ἀπέθανον. εἵχετό τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡ πέτρα ἡ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἄπορος γενομένη καὶ ἔθυεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ κατεσκεύασε φρούριον, παραδοὺς Σισικότῳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς φρουρᾶς, ὃς ἐξ Ἰνδῶν μὲν πάλαι ἠτύτομολῆκει ἐς Βάκτρα παρὰ Βῆσσον, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κατασχόντος τὴν χώραν τὴν Βακτρίαν ξυνεστράτευε τε αὐτῷ καὶ πιστὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο. [5] ἄρας δ' ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ἐς τὴν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν ἐμβάλλει. τὸν γὰρ ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἀσσακάνου ἐξηγγέλλετο τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ξυμπεφευγῆναι ἐς τὰ ταύτῃ ὄρη. καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Δύρτα πόλιν τῶν μὲν ἐνοικούντων οὐδένα καταλαμβάνει οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῇ πόλει: ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν Νεάρχον τε καὶ Ἀντίοχον τοὺς χιλιάρχους τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐκπέμπει: [6] καὶ Νεάρχῳ μὲν τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἄγειν ἔδωκεν, Ἀντιόχῳ δὲ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ χιλιarchίαν καὶ δύο ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἄλλας. ἐστέλλοντο δὲ τὰ τε χωρία κατοψόμενοι καὶ εἰ πού τινας τῶν βαρβάρων ξυλλαβεῖν ἐς ἔλεγχον τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἔμελεν αὐτῷ μαθεῖν. [7] αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἥδη ἦγε, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ὁδοποιεῖ τὸ πρόσω ἰοῦσα ἄπορα ἄλλως ὄντα τὰ ταύτῃ χωρία. ἐνταῦθα ξυλλαμβάνει ὀλίγους τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ παρὰ τούτων ἔμαθεν, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰνδοὶ παρὰ Ἀβισάρῃ ἀποπεφευγότες εἶεν, τοὺς δὲ ἐλέφαντας ὅτι αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον νέμεσθαι πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ἰνδῷ: καὶ τούτους ἠγήσασθαι οἱ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας. [8] εἰσὶ δὲ

Ἰνδῶν πολλοὶ κυνηγέται τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ τούτους σπουδῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ τότε ἐθήρα ξὺν τούτοις τοὺς ἐλέφαντας· καὶ δύο μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυνται κατὰ κρημνοῦ σφᾶς ρίψαντες ἐν τῇ διώξει, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξυλληφθέντες ἔφερόν τε τοὺς ἀμβάτας καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ ξυνετάσσοντο. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὕλη ἐργασίμῳ ἐνέτυχε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ αὕτη ἐκόπη αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ναῦς ἐποιήθησαν. καὶ αὗται κατὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἦγοντο ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, ἣντινα Ἡφαιστίων καὶ Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ἐξωκοδομηκότες πάλαι ἦσαν.

BOOK V.

[1] ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ, ἦντινα μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Κωφῆνος καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπῆλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ Νῦσαν πόλιν ὤκισθαι λέγουσι: τὸ δὲ κτίσμα εἶναι Διονύσου: Διόνυσον δὲ κτίσαι τὴν Νῦσαν ἐπεὶ ὁπότε ἡ ὄθεν ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς ἐστράτευσεν: [2] οὐ γὰρ ἔχωτε Ἰνδοὺς ἐχειρώσατο, ὅστις δὴ οὗτος ὁ Διόνυσος καὶ συμβαλεῖν εἰ ὁ Θηβαῖος Διόνυσος [ὅς] ἐκ Θηβῶν ἢ ἐκ Τμώλου τοῦ Λυδίου ὀρμηθεὶς ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς ἦκε στρατιάν ἄγων, τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔθνη μάχима καὶ ἄγνωστα τοῖς τότε Ἑλλήσιν ἐπελθόν, οὐδὲν δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τὸ Ἰνδῶν βία χειρωσάμενος: πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἀκριβῆ ἐξεταστὴν χρὴ εἶναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ παλαιοῦ μεμυθευμένων. τὰ γάρ τοι κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ξυντιθέντι οὐ πιστά, ἐπειδὴ τὸ θεῖον τις προσθῇ τῷ λόγῳ, οὐ πάντῃ ἄπιστα φαίνεται. [3] ὥς δὲ ἐπέβη τῇ Νύσῃ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐκπέμπουσι παρ' αὐτὸν οἱ Νυσαῖοι τὸν κρατιστεύοντα σφῶν, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ Ἄκουφισ, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις τῶν δοκιμωτάτων τριάκοντα, δεησομένους Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεῖναι τῷ θεῷ τὴν πόλιν. [4] παρελθεῖν τε δὴ ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς πρέσβεις καὶ καταλαβεῖν καθήμενον κεκοιμένον ἔτι ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τὸ κράνος [αὐτῷ] περικείμενον καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχοντα: θαμβῆσαι τε ἰδόντας τὴν ὄψιν καὶ πεσόντας ἐς γῆν ἐπὶ πολὺ σιγὴν ἔχειν. ὥς δὲ ἐξάνεστησέ τε αὐτοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσε, τότε δὴ τὸν Ἄκουφιν ἀρξάμενον λέγειν ὧδε. [5] ὦ βασιλεῦ, δέονται σου Νυσαῖοι ἐᾶσαι σφᾶς ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ αὐτονόμους αἰδοῖ τοῦ Διονύσου. Διόνυσος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ χειρωσάμενος τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὀπίσω κατήει τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν, ἐκ τῶν ἀπομάχων στρατιωτῶν, οἱ δὴ αὐτῷ καὶ βάκχοι ἦσαν, κτίζει τὴν πόλιν τήνδε μνημόσυνον τῆς αὐτοῦ πλάνης τε καὶ νίκης τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐσόμενον, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τε ἔκτισας τὴν πρὸς Καυκάσῳ ὄρει καὶ ἄλλην Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐν τῇ Αἰγυπτίῳ γῇ, καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς τὰς μὲν ἔκτικας ἤδη, τὰς δὲ καὶ κτίσεις ἀνὰ χρόνον, οἷα δὴ πλείονα Διονύσου ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενος. [6] Νῦσάν τε οὖν ἐκάλεσε τὴν πόλιν Διόνυσος ἐπὶ τῆς τροφοῦ τῆς Νύσης καὶ τὴν χώραν Νυσαίαν: τὸ δὲ ὄρος ὃ τι περ πλησίον ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦτο Μηρὸν ἐπωνόμασε Διόνυσος, ὅτι δὴ κατὰ τὸν μῦθον ἐν μηρῷ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἠϋξήθη. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐλευθέραν τε οἰκοῦμεν τὴν Νῦσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτόνομοι καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ πολιτευόντες: τῆς δὲ ἐκ Διονύσου οἰκίσεως καὶ τότε σοι γενέσθω τεκμήριον: κιττὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλη τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς φυόμενος παρ' ἡμῖν φύεται. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἐγγίγνεται

[1] ἀκούειν καὶ ἤθελε πιστὰ εἶναι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διονύσου τῆς πλάνης μυθεύμενα: καὶ κτίσμα εἶναι Διονύσου τὴν Νῦσαν ἤθελεν, ὥς ἦδη τε ἤκειν αὐτὸς ἔνθα ἦλθε Διόνυσος καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἂν ἐλθεῖν Διονύσου: οὐδ' ἂν Μακεδόνας τὸ πρόσω ἀπαξιῶσαι συμπονεῖν οἱ ἔτι κατὰ ζῆλον τῶν Διονύσου ἔργων. [2] καὶ δίδωσιν ἐλευθέρους τε εἶναι τοὺς οἰκήτορας τῆς Νύσης καὶ αὐτονόμους. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐπύθετο αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τῶν ἀρίστων τὸ πολίτευμα ἔχεται, ταυτὰ τε ἐπήνεσε καὶ ἡξίωσε τῶν τε ἱππέων οἱ

ξυμπέμψαι ἐς τριακοσίους καὶ τῶν προεστώτων τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τριακόσιοι, ἑκατὸν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλεξαμένους: Ἄκουφιν δὲ εἶναι τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον, ὄντινα καὶ ὑπαρχον τῆς χώρας τῆς Νυσαίας κατέστησεν αὐτός. [3] τὸν δὲ Ἄκουφιν ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα ἐπιμειδῖασαι λέγεται τῷ λόγῳ: καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐρέσθαι ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐγέλασεν: ὑποκρίνασθαι δ' Ἄκουφιν: καὶ πῶς ἂν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μία πόλις ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐρημωθείσα ἔτι καλῶς πολιτεύοιτο; ἀλλὰ σὺ, εἴ σοι μέλει Νυσαίων, τοὺς ἱππέας μὲν ἄγεσθαι τοὺς τριακοσίους καὶ εἰ βούλει ἔτι τούτων πλείονας, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἑκατόν, οὕστινας τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλέξαι σὺ κελεύεις, διπλασίους τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κακῶν ἄγεσθαι, ἵνα σοι καὶ αὐθις ἀφικομένῳ δεῦρο ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ κόσμῳ φανείῃ ἢ πόλις. [4] ταῦτα λέγοντα, λέγειν γὰρ δόξαι φρόνιμα, πείσαι Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ξυμπέμπειν οἱ ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ ἑκατὸν τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους μηκέτι αἰτῆσαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἄλλους: τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἄρα τοῦ Ἀκούφιος καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸν παῖδα ξυμπέμψαι αὐτῷ Ἄκουφιν. [5] Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ πόθος ἔλαβεν ἰδεῖν τὸν χῶρον, ὅπου τινα ὑπομνήματα τοῦ Διονύσου οἱ Νυσαῖοι ἐκόμπαζον. ἐλθεῖν τε ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὸν Μηρὸν ζῦν τοῖς ἐταίροις τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τῷ περικῷ ἀγῆματι καὶ ἰδεῖν κισσοῦ τε ἀνάπλεων καὶ δάφνης τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἄλση παντοῖα: καὶ ἰδεῖν σύσκιον, καὶ θήρας ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι θηρίων παντοδαπῶν. [6] καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἡδέως τὸν κισσὸν ἰδόντας, οἷα δὴ διὰ μακροῦ ὀφθέντα 'οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν χώρα κισσόν, οὐδὲ ἵναπερ αὐτοῖς ἄμπελοι ἦσαν' στεφάνους σπουδῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι, ὥς καὶ στεφανώσασθαι εἶχον, ἐφυστοῦντας τὸν Διόνυσόν τε καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλοῦντας. θῦσαι τε αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ εὐωχηθῆναι ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἐταίροις. [7] οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, εἰ δὴ τῷ πιστὰ καὶ ταῦτα, πολλοὺς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῶν οὐκ ἡμελημένων Μακεδόνων τῷ τε κισσῷ στεφανωσαμένους καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ κατακλήσει τοῦ θεοῦ κατασχεθῆναι τε πρὸς τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἀνευᾶσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ βακχεῦσαι.

[1] καὶ ταῦτα ὅπως τις ἐθέλει ὑπολαβὼν ἀπιστεῖτω ἢ πιστευέτω. οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε Ἑρατοσθένει τῷ Κυρηναίῳ πάντῃ ξυμφέρομαι, ὃς λέγει πάντα ὅσα ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀναφέρεται ἐκ Μακεδόνων πρὸς χάριν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς τὸ ὑπέρογκον ἐπιφημισθῆναι. [2] καὶ γὰρ καὶ σπῆλαιον λέγει ἰδόντας ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τινα μῦθον ἐπιχώριον ἀκούσαντας ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς ξυνθέντας φημίσαι, ὅτι τοῦτο ἄρα ἦν τοῦ Προμηθέως τὸ ἄντρον ἵνα ἐδέδετο, καὶ ὁ ἀετὸς ὅτι ἐκεῖσε ἐφοῖτα δαισόμενος τῶν σπλάγχχνων τοῦ Προμηθέως, καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὅτι ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος τὸν τε ἀετὸν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν Προμηθέα τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπέλυσε. [3] τὸν δὲ Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἔω μέρη τῆς γῆς καὶ τὴν Παραπαμισαδῶν χώραν ὥς ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς μετάγειν τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς Μακεδόνας, Παραπάμισον ὄντα τὸ ὄρος αὐτοὺς καλοῦντας Καύκασον τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκα δόξης, ὥς ὑπὲρ τὸν Καύκασον ἄρα ἐλθόντα Ἀλέξανδρον. [4] ἐν τε αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ βοῦς ἰδόντας ἐγκεκαυμένας ρόπαλον τεκμηριοῦσθαι ἐπὶ τῷδε, ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀφίκετο. ὅμοια δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ Διονύσου τῆς πλάνης ἀπιστεῖ Ἑρατοσθένης: ἐμοὶ δ' ἐν μέσῳ κείσθων οἱ ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγοι. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὥς ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, καταλαμβάνει γέφυράν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιημένην πρὸς

Ἡφαιστίωνος καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ μὲν σμικρότερα, δύο δὲ τριακοντόρους, καὶ παρὰ Ταξίλου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δῶρα ἦκοντα ἀργυρίου μὲν τάλαντα ἐς διακόσια, ἱερεῖα δὲ βοῦς μὲν τρισχιλίας, πρόβατα δὲ ὑπὲρ μύρια, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἐς τριάκοντα: [6] καὶ ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑπτακόσιοι αὐτῷ Ἰνδῶν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν παρὰ Ταξίλου ἦκον: καὶ τὴν πόλιν Τάξιλα, τὴν μεγίστην μεταξὺ Ἰνδοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑδάσπου, ὅτι αὐτῷ Ταξίλης ἐνδίδωσιν. ἐνταῦθα θύει Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς θεοῖς ὅσοις αὐτῷ νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ: καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τὰ ἱερά.

[1] ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς ὅτι μέγιστος ποταμῶν ἐστὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, πλὴν Γάγγου, καὶ τούτου Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ὅτι αἱ πηγαὶ εἰσιν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Παραπαμίσου ἢ Καυκάσου, καὶ ὅτι ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ Ἰνδοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ νότον ἄνεμον, καὶ ὅτι δίστομός ἐστιν ὁ Ἰνδὸς καὶ αἱ ἐκβολαὶ αὐτοῦ ἀμφοτέραι τεναγώδεις, καθάπερ αἱ πέντε τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, καὶ ὅτι Δέλτα ποιεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ Δέλτα παραπλήσιον καὶ τοῦτο Πάταλα καλεῖται τῇ Ἰνδῶν φωνῇ, ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰ μάλιστα οὐκ ἀμφίλογα καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀναγεγράθω. [2] ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Ὑδάσπης καὶ Ἀκεσίνης καὶ Ὑδραώτης καὶ Ὑφασις, καὶ οὗτοι Ἰνδοὶ ποταμοὶ ὄντες, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ποταμῶν πολὺ τι κατὰ μέγεθος ὑπερφέρουσι, τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δὲ μειονέες εἰσιν καὶ πολὺ δὴ μειονες, ὅπου καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰνδὸς τοῦ Γάγγου. Κτησίας μὲν δὴ, εἰ δὴ τῷ ἱκανὸς καὶ Κτησίας ἐς τεκμηρίωσιν, ἵνα μὲν στενότατος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἐστὶ, τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους λέγει ὅτι διέχουσιν αὐτῷ αἱ ὄχθαι, ἵνα δὲ πλατύτατος, καὶ ἑκατόν: τὸ πολὺ δὲ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸ μέσον τούτοις. [3] τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω διέβαινε ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὴν γῆν: ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ οὔτε οἰστισὶ νόμοις διαχρῶνται ἐν τῇδε τῇ συγγραφῇ ἀνέγραψα, οὔτε ζῶα εἰ δὴ τινα ἄτοπα ἢ χώρα αὐτοῖς ἐκφέρει, οὔτε ἰχθύας ἢ κήτη ὅσα ἢ οἷα ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἢ ὁ Ὑδάσπης ἢ ὁ Γάγγης ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἰνδῶν ποταμοὶ φέρουσιν, οὐδὲ τοὺς μύρμηκας τοὺς τὸν χρυσὸν σφισιν ἐργαζομένους, οὐδὲ τοὺς γρυῖπας τοὺς φύλακας, οὐδὲ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐφ' ἡδονῇ μᾶλλον τι πεποιήται ἢ ἐς ἀφήγησιν τῶν ὄντων, ὡς τά γε κατ' Ἰνδοὺς ὅσα ἂν ἄτοπα ψεύδωνται, οὐκ ἐξελεγχθησόμενα πρὸς οὐδαμῶν. [4] ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ καὶ οἱ ξὺν τούτῳ στρατεύσαντες τὰ πολλὰ ἐξήλεγξαν, ὅσα γε μὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν οἱ ἐψεύσαντο: ἀχρύσους τε εἶναι Ἰνδοὺς ἐξήλεγξαν, ὅσους γε δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπῆλθε, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐπῆλθε, καὶ ἥκιστα χλιδῶντας κατὰ τὴν δαίαιαν, ἀλλὰ μεγάλους μὲν τὰ σώματα, οἷους μεγίστους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, πενταπῆχεις τοὺς πολλοὺς ἢ ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντας, καὶ μελαντέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, πλὴν Αἰθιόπων, καὶ τὰ πολέμια πολὺ τι γενναιοτάτους τῶν γε δὴ τότε ἐποίκων τῆς Ἀσίας. [5] τὸ γὰρ Περσῶν τῶν πάλοι, ξὺν οἷς ὀρμηθεὶς Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσου Μήδους τε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀφείλετο καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη τὰ μὲν κατεστρέψατο, τὰ δὲ προσχωρήσαντά οἱ ἐκόντα κατέσχευεν, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς ὥς γε δὴ πρὸς τὰ Ἰνδῶν ξυμβαλεῖν. καὶ γὰρ καὶ Πέρσαι τότε πένητές τε ἦσαν καὶ χώρας τραχείας οἰκήτορες, καὶ νόμιμά σφισιν ἦν οἷα ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τῇ Λακωνικῇ παιδεύσει. τὸ δὲ τραῦμα τὸ γενόμενον Πέρσαις ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ γῇ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς ξυμβαλεῖν πότερα δυσχωρίαις ξυνενεχθεῖσιν ἢ τινι ἄλλῃ Κύρου

ἀμαρτία ξυνέβη ἢ Σκυθῶν γε τῶν ταύτη κακίους τὰ πολέμια Πέρσαι ἦσαν.

[1] ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν ἰδίᾳ μοι γεγράφεται ὅσα πιστότατα ἐς ἀφήγησιν οἱ τε ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες καὶ ὁ ἐκπεριπλεύσας τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης τὸ κατ' Ἰνδοὺς Νέαρχος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὅσα Μεγασθένης τε καὶ Ἑρατοσθένης, δοκίμῳ ἄνδρῃ, ξυνεγραψάτην, καὶ νόμιμα ἅττα Ἰνδοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα ἄτοπα ζῶα αὐτόθι φύεται καὶ τὸν παράπλουν αὐτὸν τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης. [2] νῦν δὲ ὅσον ἐς τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα ἀποχρῶν ἐφαίνετο, τοσόνδε μοι ἀναγεγράφθω: τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος ἀπείργειν τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀρχόμενον μὲν ἀπὸ Μυκάλης τοῦ καταντικρὺ Σάμου τῆς νήσου ὁρους, ἀποτεμνόμενον δὲ τὴν τε Παμφύλων καὶ Κιλικῶν γῆν ἐνθεν μὲν ὡς ἐς Ἀρμενίαν παρήκειν, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρμενίων ὡς ἐπὶ Μηδίαν παρὰ Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Χορασμίους, κατὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ξυμβάλλειν τῷ Παραπαμίσῳ ὄρει, [3] ὃ δὴ Καύκασον ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυστρατεύσαντες Μακεδόνες, ὡς μὲν λέγεται τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐξοντες, ὅτι δὴ καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἄρα τοῦ Καυκάσου κρατῶν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος: τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ξυνεχὲς τυγχάνει ὃν τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος τῷ ἄλλῳ τῷ Σκυθικῷ Καυκάσῳ, καθάπερ οὖν αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὁ Ταῦρος: καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ πρότερόν ποτε ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐλέγκται Καύκασος τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο καὶ ὕστερον τῷδε τῷ ὀνόματι κληθήσεται: [4] τὸν δὲ Καύκασον τοῦτον καθήκειν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν πρὸς ἔω τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς θάλασσαν. τοὺς οὖν ποταμούς, ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν λόγου ἄξιοι, ἐκ τοῦ Ταύρου τε καὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου ἀνίσχοντας τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἐπ' ἄρκτον τετραμμένον ἔχειν τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐκδιδόναι τὴν Μαιῶτιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν καλουμένην θάλασσαν, καὶ ταύτην κόλπον οὔσαν τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης, [5] τοὺς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ νότον ἄνεμον τὸν Εὐφράτην τε εἶναι καὶ τὸν Τίγρητα καὶ τὸν Ἰνδόν τε καὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην καὶ Ἀκεσίνην καὶ Ὑδραώτην καὶ Ὑφασιν καὶ ὅσοι ἐν μέσῳ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου ποταμοῦ ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ οὗτοι ἐσβάλλουσιν ἢ εἰς τενάγη ἀναχεόμενοι ἀφανίζονται, καθάπερ ὁ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς ἀφανίζεται.

[1] ὅτῳ δὴ τὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ὧδε ἔχει ὡς πρὸς τοῦ Ταύρου τε καὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τέμνεσθαι ἀπὸ ἀνέμου ζεφύρου ὡς ἐπὶ ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον τὴν Ἀσίαν, τούτῳ δύο μὲν αὗται μέγισται πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ταύρου τῆς Ἀσίας μοῖραι γίνονται, ἡ μὲν ἐς μεσημβρίαν τε καὶ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον [τοῦ Ταύρου] κεκλιμένη, ἡ δὲ ἐπ' ἄρκτον τε καὶ ἄνεμον βορρᾶν. [2] τῆς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ νότον Ἀσίας τετραχῇ αὖ τεμνομένης μεγίστην μὲν μοῖραν τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν ποιεῖ Ἑρατοσθένης τε καὶ Μεγασθένης, ὃς ξυνῆν μὲν Σιβυρτίῳ τῷ σατράπῃ τῆς Ἀραχωσίας, πολλάκις δὲ λέγει ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ Σανδράκοττον τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα, ἐλαχίστην δὲ ὅσῃν ὁ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς ἀπείργει ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐντὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν. δύο δὲ αἱ μεταξὺ Εὐφράτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἀπειργόμεναι αἱ δύο ξυντεθεῖσαι μόλις ἄξια τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ ξυμβαλεῖν. [3] ἀπείργεσθαι δὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν χώραν πρὸς μὲν ἔω τε καὶ ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον ἔστε ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν τῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάσσῃ: τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν δὲ αὐτῆς ἀπείργειν τὸν Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ἔστε ἐπὶ τοῦ Ταύρου τὴν ξυμβολήν: τὴν δὲ ὡς πρὸς ἐσπέραν τε καὶ ἄνεμον Ἰάπυγα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς ἀποτεμένεται. καὶ ἔστι πεδῖον ἢ πολλὴ αὐτῆς, καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς εἰκάζουσιν, ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν προσκεχωσμένον. εἶναι γὰρ οὖν καὶ [4] τῆς ἄλλης χώρας ὅσα πεδία οὐ πρόσω θαλάσσης τὰ πολλὰ

τῶν ποταμῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις ποιήματα: ὥς δὲ καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ προσκεῖσθαι, καθάπερ Ἑρμοῦ τέ τι πεδίον λέγεσθαι, ὃς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν γῆν ἀνίσχων ἐξ ὄρους Μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης παρὰ Σμύρναν πόλιν Αἰολικὴν ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἄλλο Καῦστρου, πεδίον Λύδιον καὶ Λυδίου ποταμοῦ, καὶ Καϊκοῦ ἄλλο ἐν Μυσίᾳ καὶ Μαιάνδρου τὸ Καρικὸν ἔστε ἐπὶ Μίλητον πόλιν Ἰωνικὴν. Αἴγυπτόν τε Ἡρόδοτός τε καὶ Ἑκαταῖος οἱ λογοποιοί, ἢ εἰ δὴ τοῦ ἄλλου ἢ Ἑκαταίου ἐστὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ ποιήματα, δῶρόν τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμφοτέροι ὡσαύτως ὀνομάζουσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀμανροῖς τεκμηρίοις ὅτι ταύτῃ ἔχει Ἡροδότῳ ἐπιδέδεικται, ὥς καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν τυχὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἶναι ἐπώνυμον. Αἴγυπτος γάρ τὸ παλαιὸν ὁ ποταμὸς ὅτι ἐκαλεῖτο, ὄντινα νῦν Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἔξω Αἰγύπτου ἄνθρωποι ὀνομάζουσιν, ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι Ὅμηρος, λέγων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκβολῇ τοῦ Αἰγύπτου ποταμοῦ τὸν Μενέλεον στήσαι τὰς νέας. [6] εἰ δὴ οὖν εἷς τε ποταμὸς παρ' ἐκάστοις καὶ οὐ μεγάλοι οὗτοι ποταμοὶ ἱκανοὶ γῆν πολλὴν ποιῆσαι ἐς θάλασσαν προχεόμενοι, ὅποτε ἰλὺν καταφέροιεν καὶ πηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων ἔνθεν περ αὐτοῖς αἱ πηγαὶ εἰσιν, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰνδῶν ἄρα χώρας ἐς ἀπιστίαν ἰέναι ἄξιον, ὅπως πεδίον τε ἡ πολλή ἐστι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν τὸ πεδίον ἔχει προσκεχωσμένον. [7] Ἑρμον μὲν γὰρ καὶ Κάυστρον καὶ Κάϊκόν τε καὶ Μαίανδρον ἢ ὅσοι πολλοὶ ποταμοὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἐντὸς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῦσιν οὐδὲ σύμπαντας ζυντεθέντας ἐνὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν ἄξιον ξυμβαλεῖν πλήθους ἔνεκα τοῦ ὕδατος, μὴ ὅτι τῷ Γάγγῃ τῷ μεγίστῳ, ὅτῳ οὔτε τὸ τοῦ Νεῖλου ὕδωρ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου οὔτε ὁ Ἰστρος ὁ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ῥέων ἄξιον ξυμβαλεῖν, [8] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ ἐκείνοί γε πάντες ξυμμιχθέντες ἐς ἴσον ἔρχονται, ὃς μέγας τε εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἀνίσχει καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ποταμοὺς πάντας τῶν Ἀσιανῶν μείζονας παραλαβὼν καὶ τῇ ἐπωνυμίᾳ κρατήσας οὕτως ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν. ταῦτά μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι περὶ Ἰνδῶν τῆς χώρας λελέχθω: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀποκεῖσθω ἐς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν συγγραφὴν. τὸ δὲ ζεῦγμα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅπως

[1] μὲν ἐποιήθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὔτε Ἀριστόβουλος οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος, οἷς μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἔπομαι, λέγουσιν: οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς εἰκάσαι, πότερα πλοίοις ἐξεύχθη ὁ πόρος, καθάπερ οὖν ὁ Ἑλλήσποντός τε πρὸς Ξέρξου καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος τε καὶ ὁ Ἰστρος πρὸς Δαρείου, ἢ γέφυρα κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διηνεκῆς ἐποιήθη αὐτῶ: δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε πλοίοις μᾶλλον ζευχθῆναι: οὐ γὰρ ἂν δέξασθαι γέφυραν τὸ βάθος τοῦ ὕδατος, οὐδ' ἂν ἐν τοσῶδε χρόνῳ ἔργον οὕτως ἄτοπον ζυντελεσθῆναι. [2] εἰ δὲ διὰ πλοίοις ἐξεύχθη ὁ πόρος, πότερα ζυντεθεῖσαι αἱ νῆες σχοίνοις καὶ κατὰ στοῖχον ὀρμισθεῖσαι ἐς τὸ ζεῦγμα ἀπῆρκεσαν, ὥς λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ζευχθῆναι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἢ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστρῷ ποταμῷ ζεῦγμα ποιεῖται καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥήνῳ τῷ Κελτικῷ, καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ τὸν Τίγρητα, ὅσάκις κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη, ἐγεφύρωσαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔχω ξυμβαλεῖν. [3] καίτοι ταχυτάτῃ γε ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ῥωμαίοις ἢ γεφύρωσις ἢ διὰ τῶν νεῶν γίνεταί, καὶ ταύτην ἐγὼ ἀφηγήσομαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὅτι λόγου ἄξια. αἱ νῆες αὐτοῖς κατὰ πόρου ἀφίενται ἀπὸ ζυνθήματος, οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθύ, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ αἱ πρύμναν κρουόμεναι. ταῦτα ὑποφέρει μὲν, οἷα εἰκός, ὁ ῥοῦς, ἀνέχει δὲ κελήτιον

ἐπῆρες, ἔστ' ἂν καταστήσῃ ἐς τὸ τεταγμένον χωρίον· καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦδη καθίεται πλέγματα ἐκ λύγου πυραμοειδῇ πλήρῃ λίθων λογάδων ἀπὸ πρώρας ἐκάστης νεῶς, τοῦ ἀνέχειν τὴν ναὺν πρὸς τὸν ῥοῦν. [4] ἅμα δὲ δὴ μία τις τῶν νεῶν [ἅμα δὲ δὴ] ἐσχέθη, καὶ ἄλλη ἀπὸ ταύτης διέχουσα ὅσον ζύμμετρον πρὸς ἰσχὺν τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων ἀντίπρωρος πρὸς τὸ ῥεῦμα ὀρμίζεται· καὶ ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ξύλα τε ἐς εὐθὺ ὀξέως ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ σανίδες ἐγκάρσιαι ἐς τὸ ξυνδεῖν. καὶ διὰ πασῶν οὕτω τῶν νεῶν, ὅσαι ἱκαναὶ γεφυρῶσαι τὸν πόρον, χωρεῖ τὸ ἔργον. [5] ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ ζεύγματος κλίμακες προβάλλονται καταπηγνύμεναι, τοῦ ἀσφαλεστέραν τοῖς τε ἵπποις καὶ τοῖς ζεύγεσι τὴν ἔφοδον γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἅμα ὡς σύνδεσμος εἶναι τοῦ ζεύγματος. δι' ὀλίγου τε ξυντελεῖται ἅπαν καὶ ξὺν πολλῷ θορύβῳ, καὶ τὸ τεταγμένον ἐν τῷ δρωμένῳ ὁμῶς οὐκ ἄπεστιν, οἱ τε παρακελευσμοὶ ὡς τύχοιεν κατὰ ναῦν ἐκάστην καὶ αἱ ἐπιτιμήσεις τοῦ ἐκλιποῦς οὔτε τὴν κατάκουσιν τῶν παραγγελμάτων οὔτε τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ ἔργου ἀφαιροῦνται.

[1] Ῥωμαίοις μὲν δὴ οὕτω ταῦτα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐπῆσκηται· Ἀλέξανδρῳ δὲ ὅπως ἐξεύχθη ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μὴδὲ οἱ συστρατεύσαντες αὐτῷ εἶπον. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ ὡς ἐγγυτάτῳ τούτων ἐξεύχθαι, ἢ εἰ δὴ τινι ἄλλῃ μηχανῇ, ἐκείνῃ ἐχέτω. [2] ὡς δὲ διέβη πέραν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτῷ θύει κατὰ νόμον Ἀλέξανδρος. ἄρας δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς Τάξιλα ἀφίκετο, πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τὴν μεγίστην τῶν μεταξὺ Ἰνδοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑδάσπου. καὶ ἐδέχετο αὐτὸν Ταξίλης ὁ ὑπαρχος τῆς πόλεως καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῆδε Ἰνδοὶ φιλίως. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προστίθεισιν αὐτοῖς χώραν τῆς ὁμόρου ὅσης ἐδέοντο. [3] ἦγον δὲ ἐνταῦθα παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Ἀβισάρου πρέσβεις τοῦ τῶν ὀρείων Ἰνδῶν βασιλέως ὃ τε ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἀβισάρου καὶ ἄλλοι ξὺν αὐτῷ οἱ δοκιμώτατοι, καὶ παρὰ Δοξάρεως νομάρχου ἄλλοι, δῶρα φέροντες. καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Ταξίλοις θύει ὅσα οἱ νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ ἵππικόν. καὶ ἀποδείξας σατράπην τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν Φίλιππον τὸν Μαχάτα φρουράν τε ἀπολείπει ἐν Ταξίλοις καὶ τοὺς ἀπομάχους τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ νόσον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμόν. [4] ἐπέκεινα γὰρ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου Πῶρος αὐτῷ εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ἐγνωκῶς εἶργειν τοῦ πόρου αὐτὸν ἢ περῶντι ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ταῦτα ὡς ἐγνω Ἀλέξανδρος, Κοῖνον μὲν τὸν Πολεμοκράτους πέμψας ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν τὰ πλοῖα ὅσα παρεσκεύαστο αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόρου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ξυντεμόντα κελεύει φέρειν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμόν. [5] καὶ ξυνετιμήθη τε τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐκομίσθη αὐτῷ, ὅσα μὲν βραχύτερα διχῇ διατηθέντα, αἱ τριακόντοροι δὲ τριχῇ ἐτιμήθησαν, καὶ τὰ τμήματα ἐπὶ ζευγῶν διεκομίσθη ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ Ὑδάσπου κάκει ξυμπεχθέντα ναυτικὸν αὐθις δὴ ὁμοῦ ὤφθη ἐν τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ἦν τε δύναμιν ἔχων ἦκεν ἐς Τάξιλα καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν Ἰνδῶν, οὓς Ταξίλης τε καὶ οἱ ταύτῃ ὑπαρχοὶ ἦγον, ἦει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμόν.

[1] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός τε κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, καὶ Πῶρος κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ὄχθην ὤφθη ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τῷ στίφει. ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ ἡ κατεστρατοπεδευκὸτα εἶδεν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς μένων ἐφύλαττε τὸν πόρον· ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ

εὐπορώτερα, ἐπὶ ταῦτα φρουρὰς διαπέμψας καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἐπιστήσας ἐκάστοις εἵργειν ἐπενόει [ἀπὸ] τοῦ πόρου τοὺς Μακεδόνας. [2] ταῦτα δὲ ὀρῶντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κινητέα καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει ἡ στρατιὰ πολλαχῇ, ὥς τὸν Πῶρον ἀμφίβολον γίνεσθαι. διελὼν δὴ ἐς πολλὰ τὸν στρατὸν τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἦγε τῆς χώρας τὰ μὲν πορθῶν ὅσα πολέμια, τὰ δὲ σκοπῶν ὅπῃ εὐπορώτερος αὐτῷ ὁ ποταμὸς φανεῖται, τοὺς δὲ, τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοις [καὶ] ἄλλους ἐπιτάξας, καὶ αὐτοὺς πολλαχῇ διέπεμπε. [3] σῖτος δὲ αὐτῷ πάντοθεν ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ὑδάσπου χώρας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ξυνεκομίζετο, ὥς δηλὸν εἶναι τῷ Πῶρῳ ὅτι ἐγνωκὼς εἶη προσλιπαρεῖν τῇ ὄχθῃ, ἔσσε τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μείον γενόμενον τοῦ χειμῶνος πολλαχῇ παραδοῦναι οἱ τὸν πόρον: τὰ τε πλοῖα αὐτῷ ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη παραπλέοντα καὶ αἱ διφθέραι τῆς κάρφης ἐμπιπλάμεναι καὶ ἡ ὄχθη πᾶσα πλήρης φαινομένη τῇ μὲν ἰππέων, τῇ δὲ πεζῶν, οὐκ εἶα ἡρεμεῖν τὸν Πῶρον, οὐδὲ ἔν τι ἐπιλεξάμενον ἐς φυλακὴν ζύμφορον ἐς τοῦτο ἐκ πάντων παρασκευάζεσθαι. [4] ἄλλως τε ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε οἱ ποταμοὶ πάντες οἱ Ἰνδικοὶ πολλοῦ τε ὕδατος καὶ θολεροῦ ἔρρεον καὶ ὀξέος τοῦ ρεύματος: ἦν γὰρ ὥρα ἔτους ἢ μετὰ τροπὰς μάλιστα τὰς ἐν θέρει τρέπεται ὁ ἥλιος: ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ ὕδατά τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀθρόα τε καταφέρεται ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ αἱ χιόνες αἱ τοῦ Καυκάσου, ἔνθεν περ τῶν πολλῶν ποταμῶν αἱ πηγαὶ εἰσι, κατατηκόμεναι αὐξουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ μέγα: χειμῶνος δὲ ἔμπαλιν ἰσχουσιν ὀλίγοι τε γίνονται καὶ καθαροὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἔστιν ὅπου περάσιμοι, πλὴν γε δὴ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ Γάγγου καὶ τυχὸν καὶ ἄλλου του: ἀλλ' ὁ γε Ὑδάσπης περατὸς γίνεται.

[1] ταύτην οὖν τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους προσμένειν ἐς τὸ φανερόν ἔφασκεν, εἰ ἐν τῷ τότε εἵργοιτο: ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν μείον ἐφεδρεῦον ἔμενεν, εἴ πῃ λάθοι ὑφαρπάσας ὀξέως τὸν πόρον. ἢ μὲν δὴ αὐτὸς Πῶρος κατεστρατοπεδεύκει πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, ἔγνω ἀδύνατος ὦν περᾶσαι ὑπὸ πλήθους τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ ὅτι πολλὴ στρατιὰ καὶ αὐτὴ τεταγμένη τε καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὠπλισμένη ἐκβαίνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν: [2] οἱ τε ἵπποι οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ ἐθελῆσαι οὐδὲ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ὄχθης τῆς πέραν, προσκειμένων σφίσιν εὐθὺς τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ τῇ τε ὄψει ἅμα καὶ τῇ φωνῇ φοβούντων, οὐδ' ἂν ἔτι πρόσθεν μείναι ἐπὶ τῶν διφθερῶν κατὰ τὸν πόρον, ἀλλ' ἐκπηδᾶν γὰρ ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφορῶντες πέραν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας [καὶ] ἔκφρονες γινόμενοι. [3] κλέψαι οὖν ἐπενόει τὴν διάβασιν ὧδε πράττων. νύκτωρ παραγαγὼν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τῆς ὄχθης τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἰππέων βοήν τε ἐποίει καὶ ἡλαλάζετο τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ διαβάσει συσκευαζομένων θόρυβος παντοδαπὸς ἐγένετο. καὶ ὁ Πῶρός τε ἀντιπαρῆει πρὸς τὴν βοήν ἐπάγων τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς ἔθος αὐτὸν τῆς ἀντιπαραγωγῆς καθίστη. [4] ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ βοή μόνον καὶ ἀλαλαγμός ἦν, οὐκέτι ὁ Πῶρος μετεκινεῖτο πρὸς τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τῶν ἰππέων, ἀλλὰ κενὸν γὰρ γνοὺς τὸν φόβον κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου ἔμενε: σκοποὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πολλαχοῦ τῆς ὄχθης καθειστήκεσαν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐξείργαστο αὐτῷ ἄφοβον τὸ τοῦ Πῶρου εἰς τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις μηχανᾶται τι τοιόνδε.

[1] ἄκρα ἦν ἀνέχουσα τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, ἵνα ἐπέκαμπεν ὁ ποταμὸς λόγου ἀξίως, αὐτὴ τε δασεῖα ἰδίῃ παντοίων δένδρων καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν νῆσος ἐν

τῷ ποταμῷ ὑλώδης τε καὶ ἀστιβῆς ὑπ' ἐρημίας. ταύτην καταμαθὼν τὴν νῆσον καταντικρὺ τῆς ἄκρας, ἀμφοτέρω ὑλώδῃ τὰ χωρία καὶ οἷα κρύναι τῆς διαβάσεως τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ταύτῃ ἔγνω διαβιβάζειν τὸν στρατόν. [2] ἀπέχει δὲ ἢ τε ἄκρα καὶ ἡ νῆσος τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίου. παρὰ πᾶσαν δὴ τὴν ὄχθην φυλακαὶ τε αὐτῷ καθεστηκυῖαι ἦσαν, διαλείπουσαι ὅσον ζύμμετρον ἐς τὸ ξυνοῦραν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ κατακοῦειν εὐπετῶς ὁπόθεν τι παραγγέλλοιτο, καὶ πανταχόθεν βοαὶ τε νύκτωρ ἐπὶ πολλὰς νύκτας ἐγίνοντο καὶ πυρὰ ἐκαίετο. [3] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔγνω ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ πόρῳ, κατὰ μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον φανερῶς αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς διαβάσεως παρεσκευάζετο. καὶ Κρατερὸς ὑπελέλειπτο ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τὴν τε αὐτοῦ ἔχων ἱπαρχίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ Παραπαμισαδῶν ἱππείας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τε Ἀλκέτου καὶ τὴν Πολυπέρχοντος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς νομάρχας τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε Ἰνδῶν καὶ τοὺς ἅμα τούτοις τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους. [4] παρηγγέλλετο δὲ Κρατερῷ μὴ πρὶν διαβαίνειν τὸν πόρον πρὶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι Πῶρον ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὥς ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἢ φεύγοντα μαθεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ νικῶντας· ἦν δὲ μέρος μὲν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν Πῶρος ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἄγῃ, μέρος δέ τι ὑπολειφθῇ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἐλέφαντες, σὺ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὥς μένειν κατὰ χώραν· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ζύμπαντας ἅμα οἱ ἄγιοι Πῶρος ἐπ' ἐμέ, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ὑπολείποιτό τι ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, σὺ δὲ διαβαίνειν σπουδῇ· οἱ γὰρ ἐλέφαντες μόνοι, ἔφη, ἄποροί εἰσι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκβαίνοντας ἵππους, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὰ εὐπορος.

[1] ταῦτα μὲν Κρατερῷ ἐνετέλλετο. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς νήσου τε καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου, ἵνα αὐτῷ Κρατερὸς ὑπελέλειπτο, Μελέαγρός τε καὶ Ἄτταλος καὶ Γοργίας ξὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις ἱππεῦσί τε καὶ πεζοῖς ἐτετάχατο· καὶ τούτοις διαβαίνειν παρηγγέλλετο κατὰ μέρος, διελόντας τὸν στρατόν, ὅποτε ξυνεχομένους ἤδη ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἴδοιεν. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν τε ἐταίρων τὸ ἄγῃμα καὶ τὴν Ἥφαιστίωνος ἱπαρχίαν καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου τε καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Βάκτρων καὶ Σογδιανῶν καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας ἱππείας καὶ Δάας τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τὴν Κλείτου τε καὶ Κοίνου τάξιν καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἦγεν ἀφανῶς πολὺ τι ἀπέχων τῆς ὄχθης, τοῦ μὴ καταφανῆς εἶναι ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον καὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἔνθεν διαβαίνειν αὐτῷ ἦν ἐγνωσμένον. [3] καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπληροῦντο τῆς νυκτὸς αἱ διφθέραι τῆς κάρφης, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἤδη παρενηνεγμένοι, καὶ κατερράπτοντο ἐς ἀκρίβειαν· ὕδωρ τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τῆς νυκτὸς λάβρον ἐπιγίγνεται. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἢ παρασκευὴ τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἢ ἐς τὴν διάβασιν οὐ φανερὰ κατέστη, τῷ κτύπῳ τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῷ θορύβῳ τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν παραγγελμάτων τῶν τε βροντῶν καὶ τοῦ ὄμβρου ἀντιπαταγούντων. [4] καὶ τῶν πλοίων δὲ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῷ ξυντετμημένα παρεκεκόμιστο ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καὶ ἀφανῶς αὐθις ξυμπεπηγμένα ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ ἐκρύπτετο, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ αἱ τριακόντοροι. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑω ὃ τε ἄνεμος καὶ ὁ ὄμβρος κεκοίμητο. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄλλη στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ἡ ἱππικὴ τῶν διφθερῶν ἐπιβᾶσα καὶ ὅσους τῶν πεζῶν τὰ πλοῖα ἐδέχετο ἐπέρα κατὰ τὴν νῆσον, ὥς μὴ πρόσθεν ὀφθεῖεν πρὸς τῶν σκοπῶν τῶν ἐκ πόρου καθεστηκότων πρὶν παραλλάξαντας τὴν νῆσον ὀλίγον ἔτι ἀπέχειν τῆς ὄχθης.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιβὰς τριακοντόρου ἐπέρα καὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ Πτολεμαῖός τε καὶ Περδίκκας καὶ Λυσίμαχος οἱ σωματοφύλακες καὶ Σέλευκος τῶν ἐταίρων, ὁ βασιλεύσας ὕστερον, καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν οἱ ἡμίσεις· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὑπασπιστὰς ἄλλαι τριακόντοροι ἔφερον. ὥς δὲ τὴν νῆσον παρήλλαξεν ἡ στρατιά, φανερώς ἥδη ἐπεῖχον τῇ ὄχθῃ· καὶ οἱ σκοποὶ κατιδόντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀρμὴν ὡς ἐκάστοις τάχους οἱ ἵπποι εἶχον ἤλαυνον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Πῶρον. [2] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐκβὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τριακοντόρων ἀναλαβὼν ξυνέταττε τοὺς αἰὶ ἐκβαίνοντας τῶν ἱππέων. οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς πρῶτοι ἐτετάχατο αὐτῷ ἐκβαίνειν· καὶ τούτους ἄγων προΐει ἐν τάξει. ἔλαθε δὲ οὐκ ἐς βέβαιον χωρίον ἐκβὰς ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν τόπων, ἀλλὰ ἐς νῆσον γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν μεγάλην, ἣ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον νῆσος οὖσα ἔλαθεν, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕδατι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀποτεμονομένην ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης γῆς. [3] καὶ ἅμα ἠυξήκει τὸ ὕδωρ ὁ ὄμβρος λάβρος τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς νυκτὸς κατασχών, ὥστε οὐκ ἐξεύρισκον αὐτῷ οἱ ἱππεῖς τὸν πόρον, καὶ δέος ἦν αὐθις ἄλλου δεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει ἴσου τῷ πρῶτῳ πόνου. ὥς δὲ ἐξευρέθη ποτὲ ὁ πόρος, ἦγε κατ' αὐτὸν χαλεπῶς· ἦν γὰρ τῶν μὲν πεζῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς μαστοὺς τὸ ὕδωρ ἵνα περ τὸ βαθύτατον αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἵππων ὅσον τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑπερίσχειν τοῦ ποταμοῦ. [4] ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεπέρατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας παρήγαγε τό τε ἄγλημα τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱπαρχιῶν τοὺς κρατίστους ἐπιλεξάμενος· τοὺς δὲ ἱπποτοξότας τῆς πάσης ἵππου προέταξε· τῶν δὲ πεζῶν πρῶτους μὲν τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς τοὺς βασιλικούς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σέλευκος, ἐπέταξε τῇ ἵππῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὸ ἄγλημα τὸ βασιλικόν· ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπασπιστὰς, ὡς ἐκάστοις αἱ ἡγεμονίαι ἐν τῷ τότε ξυνέβαινον· κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ τοξόται αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Ἀγριαῖνες [καὶ] οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπέστησαν. οὕτως ἐκτάξας τὸν μὲν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐν κόσμῳ

[1] βάδην ἔπεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν, οὐ πολλὸ ἀποδέοντας τῶν ἐξακισχιλίων· αὐτοὺς δέ, ὅτι κρατεῖν ἐδόκει τῇ ἵππῳ, τοὺς ἱππέας μόνους ἀναλαβὼν σπουδῇ ἡγεῖτο, ὄντας ἐς πεντακισχιλίους. Ταύρωνι δὲ τῷ τοξάρχῃ προσέταξε τοὺς τοξότας ἐπάγειν τῇ ἵππῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς σπουδῇ. [2] γνώμην δὲ ἐπεποίητο, ὥς εἰ μὲν προσμύξειαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πῶρον ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἀπάσῃ, ἢ κρατήσῃ αὐτῶν οὐ χαλεπῶς τῇ ἵππῳ προσβαλὼν ἢ ἀπομαχεῖσθαι γε ἔστε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπιγενέσθαι· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν τῆς διαβάσεως ἄτοπον γενομένην οἱ Ἴνδοι ἐκπλαγέντες φεύγοιεν, οὐ πόρρωθεν ἔξεσθαι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν, ὥς πλείονα ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει τὸν φόνον γενόμενον ὀλίγον ἔτι ὑπολείπεσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον. [3] Αἰριστόβουλος δὲ λέγει τὸν Πῶρου παῖδα φθάσαι ἀφικόμενον σὺν ἄρμασιν ὡς ἐξήκοντα πρὶν τὸ ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου τῆς μικρᾶς περᾶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ τοῦτον δυνηθῆναι ἂν εἴρξει Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς διαβάσεως χαλεπῶς καὶ μηδενὸς εἰργοντος περαιωθέντα, εἴπερ οὖν καταπηδήσαντες οἱ Ἴνδοι ἐκ τῶν ἀρμάτων προσέκειντο τοῖς πρῶτοις τῶν ἐκβαινόντων· ἀλλὰ παραλλάξαι γὰρ ξὺν τοῖς ἄρμασι καὶ ἀκίνδυνον ποιῆσαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν διάβασιν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἀφείναι Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας, καὶ τραπῆναι αὐτοὺς οὐ χαλεπῶς, πληγὰς λαμβάνοντας. [4] οἱ δὲ καὶ μάχην λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκβάσει γενέσθαι τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν ξὺν τῷ παιδί τῷ Πῶρου ἀφιγμένων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἱππέας· καὶ γὰρ καὶ

ἀφικέσθαι ξὺν μεΐζονι δυνάμει τὸν Πῶρου παῖδα, καὶ αὐτόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον τρωθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Βουκεφάλαν, φίλτατον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὄντα τὸν ἵππον, καὶ τοῦτον τρωθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ Πῶρου. ἀλλὰ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ὅτῳ καὶ ἐγὼ ξυμφέρομαι, ἄλλως λέγει. [5] ἐκπεμφθῆναι μὲν γὰρ τὸν παῖδα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πῶρου λέγει καὶ οὗτος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἐξήκοντα μόνᾳ ἄρματα ἄγοντα. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς Πῶρον ἀκούσαντα ἐκ τῶν σκοπῶν, ὅτι δὴ ἡ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος διαβέβηκεν τοῦ Ὑδάσπου τὸν πόρον ἢ μέρος γέ τι τῆς στρατιᾶς, ξὺν ἐξήκοντα ἄρμασι μόνοις ἐκπέμψαι τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα: [6] ἃ δὴ ὡς μὲν ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν ἐκπεμπόμενα πολλά τε καὶ οὐκ εὐζωνα ἐς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἦν, ὡς δὲ εἰς τὸ εἰρξάι τε τοὺς οὐπω πεπερακότας τῶν πολέμιων καὶ τοῖς ἤδη ἐκβεβηκόσιν ἐπιθέσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἀξιομαχα. ἀλλὰ δισχιλίους γὰρ λέγει ἱππείας ἄγοντα ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ Πῶρου τὸν παῖδα, ἄρματα δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι: φθάσαι δὲ περάσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τὸν τελευταῖον πόρον.

[1] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐκπέμψαι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ οὗτος λέγει τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας, αὐτόν δὲ ἄγειν τοὺς ἱππείας: προσάγειν γὰρ οἰηθῆναι Πῶρον ξὺν τῇ πάσῃ δυνάμει: τὴν δὲ ἵππον ταύτην προτεταγμένην αὐτῷ προπορεύεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ. [2] ὡς δὲ κατέμαθεν ἀτρεκῶς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὀξέως ἐπιτεσεῖν αὐτοῖς ξὺν τῇ ἄμφ' αὐτόν ἵππῳ: τοὺς δὲ ἐγκλίνειν, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρόν τε αὐτόν κατεῖδον καὶ τὸ στίφος ἄμφ' αὐτόν τῶν ἱππέων οὐκ ἐπὶ μετώπου, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἴλας ἐμβεβληκός. καὶ τούτων ἱππείας μὲν πεσεῖν ἐς τετρακοσίους, πεσεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πῶρου τὸν παῖδα: τὰ δὲ ἄρματα αὐτοῖς ἵπποις ἀλῶναι ἔν τε τῇ ἀποχωρήσει βαρέα γενόμενα καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ ὑπὸ πηλοῦ ἀχρεῖα. [3] Πῶρος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ ὅσοι ἱππεῖς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς διεσώζοντο Ἀλέξανδρόν τε αὐτόν πεπερακότα ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς τὸ καρτερώτατον καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τετελευτηκότα ἠγγειλαν, ἐγίγνετο μὲν καὶ ὡς ἀμφίβολος τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταντικρὺ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου οἱ ξὺν Κρατερῷ ὑπολελειμμένοι ἐπιχειροῦντες τῇ διαβάσει ἐφαίνοντο: [4] εἴλετο δ' οὖν ἐπ' αὐτόν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐλάσας ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ πρὸς τὸ καρτερώτατόν τε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ αὐτόν τὸν βασιλέα διαγωνίσασθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὀλίγους τῶν ἐλεφάντων σὺν οὐ πολλῇ στρατιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀπέλιπεν, ὡς φοβεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης τοὺς ξὺν Κρατερῷ ἱππείας. αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν τε ἵππον ἀναλαβὼν πᾶσαν, ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἱππείας, καὶ τὰ ἄρματα πάντα, τριακόσια ὄντα, καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων διακοσίους καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ὃ τι περ ὄφελος, ἐς τρισμυρίους, ἤλαυνεν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον. [5] ὡς δὲ ἐνέτυχε χωρίῳ, ἵνα οὐ πηλὸς αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ψάμμου γὰρ ζύμπαν ἦν ἄπεδον καὶ στερεὸν ἐς τὰς ἐφόδους τε καὶ ἀναστροφὰς τῶν ἵππων, ἐνταῦθα ἔτασσε τὴν στρατιάν, πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπὶ μετώπου, διέχοντα ἐλέφαντα ἐλέφαντος οὐ μεῖον πλέθρου, ὡς πρὸ πάσης τε τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν πεζῶν παραταθῆναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπὶ μετώπου καὶ φόβον πάντῃ παρέχειν τοῖς ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἱππεῦσιν. [6] ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ ἡξίου ἐς τὰ διαλείποντα τῶν ἐλεφάντων τολμῆσαι ἄν τινα ὥσασθαι τῶν πολέμιων, οὔτε ξὺν ἵπποις διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἵππων, πεζοὺς τε ἔτι μεῖον: κατὰ στόμα τε γὰρ ἂν πρὸς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν προσβαλλόντων εἵργεσθαι καὶ

καταπατηθήσονται ἐπιστρεψάντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐλεφάντων. [7] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ ἐτετάχατο, οὐκ ἴσον τὸ μέτωπον τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπέχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐν δευτέρῳ μετώπῳ μετὰ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ὅσον ἐς τὰ διαλείποντα ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἐμβεβλήσθαι τοὺς λόχους. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὰ κέρατα ἔτι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πεζοὶ ἐφεστηκότες, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τῶν πεζῶν ἡ ἵππος αὐτῷ ἐτέτακτο καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τὰ ἄρματα ἐκατέρωθεν.

[1] αὕτη μὲν ἡ Πῶρου τάξις ἦν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἤδη καθεώρα τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐκτασσομένους, ἐπέστησε τοὺς ἱππέας τοῦ πρόσω, ὡς ἀναλαμβάνειν τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀεὶ προσάγοντας. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ αὐτῷ δρόμῳ συνάψασα ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐκτάξας ἐπῆγεν, ὡς μὴ καματηροὺς τε καὶ πνευστιῶντας ἀκμῇσι παραδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀλλὰ ἐς κύκλους παριππεύων ἀνέπνευε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἔστε καταστῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸν θυμόν. [2] ὡς δὲ τὴν τάξιν κατεῖδε τῶν Ἰνδῶν, κατὰ μέσον μὲν, ἵνα οἱ ἐλέφαντες προεβέβληντο καὶ πυκνὴ ἡ φάλαγξ κατὰ τὰ διαλείποντα αὐτῶν ἐπετέτακτο, οὐκ ἔγνω προάγειν, αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ὀκνήσας ἅπερ ὁ Πῶρος τῷ λογισμῷ ξυνθείς ταύτη ἔταξεν: ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς μὲν ἅτε ἱποκρατῶν τὴν πολλὴν τῆς ἵππου ἀναλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας τῶν πολεμίων παρήλαυνεν, ὡς ταύτη ἐπιθησόμενος. [3] Κοῖνον δὲ πέμπει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, τὴν Δημητρίου καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἔχοντα ἱπαρχίαν, κελεύσας, ἐπειδὴν τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς στίφος τῶν ἱππέων ἰδόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἀντιπαριππεύωσιν, αὐτὸν κατόπιν ἔχεσθαι αὐτῶν: τῶν πεζῶν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα Σελεύκῳ καὶ Ἀντιγένει καὶ Ταύρωνι προσέταξεν ἄγειν, μὴ πρόσθεν δὲ ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου πρὶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τεταραγμένην τὴν τε φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας κατιδῶσιν. [4] ἤδη τε ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς ἱποτοξότας, ὄντας ἐς χιλίους, ὡς ταράξαι τοὺς ταύτη ἐφεστηκότας τῶν πολεμίων τῇ πυκνότητι τε τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ τῶν ἵππων τῇ ἐπελάσει. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας παρήλαυνεν ὀξέως ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν βαρβάρων, κατὰ κέρας ἔτι τεταραγμένοις ἐμβαλεῖν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος, πρὶν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἐκταθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἵππον.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ τε Ἰνδοὶ τοὺς ἱππέας πάντοθεν ξυναλίσαντες παρίππευον Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες τῇ ἐλάσει, καὶ οἱ περὶ Κοῖνον, ὡς παρήγγελτο, κατόπιν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφαίνοντο. ταῦτα ξυνιδόντες οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀμφίστομον ἠναγκάσθησαν ποιῆσαι τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἵππου, τὴν μὲν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὴν πολλὴν τε καὶ κρατίστην, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Κοῖνόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἅμα τούτῳ ἐπέστρεφον. [2] τοῦτό τε οὖν εὐθὺς ἐτάραξε τὰς τάξεις τε καὶ τὰς γνώμας τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἰδὼν τὸν καιρὸν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐπιστροφῇ τῆς ἵππου ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς καθ' αὐτόν, ὥστε οὐδὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν ἐδέξαντο τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἱππέων οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀλλὰ κατηρ[ρ]άχθησαν ὥσπερ εἰς τεῖχος τι φύλιον τοὺς ἐλέφαντας. [3] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ ἐπιστάται τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀντεπῆγον τῇ ἵππῳ τὰ θηρία, καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ αὐτῇ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀντεπῆει πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἔς τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας αὐτῶν ἀκοντίζοντες καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ θηρία περισταδὸν πάντοθεν βάλλοντες. καὶ ἦν τὸ ἔργον οὐδενὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγώνων ἐοικός: τὰ τε γὰρ θηρία ἐπεκθέοντα ἐς τὰς τάξεις τῶν πεζῶν, ὅπη ἐπιστρέψειεν, ἐκεραΐζε καίπερ πυκνὴν οὖσαν τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων φάλαγγα,

καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς οἱ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοῖς πεζοῖς ἰδόντες ξυνεστηκὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιστρέψαντες αὐθις καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπήλαυνον τῇ ἵππῳ. [4] ὥς δὲ πάλιν ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ τε ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολὺ προέχοντες, ὥς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας αὐθις κατελιήθησαν. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πᾶσα ἡ ἵππος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς μίαν ἵλην ἤδη ξυνηγμένη, οὐκ ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι αὐτῷ ἐς τήνδε τὴν τάξιν καταστᾶσα, ὅπῃ προσπέσοι τῶν Ἰνδῶν ταῖς τάξεσι, ξὺν πολλῷ φόνῳ ἀπελύοντο. [5] καὶ ἐς στενὸν ἤδη κατελιμ[μ]ένων τῶν θηρίων οὐ μείω πρὸς αὐτῶν οἱ φίλιοι ἤπερ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐβλάπτοντο ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστροφαῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ὀθισμοῖς καταπατούμενοι. τῶν τε οὖν ἱππέων, οἳα δὴ ἐν στενῷ περὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας εἰλουμένων, πολὺς φόνος ἐγίγνετο καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ πολλοὶ κατηκοντισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες τὰ μὲν τιτρωσκόμενοι, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῶν πόνων καὶ ἐρημία ἡγεμόνων οὐκέτι διακεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἦσαν, [6] ἀλλ' οἳα δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἔκφρονες φιλίους τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πολέμιοις προσφερόμενοι πάντα τρόπον ἐξώθουν τε καὶ κατεπάτουν καὶ κατέκαινον. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες, ἅτε ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ τε καὶ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν σφῶν προσφερόμενοι τοῖς θηρίοις, ὅπῃ μὲν ἐπιφέροιντο εἶκον, ἀποστραφέντων δὲ εἶχοντο ἐσακοντίζοντες· οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρεφόμενοι τὰ πλείω ἤδη πρὸς ἐκείνων ἐβλάπτοντο. [7] ὥς δὲ καματηρά τε ἦν τὰ θηρία καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἐρρωμένοι αἱ ἐκδρομαὶ ἐγίγνοντο, ἀλλὰ συριγμῷ μόνον διαχρώμενα ὥσπερ αἱ πρύμναν κρούμεναι νῆες ἐπὶ πόδα ὑπεχώρουν, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος περιβάλλει ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν ἵππον τῇ πάσῃ τάξει, τοὺς πεζοὺς δὲ ξυνασπίσαντας ὥς ἐς πυκνοτάτην ξύγκλεισιν ἐπάγειν τὴν φάλαγγα ἐσήμηνε. καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἵππεῖς τῶν Ἰνδῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων κατεκόπησαν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ· ἐκόπτοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ πανταχόθεν ἤδη προσκειμένων σφίσι τῶν Μακεδόνων. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἵνα διέσχεν ἡ ἵππος ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς φυγὴν πάντες ἐπεστράφησαν.

[1] καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Κρατερός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῆς στρατιᾶς [τε] τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ὑπολελειμμένοι ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, ὥς νικῶντα λαμπρῶς κατεῖδον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπέρων καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν πόρον. καὶ οὗτοι οὐ μείονα τὸν φόνον ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐποίησαν, ἀκμηῆτες ἀντὶ κεκμηκότων τῶν ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιγενόμενοι τῇ διώξει [2] ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πεζοὶ μὲν ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες τῶν δισμυρίων, ἵππεῖς δὲ ἐς τρισχιλίους, τὰ δὲ ἄρματα ξύμπαντα κατεκόπη· καὶ Πώρου δύο παῖδες ἀπέθανον καὶ Σπιτάκης ὁ νομάρχης τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ ἁρμάτων οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ ἱπάρχαι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς Πώρου ξύμπαντες... ἐλήφθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες, ὅσοι γε αὐτῶν μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀπέθανον. [3] τῶν δὲ ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον πεζοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ ἐξακισχιλίων τῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ γενομένων ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα ἀπέθανον· ἵππεῖς δὲ τῶν μὲν ἵπποτοξοτῶν, οἳ δὴ καὶ πρῶτοι τοῦ ἔργου ἦσαν, δέκα· τῆς δὲ ἐταιρικῆς ἵππου ἄμφι τοὺς εἴκοσι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἱππέων ὥς διακόσιοι. [4] Πῶρος δὲ μεγάλα ἔργα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀποδειξάμενος μὴ ὅτι στρατηγοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτου γενναίου, ὥς τῶν τε ἱππέων τὸν φόνον κατεῖδε καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ πεπτωκότας, τοὺς δὲ ἐρήμους τῶν ἡγεμόνων λυπηροὺς πλανωμένους, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν αὐτῷ οἱ πλείους ἀπολώλεσαν, οὐχ ἤπερ Δαρεῖος

ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ἐξάρχων τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῆς φυγῆς ἀπεχώρει, ἀλλὰ ἔσται γὰρ ὑπέμενέ τι τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ξυνεστηκός, ἐς τοσόνδε ἀγωνισάμενος, [5] τετρωμένος δὲ τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμον, ὃν δὴ γυμνὸν μόνον ἔχων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀνεστρέφετο ἄπο γὰρ τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος ἥρκει αὐτῷ τὰ βέλη ὁ θώραξ περιττός ὢν κατὰ τε τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν ἁρμονίαν, ὡς ὕστερον καταμαθεῖν θεωμένοις ἦν', τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρει ἐπιστρέψας τὸν ἐλέφαντα. [6] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος μέγαν τε αὐτὸν καὶ γενναῖον ἄνδρα ἰδὼν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ σῶσαι ἐπεθύμησε. πέμπει δὴ παρ' αὐτὸν πρῶτα μὲν Ταξίλην τὸν Ἰνδόν· καὶ Ταξίλης προσιππεύσας ἐφ' ὅσον οἱ ἀσφαλὲς ἐφαίνετο τῷ ἐλέφαντι ὃς ἔφερε τὸν Πῶρον ἐπιστήσαι τε ἡξίου τὸ θηρίον, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι οἱ ἔτι φεύγειν, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου λόγων. [7] ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν ἄνδρα ἐχθρὸν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸν Ταξίλην ἐπιστρέψας ἀνήγετο ὡς ἀκοντίσων· καὶ ἂν καὶ κατέκανε τυχόν, εἰ μὴ ὑποφθάσας ἐκεῖνος ἀπήλασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πῶρου πρόσω τὸν ἵππον. Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ Πῶρῳ χαλεπὸς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἄλλους τε ἐν μέρει ἐπεμπε καὶ δὴ καὶ Μερόην ἄνδρα Ἰνδόν, ὅτι φίλον εἶναι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ Πῶρῳ τὸν Μερόην ἔμαθεν. Πῶρος δὲ ὡς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Μερόου ἤκουσε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δίψους ἅμα ἐκρατεῖτο, ἐπέστησέ τε τὸν ἐλέφαντα καὶ κατέβη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ὡς δὲ ἐπιέ τε καὶ ἀνέψυξεν, ἄγειν αὐτὸν σπουδῇ ἐκέλευσεν παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρον.

[1] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἦγετο· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς προσάγοντα ἐπύθετο, προσιππεύσας πρὸ τῆς τάξεως ξὺν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἐταίρων ἀπαντᾷ τῷ Πῶρῳ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸν ἵππον τό τε μέγεθος ἐθαύμαζεν, ὑπὲρ πέντε πήχεις μάλιστα ξυμβαῖνον, καὶ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ Πῶρου καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεδουλωμένος τῇ γνώμῃ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ προσέλθοι ὑπὲρ βασιλείας τῆς αὐτοῦ πρὸς βασιλέα ἄλλον καλῶς ἡγωνισμένος. [2] ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος προσειπὼν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὅ τι οἱ γενέσθαι ἐθέλοι. Πῶρον δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι λόγος ὅτι· βασιλικῶς μοι χρῆσαι, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ, τοῦτο μὲν ἔσται σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Πῶρε, ἐμοῦ ἔνεκα· σὺ δὲ σαυτοῦ ἔνεκα ὅ τι σοι φίλον ἀξίου. ὁ δὲ πάντα ἔφη ἐν τούτῳ ἐνεῖναι. [3] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τούτῳ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῷ λόγῳ ἡσθεὶς τήν τε ἀρχὴν τῷ Πῶρῳ τῶν τε αὐτῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔδωκεν καὶ ἄλλην ἔτι χώραν πρὸς τῇ πάλῃ οὐσῃ πλείονα τῆς πρόσθεν προσέθηκεν· καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸς τε βασιλικῶς κεκρημένος ἦν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐκ τούτου ἐς ἅπαντα πιστῷ ἐχρήσατο. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Πῶρόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ποταμοῦ Ἰνδοῦς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίους Ἠγήμονος μηνὸς Μουνυχιῶνος. [4] ἴνα δὲ ἡ μάχη ξυνέβη καὶ ἔνθεν ὀρμηθεὶς ἐπέρασε τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμὸν πόλεις ἔκτισεν Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ τὴν μὲν Νίκαιαν τῆς νίκης τῆς κατ' Ἰνδῶν ἐπώνυμον ὠνόμασε, τὴν δὲ Βουκεφάλαν ἐς τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ Βουκεφάλα τὴν μνήμην, ὃς ἀπέθανεν αὐτοῦ, οὐ βληθεὶς πρὸς οὐδενός, [5] ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ καύματος τε καὶ ἡλικίας ἦν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη καματηρὸς γενόμενος, πολλὰ δὲ πρόσθεν ξυγκαιμῶν τε καὶ συγκινδυνεύσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀναβαινόμενός τε πρὸς μόνου Ἀλεξάνδρου [ὁ Βουκεφάλας οὗτος], ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ἀπηξίου ἀμβάτας, καὶ μεγέθει μέγας καὶ τῷ θυμῷ γενναῖος. σημεῖον δὲ οἱ ἦν βοδὸς κεφαλὴ ἐγκεχαραγμένη, ἐφ' ὅτῳ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔφερεν· οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι λευκὸν σῆμα εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, μέλας ὢν

αὐτός, ἐς βοὸς κεφαλὴν μάλιστα εἰκασμένον. [6] οὗτος ὁ ἵππος ἐν τῇ Οὐξίῳν χώρα ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προεκήρυξεν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν Οὐξίους, εἰ μὴ ἀπάξουσιν αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππον· καὶ ἀπήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ κηρύγματι. τοσὴδε μὲν σπουδὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἦν, τόσος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβος τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐς τοσόνδε τετιμῆσθω ὁ Βουκεφάλας οὗτος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔνεκα.

[1] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἀποθανόντες ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κεκόσμηντο τῷ πρόποντι κόσμῳ, ὁ δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐπινίκια ἔθουε, καὶ ἀγὼν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτῷ γυμνικὸς καὶ ἵππικὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, ἵνα περ τὸ πρῶτον διέβη ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ. [2] κρατερὸν μὲν δὴ ξὺν μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑπελείπετο τὰς πόλεις ἄστινας ταύτῃ ἐκτιζεν ἀναστήσοντά τε καὶ ἐκτειχιοῦντα· αὐτὸς δὲ ἤλαυνεν ὥς ἐπὶ τοὺς προσχώρους τῇ Πώρου ἀρχῇ Ἰνδούς. ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῷ ἔθνει Γλαυγανῖκαι, ὥς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, ὥς δὲ Πτολεμαῖος, Γλαῦσαι. ὁποτέρως δὲ ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα οὐ μοι μέλει. [3] ἐπ’ αὐτῇ δὲ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν τε ἐταίρων ἱππέων ἔχων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἀπὸ φάλαγγος ἐκάστης ἐπιλέκτους καὶ τοὺς ἵπποτοξότας σύμπαντας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας· καὶ προσεχώρουν αὐτῷ ὁμολογία πάντες. [4] καὶ ἔλαβε πόλεις μὲν ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ ἐπτὰ, ὧν ἵνα ὀλίγιστοι ἦσαν οἰκήτορες πεντακισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἦσαν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους· καὶ κόμας πλήθει τε πολλὰς ἔλαβε καὶ πολυανθρώπους οὐ μείον τῶν πόλεων. καὶ ταύτης τῆς χώρας Πῶρῳ ἄρχειν ἔδωκεν. καὶ Ταξίλῃ δὲ διαλλάττει Πῶρον καὶ Ταξίλῃν ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ ἦθη τὰ αὐτοῦ. [5] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ παρὰ τε Ἀβισάρου πρέσβεις ἦκον, ἐνδιδόντες αὐτόν τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Ἀβισάρην καὶ τὴν χώραν ὅσης ἦρχε. καίτοι πρό γε τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Πῶρον γενομένης Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπενόει Ἀβισάρης καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν Πῶρῳ τάττεσθαι· τότε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσι παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπεμψε, χρήματά τε κομίζοντα καὶ ἐλέφαντας τεσσαράκοντα δῶρον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [6] ἦκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν πρέσβεις παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ παρὰ Πώρου ἄλλου του ὑπάρχου Ἰνδῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Ἀβισάρην διὰ τάχους ἰέναι παρ’ αὐτὸν κελεύει ἐπαπειλήσας, εἰ μὴ ἔλθοι, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὄψεται ἦκοντα ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἵνα οὐ χαιρήσει ἰδὼν. [7] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φραταφέρνης τε ὁ Παρθυαῖων καὶ Ὑρκανίας σατράπης τοὺς καταλειφθέντας παρὰ οἱ Θρᾷκας ἄγων ἦκεν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ παρὰ Σισικόττου τοῦ Ἀσσακηνῶν σατράπου ἄγγελοι, ὅτι τὸν τε ὑπαρχον σφῶν ἀπεκτονότες εἶναι οἱ Ἀσσακηνοὶ καὶ ἀπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεστηκότες. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους Φίλιππον ἐκπέμπει καὶ Τυρίεσπιν σὺν στρατιᾷ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν καταστησομένους καὶ κοσμήσοντας. [8] αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμὸν προὐχώρει. τούτου τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου τὸ μέγεθος μόνου τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἀνέγραψεν· εἶναι γὰρ ἵνα ἐπέρασεν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων τε καὶ τῶν διφθερῶν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸ μὲν ρεῦμα ὀξὺ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου πέτραις μεγάλαις καὶ ὀξείαις, καθ’ ὧν φερόμενον βία τὸ ὕδωρ κυμαίνεσθαι τε καὶ καχλάζειν, τὸ δὲ εὖρος σταδίου ἐπέχειν πεντεκαίδεκα. [9] τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῶν διφθερῶν περῶσιν εὐμαρῇ γενέσθαι τὸν πόρον, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις διαβάλλοντας ἐποκειλάντων πολλῶν πλοίων ἐπὶ ταῖς πέτραις καὶ συναρ[ρ]αχθέντων οὐκ

ὀλίγους αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι διαφθαρῆναι. [10] εἴη ἂν οὖν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου
ξυντιθέντι τεκμηριοῦσθαι, ὅτι οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀναγέγραπται τοῦ
Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος, ὅσοις ἐς τεσσαράκοντα σταδίου δοκεῖ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ
εἶναι τὸ εὖρος, ἵνα μέσως ἔχει αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰνδός· ἵνα δὲ στενότητάς τε καὶ
διὰ στενότητα βαθύτατος ἐς τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ξυνάγεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα
πολλαχῇ εἶναι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου τεκμαίρομαι ἐπιλέξασθαι
Ἀλέξανδρον, ἵνα περ τὸ πλατύτατον ἦν τοῦ πόρου, ὥς σχολαιτέρῳ χρήσασθαι
τῷ ρεύματι.

[1] περάσας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν Κοῖνον μὲν ξὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τάξει ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ
ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ προστάζας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ὑπολελειμμένης στρατιᾶς τῆς
διαβάσεως, οἱ τὸν τε σῖτον αὐτῷ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἡδῆ ὑπηκόου τῶν Ἰνδῶν χώρας
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια παρακομίζειν ἔμελλον. [2] Πῶρον δὲ ἐς τὰ αὐτοῦ ἡθῆ
ἀποπέμπει, κελεύσας Ἰνδῶν τε τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενον καὶ εἴ τινας
παρ' αὐτῷ ἔχοι ἐλέφαντας, τούτους δὲ ἀναλαβόντα[ς] ἰέναι παρ' αὐτόν. αὐτὸς
δὲ Πῶρον τὸν ἕτερον τὸν κακόν, ὅτι ἐξηγγέλη πεφευγῆναι ἀπολιπὼν τὴν
χώραν ἧς ἦρχεν, ἐπενόει διώκειν σὺν τοῖς κουφοτάτοις τῆς στρατιᾶς. [3] ὁ γὰρ
Πῶρος οὗτος, ἔστε μὲν πολέμια ξυνειστῆκει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον
Πῶρον, πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πέμπων αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ οἷ χώραν
ἐνεδίδου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Πόρου μᾶλλον ἢ φιλία τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου·
ὥς δὲ ἀφειμένον τε ἐκείνον καὶ πρὸς τῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλης πολλῆς ἄρχοντα
ἔμαθε, τότε δὴ φοβηθεὶς, οὐχ οὕτω τι Ἀλέξανδρον, ὥς τὸν Πῶρον ἐκείνον τὸν
ὁμώνυμον, φεύγει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀναλαβὼν ὅσους τῶν μαχίμων ξυμπεῖσαι
ἡδυνήθη μετασχεῖν οἱ τῆς φυγῆς. [4] ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐλαύνων Ἀλέξανδρος
ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραῶτην ποταμόν, ἄλλον αὖ τοῦτον Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, τὸ
μὲν εὖρος οὐ μείονα τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου, ὀξύτητι δὲ τοῦ ῥοῦ μείονα. ὅσῃν δὲ τῆς
χώρας ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραῶτην ἐπῆλθε, φυλακὰς ὑπέλιπεν ἐν τοῖς
ἐπικαιροτάτοις χωρίοις, ὅπως οἱ ἀμφὶ Κρατερόν τε καὶ Κοῖνον δι' ἀσφαλείας
ἐπέρχοντο τῆς χώρας τὴν πολλὴν προνομεύοντες. [5] ἐνταῦθα Ἡφαιστίωνα
μὲν ἐκπέμπει δούς αὐτῷ μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς, πεζῶν μὲν φάλαγγας δύο, ἱππέων
δὲ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Δημητρίου ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας,
ἐς τὴν Πόρου τοῦ ἀφεστηκότος χώραν, κελεύσας παραδίδόναι ταύτην Πῶρῳ
τῷ ἄλλῳ, καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα πρὸς ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ὑδραῶτου ποταμοῦ αὐτόνομα
ἔθνη Ἰνδῶν νέμεται, καὶ ταῦτα προσαγαγόμενον τῷ Πῶρῳ ἄρχειν ἐγχειρίσαι.
αὐτὸς δ' ἐπέρα τὸν Ὑδραῶτην ποταμόν, οὐ καθάπερ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην χαλεπῶς.
[6] προχωροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπέκεινα τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ Ὑδραῶτου τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς
καθ' ὁμολογίαν προσχωρεῖν ξυνέβαινεν, ἡδῆ δὲ τινας ξὺν ὀπλοῖς
ἀπαντήσαντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑποφεύγοντας ἐλὼν βίᾳ κατεστρέψατο.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐξαγγέλλεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ἄλλους τέ
τινας καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Καθαῖους αὐτούς τε παρασκευάζεσθαι ὥς πρὸς
μάχην, εἰ προσάγοι τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ὅσα ὁμορὰ σφισιν ἔθνη
ὡσάυτως αὐτόνομα, καὶ ταῦτα παρακαλεῖν ἐς τὸ ἔργον· [2] εἶναι δὲ τὴν τε
πόλιν ὀχυρὰν πρὸς ἣ ἐπενόουν ἀγωνίσασθαι, Σάγγαλα ἦν τῇ πόλει ὄνομα, καὶ
αὐτοὶ οἱ Καθαῖοι εὐτολμώτατοί τε καὶ τὰ πολέμια κράτιστοι ἐνομίζοντο, καὶ
τούτοις κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ὁξυδράκαι, ἄλλο Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος, καὶ Μαλλοί, ἄλλο καὶ

τοῦτο: ἐπεὶ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν στρατεύσαντας ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Πῶρόν τε καὶ Ἀβισάρην ζύν τε τῇ σφετέρᾳ δυνάμει καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ἀναστήσαντας οὐδὲν πράξαντας τῆς παρασκευῆς ἄξιον ξυνέβη ἀπελθεῖν. [3] ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, σπουδῇ ἤλανεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Καθαίους. καὶ δευτεραῖος μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ὑδραῶτου πρὸς πόλιν ἦκεν ἢ ὄνομα Πίμπραμα: τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο τῶν Ἰνδῶν Ἀδραῖσται ἐκαλοῦντο. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ προσεχώρησαν ὁμολογία Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [4] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναπαύσας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν στρατιὰν τῇ τρίτῃ προὐχώρει ἐπὶ τὰ Σάγγαλα, ἵνα οἱ Καθαῖοι τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρόσχωροι αὐτοῖς ξυνεληλυθότες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ γηλόφου οὐ πάντῃ ἀποτόμου: κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦ γηλόφου ἀμάξας περιστήσαντες ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἐστρατοπέδευον, ὡς τριπλοῦν χάρακα προβεβλήσθαι [πρὸ] τῶν ἀμαξῶν. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τό τε πλῆθος κατιδὼν τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν, ὡς μάλιστα πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐν καιρῷ οἱ ἐφαίνετο παρετάσσετο: καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵπποτοξότας εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν ἐκπέμπει ἐπ’ αὐτούς, ἀκροβολίζεσθαι κελεύσας παριππεύοντας, ὡς μήτε ἐκδρομὴν τινα ποιήσασθαι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς πρὶν ξυνταχθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ ὡς πληγὰς γίνεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐντὸς τοῦ ὀχυρώματος. [6] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἄγλημα κατέστησε καὶ τὴν Κλείτου ἱππαρχίαν, ἐχόμενους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας: κατὰ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ἐτέτακτο τὴν τε αὐτοῦ ἔχων ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τὰς τῶν πεζεταίρων τάξεις: ἐπὶ κέρως δὲ ἐκατέρου οἱ τοξόται αὐτῷ διχῇ διακριθέντες ἐτάχθησαν. [7] ἐκτάσσοντι δὲ αὐτῷ παρεγένοντο καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀπισθοφυλακίας πεζοὶ τε καὶ ἱππεῖς. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα διελὼν παρήγαγεν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν τῶν προσγενομένων πυκνότεραν τὴν ζυγκλείσιν τῆς φάλαγγος ποιήσας αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τεταγμένην παρήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀμάξας. ταύτῃ γὰρ εὐπροσοδώτερον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο τὸ χωρίον καὶ οὐ πυκναὶ ὥσαύτως αἱ ἄμαξαι ἐφειστήκεσαν.

[1] ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἵππον προσαγαγοῦσαν οὐκ ἐξέδραμον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἔξω τῶν ἀμαξῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιβεβηκότες αὐτῶν ἀφ’ ὑψηλοῦ ἠκροβολίζοντο, γνοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι οὐκ εἴη τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἔργον καταπιθῆσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου πεζὸς ἐπῆγε τῶν πεζῶν τὴν φάλαγγα. [2] καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν πρώτων ἀμαξῶν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐβίασαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς: πρὸ δὲ τῶν δευτέρων οἱ Ἰνδοὶ παραταξάμενοι ῥᾶον ἀπεμάχοντο, οἷα δὴ πυκνότεροί τε ἐφεστηκότες ἐλάττονι τῷ κύκλῳ καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐ κατ’ εὐρυχωρίαν ὥσαύτως προσαγόντων σφίσιν, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τε πρώτας ἀμάξας ὑπεξῆγον καὶ κατὰ τὰ διαλείμματα αὐτῶν ὡς ἐκάστοις προὐχώρει ἀτάκτως προσέβαλλον: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ὁμῶς ἐξώσθησαν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ βιασθέντες πρὸς τῆς φάλαγγος. [3] οἱ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τῶν τρίτων ἔμενον, ἀλλὰ ὡς τάχους εἶχον φυγῇ εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατεκλείσθησαν. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιεστρατοπέδευσε τοῖς πεζοῖς τὴν πόλιν ὅσα γε ἡδυνήθη αὐτῷ περιβαλεῖν ἢ φάλαγξ: ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐπέχον τὸ τεῖχος τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κυκλώσασθαι οὐ δυνατὸς ἐγένετο: [4] κατὰ δὲ τὰ διαλείποντα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα καὶ λίμνη οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ τείχους ἦν, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπέταξεν ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς λίμνης, γνοὺς οὐ βαθεῖαν οὔσαν τὴν λίμνην καὶ ἅμα

εἰκάσας ὅτι φοβεροὶ γενόμενοι οἱ Ἴνδοι ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ἤττης ἀπολείψουσιν τῆς νυκτὸς τὴν πόλιν. [5] καὶ συνέβη οὕτως ὅπως εἶκασεν: ἄμφι γὰρ δευτέραν φυλακὴν ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τοῦ τείχους οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐνέκυρσαν ταῖς προφυλακαῖς τῶν ἱππέων: καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι αὐτῶν κατεκόπησαν πρὸς τῶν ἱππέων, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι φυλάσσεται ἐν κύκλῳ ἡ λίμνη ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐθις ἀνεχώρησαν. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ χάρακί τε διπλῶ περιβάλλει ἵνα περ μὴ εἴργεν ἡ λίμνη τὴν πόλιν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς λίμνης ἀκριβεστέρας κατέστησεν. αὐτὸς δὲ μηχανὰς προσάγειν τῷ τείχει ἐπενόει, ὥς κατασεῖν τὸ τεῖχος. αὐτομολήσαντες δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τινες φράζουσιν, ὅτι ἐν νῷ ἔχοιεν αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Ἴνδοι κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἵνα περ τὸ ἐκλιπὲς ἦν τοῦ χάρακος. [7] ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου ἐπιτάττει ἐνταῦθα, τῶν τε ὑπασπιστῶν αὐτῷ δοὺς χιλιαρχίας τρεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας ζύμπαντας καὶ μίαν τάξιν τῶν τοξοτῶν, ἀποδείξας τὸ χωρίον, ἥπερ μάλιστα εἶκαζε βιάσασθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους: σὺ δὲ ἐπειδὰν αἴσθῃ, ἔφη, βιαζομένους ταύτη, αὐτὸς μὲν ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ εἴργειν τοὺς βαρβάρους τοῦ πρόσω, τὸν δὲ σαλπικτὴν κέλευε σημαίνειν: ὑμεῖς δέ, ἄνδρες ἡγεμόνες, ἐπειδὰν σημανθῇ, ζὺν τοῖς καθ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι ζυντεταγμένοι ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸν θόρυβον, ἵνα ἂν ἡ σάλπιγξ παρακαλῇ. ἀποστατήσω δὲ οὐδὲ ἐγὼ τοῦ ἔργου.

[1] ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παρήγγειλεν: Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἀμάξας τε ἐκ τῶν ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ φυγῇ ἀμαξῶν ταύτῃ ξυναγαγὼν ὥς πλείστας κατέστησεν ἐγκαρσίας, ἵνα πολλὰ ἐν νυκτὶ τὰ ἄπορα φαίνεται τοῖς φεύγουσι, καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τοῦ κεκομμένου τε καὶ οὐ καταπληθέντος συνῆσαι ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἐκέλευσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε λίμνης καὶ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐξεργάσαντο. [2] ἦδη τε ἦν ἄμφι τετάρτην φυλακὴν καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, καθάπερ ἐξηγγέλλετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀνοίξαντες τὰς ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην πύλας δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐφέροντο. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθον τὰς ταύτῃ φυλακὰς οὐδὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐπ' αὐταῖς τεταγμένον, ἀλλὰ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τε σαλπικταὶ ἐσήμαινον αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν στρατιὰν ὥπλισμένην τε καὶ συντεταγμένην ἔχων ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους. [3] τοῖς δὲ αἱ τε ἄμαξαι ἐμποδὼν ἦσαν καὶ ὁ χάραξ ἐν μέσῳ καταβεβλημένος: ὥς δὲ ἡ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο καὶ οἱ ἄμφι Πτολεμαῖον προσέκειντο αὐτοῖς τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐκπίπτοντας διὰ τῶν ἀμαξῶν κατακαίνοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀποστρέφονται αὐθις ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει ἐς πεντακοσίους. [4] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Πῶρος ἀφίκετο τοὺς τε ὑπολοίπους ἐλέφαντας ἅμα οἱ ἄγων καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους, αἱ τε μηχαναὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ζυμπεπηγμένοι ἦσαν καὶ προσήγοντο ἦδη τῷ τείχει. ἀλλὰ οἱ Μακεδόνες, πρὶν καὶ κατασεισθῆναι τι τοῦ τείχους, ὑπορύττοντές τε αὐτοὶ πλίνθινον ὄν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἐν κύκλῳ πάντα προσθέντες αἰροῦσι κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν. [5] καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐς μυρίους καὶ ἐπτακισχιλίους, ἐάλωσαν δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐπτὰ μυριάδας καὶ ἄρματα τριακόσια καὶ ἵπποι πεντακόσιοι. τῆς δὲ ζὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατιᾷς ἀπέθανον μὲν ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐν τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ, τραυματίαι δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεκρῶν ἐγένοντο, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους, καὶ ἐν

τούτοις τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λυσίμαχος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ. [6] θάψας δὲ ὡς νόμος αὐτῷ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας Εὐμενὴ τὸν γραμματέα ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὰς δύο πόλεις τὰς ξυναφεστώσας τοῖς Σαγγάλοις δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων ἐς τριακοσίους, φράσσοντα[ς] τοῖς ἔχουσι τὰς πόλεις τῶν τε Σαγγάλων τὴν ἄλωσιν καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔσται χαλεπὸν ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπομένουσιν τε καὶ δεχομένοις φιλίως Ἀλέξανδρον· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλοις τισὶ γενέσθαι τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ὅσοι ἐκόντες σφᾶς ἐνέδοσαν. [7] οἱ δὲ ἤδη γὰρ ἐξηγγέλτο αὐτοῖς κατὰ κράτος ἐαλωκότα πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰ Σάγγαλὰ φοβεροὶ γενόμενοι ἔφευγον ἀπολιπόντες τὰς πόλεις. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπειδὴ ἐξηγγέλη αὐτῶν ἡ φυγή, σπουδῇ ἐδίωκεν· ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφθασαν ἀποφυγόντες, διὰ μακροῦ γὰρ ἡ δίοξις ἐγίνετο, ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἀσθενεῖα ὑπελείποντο, οὗτοι ἐγκαταληφθέντες πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέθανον ἐς πεντακοσίους μάλιστα. [8] ὡς δὲ ἀπέγνω διώκειν τοῦ πρόσω τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἐπανελθὼν ἐς τὰ Σάγγαλα τὴν πόλιν μὲν κατέσκαψε, τὴν χώραν δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοῖς πάλαι μὲν αὐτονόμοις, τότε δὲ ἐκουσίως προσχωρήσας προσέθηκεν. καὶ Πῶρον μὲν ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει τῇ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπει ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αἱ προσκεχωρήκεσαν, φρουρὰς εἰσάξοντα εἰς αὐτάς, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑφασιν ποταμὸν προὐχώρει, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἐπέκεινα Ἰνδοὺς καταστρέψαιτο. οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο αὐτῷ πέρας τι τοῦ πολέμου ἔσσεσθαι ὑπελείπετό τι πολέμιον.

[1] τὰ δὲ δὴ πέραν τοῦ Ὑφάσιος εὐδαίμονά τε τὴν χώραν εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθοὺς μὲν γῆς ἐργάτας, γενναίους δὲ τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἐς τὰ ἴδια δὲ σφῶν ἐν κόσμῳ πολιτεύοντας· πρὸς γὰρ τῶν ἀρίστων ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς πολλούς, τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲν ἕξω τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς ἐξηγεῖσθαι, πληθὺς τε ἐλεφάντων εἶναι τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις πολὺ τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ μεγέθει μεγίστους καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ. [2] ταῦτα δὲ ἐξαγγελλόμενα Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν παρώξυνεν ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ πρόσω ἰέναι· οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ἐξέκαμνον ἤδη ταῖς γνώμαις, πόνους τε ἐκ πόνων καὶ κινδύνους ἐκ κινδύνων ἐπαναιρούμενον ὁρῶντες τὸν βασιλέα· ξύλλογοί τε ἐγίνοντο κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν μὲν τὰ σφέτερα ὀδυρομένων, ὅσοι ἐπιεικέστατοι, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀκολουθήσειν, οὐδ' ἦν ἄγῃ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπισχυριζομένων. ταῦτα ὡς ἐπύθετο Ἀλέξανδρος, πρὶν καὶ ἐπὶ μεῖζον προελθεῖν τὴν ταραχὴν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τὴν ἀθυμίαν, ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν τάξεων ἔλεξεν ὧδε. [3] ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες τε καὶ ξύμμαχοι, οὐχ ὁμοία ἔτι τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπομένους μοι ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους, ξυνήγαγον ἐς ταῦτό, ὡς ἢ πείσας ἄγειν τοῦ πρόσω ἢ πεισθεῖς ὀπίσω ἀποστρέφεσθαι. εἰ μὲν δὴ μεμπτοὶ εἰσιν ὑμῖν οἱ μέχρι δεῦρο πονηθέντες πόνοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἡγούμενος, οὐδὲν ἔτι προὔργου λέγειν μοι ἔστιν. [4] εἰ δὲ Ἰωνία τε πρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ τούσδε τοὺς πόνους ἔχεται καὶ Ἑλλησποντος καὶ Φρύγες ἀμφοτέρω καὶ Καππαδόκαι καὶ Παφλαγόνες καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ Κᾶρες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Παμφυλία δὲ καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Αἴγυπτος ξὺν τῇ Λιβύῃ τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ Ἀραβίας ἔστιν ἡ καὶ Συρία ἢ τε κοίλη καὶ ἡ μέση τῶν ποταμῶν, [5] καὶ Βαβυλὼν δὲ ἔχεται καὶ τὸ Σουσίων ἔθνος καὶ Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ ὅσων Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι ἐπῆρχον, καὶ ὅσων δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον, τὰ ὑπὲρ τὰς Κασπίας πύλας, τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Καυκάσου, ὁ Τανάϊς, τὰ πρόσω ἔτι τοῦ

Τανάϊδος, Βακτριανοί, Ὑρκάνιοι, ἡ θάλασσα ἡ Ὑρκανία, Σκύθας τε ἀνεστείλαμεν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον, ἐπὶ τούτοις μέντοι καὶ ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ῥεῖ, ὁ Ὑδάσπης διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας, ὁ Ἀκεσίνης, ὁ Ὑδραώτης, τί ὀκνεῖτε καὶ τὸν Ὑφασιν καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ὑφάσιος γένη προσθεῖναι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ Μακεδόνων τε ἀρχῇ; ἢ δέδωκε μὴ δέξωνται ὑμᾶς ἔτι ἄλλοι βάρβαροι ἐπιόντας; [6] ὦν γε οἱ μὲν προσχωροῦσιν ἐκόντες, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀλίσκονται, οἱ δὲ ἀποφυγόντες τὴν χώραν ἡμῖν ἔρημον παραδιδόασιν, ἢ δὴ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἐκούσι προσχωρήσασι προστίθεται.

[1] πέρας δὲ τῶν πόνων γενναίῳ μὲν ἀνδρὶ οὐδὲν δοκῶ ἔγωγε ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πόνους, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐς καλὰ ἔργα φέρουσιν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ πολεμεῖν ποθεῖ ἀκοῦσαι ὅ τι περ ἔσται πέρας, μαθέτω ὅτι οὐ πολλὴ ἔτι ἡμῖν ἡ λοιπὴ ἔστιν ἔστε ἐπὶ ποταμόν τε Γάγγην καὶ τὴν ἑῴαν θάλασσαν: ταύτη δὲ, λέγω ὑμῖν, ξυναφῆς φανέεται ἡ Ὑρκανία θάλασσα: ἐκπεριέρχεται γὰρ γῆν πέρα πᾶσαν ἡ μεγάλη θάλασσα. [2] καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπιδείξω Μακεδόσι τε καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τὸν μὲν Ἰνδικὸν κόλπον ξύρρουν ὄντα τῷ Περσικῷ, τὴν δὲ Ὑρκανίαν θάλασσαν τῷ Ἰνδικῷ: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ εἰς Λιβύην περιπλευσθήσεται στόλῳ ἡμετέρῳ τὰ μέχρι Ἡρακλέους Στηλῶν: ἀπὸ δὲ Στηλῶν ἡ ἐντὸς Λιβύῃ πᾶσα ἡμετέρα γίγνεται καὶ ἡ Ἀσία δὴ οὕτω πᾶσα, καὶ ὅροι τῆς ταύτης ἀρχῆς οὕσπερ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὅρους ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησε. [3] νῦν δὲ δὴ ἀποτρεπομένων πολλὰ μὲν μάχιμα ὑπολείπεται γένη ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῴαν θάλασσαν, πολλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων ἔτι ἐπὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν ὡς ἐπὶ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, καὶ τὰ Σκυθικὰ γένη οὐ πόρρω τούτων, ὥστε δέος μὴ ἀπελθόντων ὀπίσω καὶ τὰ νῦν κατεχόμενα οὐ βέβαια ὄντα ἐπαρθῇ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν πρὸς τῶν μήπω ἐχομένων. [4] καὶ τότε δὴ ἀνόνητοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται οἱ πολλοὶ πόνοι ἢ ἄλλων αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεήσει πόνων τε καὶ κινδύνων. ἀλλὰ παραμείνατε, ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες καὶ ξύμμαχοι. πονοῦντων τοι καὶ κινδυνευόντων τὰ καλὰ ἔργα, καὶ ζῆν τε ζῆν ἀρετῇ ἡδὺ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν κλέος ἀθάνατον ὑπολειπομένους. [5] ἢ οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι ὁ πρόγονος ὁ ἡμέτερος οὐκ ἐν Τίρυνθι οὐδὲ Ἄργει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἢ Θήβαις μένων ἐς τοσόνδε κλέος ἦλθεν ὡς θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι ἢ δοκεῖν; οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ Διονύσου, ἀβροτέρου τούτου θεοῦ ἢ καθ' Ἡρακλέα, ὀλίγοι πόνοι. ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς γε καὶ ἐπέκεινα τῆς Νύσης ἀφίγμεθα καὶ ἡ Ἄορνος πέτρα ἢ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνάλωτος πρὸς ἡμῶν ἔχεται. [6] ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔτι ὑπόλοιπα τῆς Ἀσίας πρόσθετε τοῖς ἤδη ἐκτημένοις καὶ τὰ ὀλίγα τοῖς πολλοῖς. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τί ἂν μέγα καὶ καλὸν κατεπέπρακτο, εἰ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καθήμενοι ἱκανὸν ἐποιοῦμεθα ἀπόνως τὴν οἰκείαν διασώζειν, Θρᾶκας τοὺς ὁμόρους ἢ Ἰλλυριοὺς ἢ Τριβαλλοὺς ἢ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειοι ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα, ἀναστέλλοντες; [7] εἰ μὲν δὴ ὑμᾶς πονοῦντας καὶ κινδυνεύοντας αὐτὸς ἀπόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἐξηγούμενος ἦγον, οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἂν προεκάμνετε ταῖς γνώμαις, τῶν μὲν πόνων μόνοις ὑμῖν μετόν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἄλλοις περιποιούντες: νῦν δὲ κοινοὶ μὲν ἡμῖν οἱ πόνοι, ἴσον δὲ μέτεστι τῶν κινδύνων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται ξύμπασιν. [8] ἢ τε χώρα ὑμέτερα καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτῆς σατραπεύετε. καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ μέρος νῦν τε ἐς ὑμᾶς τὸ πολὺ ἔρχεται καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐπεξέλθωμεν τὴν Ἀσίαν, τότε οὐκ ἐμπλήσας μὰ Δι' ὑμᾶς,

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερβαλὼν ὅσα ἕκαστος ἐλπίζει ἀγαθὰ ἔσσεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε ἐθέλοντας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποπέμψω ἢ ἐπανάξω αὐτούς, τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ μένοντας ζηλωτοὺς τοῖς ἀπερχομένοις ποιήσω.

[1] ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος Ἀλεξάνδρου πολὺν μὲν χρόνον σιωπῇ ἦν οὔτε ἀντιλέγειν τολμώντων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος οὔτε ζυγχαρεῖν ἐθέλοντων. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πολλάκις μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκέλευε λέγειν τὸν βουλούμενον, εἰ δὴ τις τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεχθεῖσι γιγνώσκει· ἔμενε δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡ σιωπῇ· ὄνῃ δὲ ποτε θαρσήσας Κοῖνος ὁ Πολεμοκράτους ἔλεξε τοιαύδε. [2] ἐπειδὴ αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐ κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἐθέλεις Μακεδόνων ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ πείσας μὲν ἄξιον φῆς, πεισθεῖς δὲ οὐ βιάσεσθαι, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶνδε ποιήσομαι ἐγὼ τοὺς λόγους, οἳ καὶ προτιμώμενοι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰ ἄθλα τῶν πόνων οἱ πολλοὶ ἤδη κεκομισμένοι καὶ τῷ κρατιστεύειν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους πρόθυμοί σοι ἐς πάντα ἐσμέν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς πολλῆς. [3] οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ταύτης τὰ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐκείνοις ἐρῶ, ἀλλὰ ἃ νομίζω σύμφορά τέ σοι ἐς τὰ παρόντα καὶ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα μάλιστα ἀσφαλῆ εἶναι. δίκαιος δὲ εἰμι καθ' ἡλικίαν τε μὴ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὰ δοκοῦντα βέλτιστα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ σοῦ μοι οὔσαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξίωσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις τε καὶ κινδύνοις ἐς τόδε ἀπροφάσιστον τόλμαν. [4] ὅσῳ γάρ τοι πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα σοὶ τε ἡγουμένῳ καταπέπρακται καὶ τοῖς ἅμα σοὶ οἰκοθεν ὀρμηθεῖσι, τοσῶδε μᾶλλον τι ξύμφορόν μοι δοκεῖ πέρας τι ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις. αὐτὸς γάρ τοι ὄρᾳς, ὅσοι μὲν Μακεδόνων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἅμα σοὶ ὠρμήθημεν, ὅσοι δὲ ὑπολελείμεθα· [5] ὧν Θετταλοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ Βάκτρων εὐθύς οὐ προθύμους ἔτι ἐς τοὺς πόνους αἰσθόμενος οἴκαδε, καλῶς ποιῶν, ἀπέπεμψας· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς πρὸς σοῦ οἰκισθείσαις κατακισσόμενοι οὐδὲ οὗτοι πάντῃ ἐκόντες μένουσιν· οἱ δὲ ζυμπονοῦντές τε ἔτι καὶ ζυγκινδυνεύοντες, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ στρατιά, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολωλέκασιν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τραυμάτων ἀτόμαχοι γεγεννημένοι ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπολελείμενοι εἰσίν, [6] οἱ πλείους δὲ νόσῳ ἀπολώλασιν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ὑπολείπονται, καὶ οὔτε τοῖς σώμασιν ἔτι ὡσαύτως ἐρρωμένοι, ταῖς τε γνώμαις πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον προκεκμηκότες. καὶ τούτοις ξύμπασιν πόθος μὲν γονέων ἐστίν, ὅσοις ἔτι σώζονται, πόθος δὲ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν, πόθος δὲ δὴ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς τῆς οἰκείας, ἣν ζὺν τῷ ἐκ σοῦ πορισθέντι σφίσιν κόσμῳ μεγάλοι τε ἀντὶ μικρῶν καὶ πλούσιοι ἐκ πενήτων ἀναστρέφοντες ζύγγνωστοὶ εἰσιν ἐπιδεῖν ποθοῦντες. [7] σὺ δὲ νῦν μὴ ἄγειν ἄκοντας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁμοίοις ἔτι χρήσῃ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους, οἷς τὸ ἐκούσιον ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀπέσται· ἐπανελθὼν δὲ αὐτός [τε], εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν σαντοῦ ἰδὼν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταστησάμενος καὶ τὰς νίκας ταύτας τὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐς τὸν πατρίων οἶκον κομίσας οὕτω δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄλλον στόλον στέλλεσθαι, εἰ μὲν βούλει, ἐπ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἔω ᾠκισμένα Ἰνδῶν γένη, εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον, εἰ δέ, ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα Καρχηδονίων τῆς Λιβύης. ταῦτα δὲ σὸν ἤδη ἐξηγεῖσθαι. [8] ἔφονται δὲ σοι ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες καὶ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες, νέοι τε ἀντὶ γερόντων καὶ ἀκμῆτες ἀντὶ κεκμηκότων, καὶ οἷς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τὸ ἀπείρατον ἔς τε τὸ παραυτίκα οὐ φοβερὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν

τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίδα ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσται· οὗς καὶ ταύτῃ ἔτι προθυμότερον ἀκολουθήσῃ σοι εἰκός, ὀρῶντας τοὺς πρότερον ξυμπότησαντάς τε καὶ ξυγκινδυνεύσαντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἦθη ἐπανελλυθότας, πλουσίους τε ἀντὶ πενήτων καὶ ἀντὶ ἀφανῶν τῶν πάλαι εὐκλεῖς. [9] καλὸν δέ, ὃ βασιλεῦ, εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο, καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ εὐτυχεῖν σωφροσύνη. σοὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡγουμένῳ καὶ στρατιᾷ τοιαύτην ἄγοντι ἐκ μὲν πολεμίων δέος οὐδέν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἀδόκητά τε καὶ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀφύλακτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστί. τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Κοίνου θόρυβον γενέσθαι

[1] ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις· πολλοῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ δάκρυα προχυθέντα ἔτι μᾶλλον δηλῶσαι τό τε ἀκούσιον τῆς γνώμης ἐς τοὺς πρόσω κινδύνους καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡδονὴν σφισιν εἶναι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἀχθεσθεὶς τοῦ τε Κοίνου τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ τῷ ὄκνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων διέλυσε τὸν ξύλλογον· [2] ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ξυγκαλέσας αὐτὸς ξὺν ὀργῇ τοὺς αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ἰέναι ἔφη τοῦ πρόσω, βιάσσεσθαι δὲ οὐδένα ἄκοντα Μακεδόνων ξυνέπεσθαι· ἔξιν γὰρ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσοντάς τῷ βασιλεῖ σφῶν ἐκόντας· τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε ἐθέλουσιν ὑπάρχειν ἀπιέναι καὶ ἐξαγγέλλειν τοῖς οἰκείοις, ὅτι τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπανήκουσιν ἀπολιπόντες. [3] ταῦτα εἰπόντα ἀπελθεῖν ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν μηδέ τινα τῶν ἐταίρων προσέσθαι αὐτῆς τε ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἐς τὴν τρίτην ἔτι ἀπ' ἐκείνης, ὑπομένοντα, εἰ δὴ τις τροπὴ ταῖς γνώμαις τῶν Μακεδόνων τε καὶ ξυμμάχων, οἷα δὴ ἐν ὄχλῳ στρατιωτῶν τὰ πολλὰ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἐμπεσοῦσα εὐπειθεστέρους παρέξει αὐτούς. [4] ὥς δὲ σιγὴ αὐτῇ πολλὴ ἦν ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀχθόμενοι μὲν τῇ ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ δηλοὶ ἦσαν, οὐ μὴν μεταβαλλόμενοι γε ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει οὐδὲν μείον ἐθύετο, θυομένῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερά. [5] τότε δὴ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεῖους αὐτῷ συναγαγόν, ὥς πάντα ἐς τὴν ὀπίσω ἀναχώρησιν αὐτῷ ἔφερεν, ἐκφαίνει ἐς τὴν στρατιάν, ὅτι ἔγνωσται ὀπίσω ἀποστρέφειν.

[1] οἱ δὲ ἐβόων τε οἷα ἂν ὄχλος ξυμμιγῆς χαίρων βοήσῃ καὶ ἐδάκρυον οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ καὶ τῇ σκηνῇ τῇ βασιλικῇ πελάζοντες ἠύχοντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ, ὅτι πρὸς σφῶν μόνων νικηθῆναι ἠνέσχετο. ἔνθα δὴ διελὼν κατὰ τάξεις τὴν στρατιάν δώδεκα βωμοὺς κατασκευάζειν προστάττει, ὕψος μὲν κατὰ τοὺς μεγίστους πύργους, εὗρος δὲ μείζονας ἔτι ἢ κατὰ πύργους, χαριστήρια τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐς τοσόνδε ἀγαγοῦσιν αὐτὸν νικῶντα καὶ μνημεῖα τῶν αὐτοῦ πόνων. [2] ὥς δὲ κατεσκευασμένοι αὐτῷ οἱ βωμοὶ ἦσαν, θύει δὴ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὥς νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ ἵππικόν. καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν τὴν μέχρι τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ποταμοῦ Πώρῳ ἄρχειν προσέθηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραῶτην ἀνέστρεφε. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ὑδραῶτην, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην αὐτὸς ἐπανήκει ὀπίσω. [3] καὶ ἐνταῦθα καταλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν ἐξωκοδομημένην, ἣν τινα Ἑφαιστίων αὐτῷ ἐκτειχίσαι ἐτάχθη· καὶ ἐς ταύτην ξυνοικίσας τῶν τε προσχώρων ὅσοι ἐθέλονται κατφκίζοντο καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὃ τι περ ἀπόμαχον, αὐτὸς τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ κατάπλῳ παρεσκευάζετο τῷ ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν. [4] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης τε ὁ τῆς ὁμόρου Ἀβισάρῃ χώρας ὑπαρχος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀβισάρου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι

οἰκεῖοι, δῶρά τε κομίζοντες ἃ μέγιστα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς καὶ τοὺς παρ' Ἀβισάρου ἐλέφαντας, ἀριθμὸν ἐς τριάκοντα: Ἀβισάρην γὰρ νόσφ' ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι ἐλθεῖν. ξυνέβαινον δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπεμφθέντες πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἀβισάρην. [5] καὶ ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπῶς πιστεύσας οὕτως ἔχειν Ἀβισάρη τε τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας σατραπεύειν ἔδωκεν καὶ Ἀρσάκην τῇ Ἀβισάρου ἐπικρατεία προσέθηκεν: καὶ φόρους οὕστινας ἀποίσουσι τάξας θύει αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ ποταμῷ. καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην αὐτὸς διαβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ἤκεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῆς τε Νικαίας καὶ τῶν Βουκεφάλων ὅσα πρὸς τῶν ὀμβρῶν πεπονηκότα ἦν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκόσμει.

BOOK VI.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἐπειδὴ παρεσκευάσθησαν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ταῖς ὄχθαις πολλαὶ μὲν τριακόντοροι καὶ ἡμιόλια, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐς παρακομιδὴν στρατιᾶς ποταμῷ εὐπορα, ἔγνω καταπλεῖν πρότερον μὲν γε ἐν τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ κροκοδείλουσκατὰ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν. [2] ἰδὼν, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν πλην Νείλου, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου κυάμους πεφυκότας ὁποίους ἡ γῆ ἐκφέρει ἡ Αἰγυπτία, καὶ [ὁ] ἀκούσας ὅτι ὁ Ἀκεσίνης ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν, ἔδοξεν ἐξευρηκέναι τοῦ Νείλου τὰς ἀρχάς, [3] ὡς τὸν Νεῖλον ἐνθένδε ποθὲν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀνίσχοντα καὶ δι' ἐρήμου πολλῆς γῆς ῥέοντα καὶ ταύτῃ ἀπολλύοντα τὸν Ἰνδόν τὸ ὄνομα, ἔπειτα, ὁπόθεν ἄρχεται διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης χώρας ῥεῖν, Νεῖλον ἤδη πρὸς Αἰθιοπῶν τε τῶν ταύτῃ καὶ Αἰγυπτίων καλούμενον ἢ, ὡς Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν, ἐπώνυμον τῆς Αἰγύπτου Αἴγυπτον, οὕτω δὲ ἐσδιδόναι ἐς τὴν ἐντὸς θάλασσαν. [4] καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα γράφοντα ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῆς γῆς ἄλλα τε γράψαι καὶ ὅτι δοκοίῃ αὐτῷ ἐξευρηκέναι τοῦ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς, μικροῖς δὴ τισι καὶ φαύλοις ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων τεκμαιρόμενον. [5] ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀτρεκέστερον ἐξήλεγξε τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ἰνδῷ, οὕτω δὲ μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τὸν μὲν Ὑδάσπην τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ, τὸν Ἀκεσίνην δὲ τῷ Ἰνδῷ τό τε ὕδωρ ξυμβάλλοντας καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι συγχωροῦντας, τὸν Ἰνδόν δὲ ἐκδιδόντα ἤδη ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, δίστομον τὸν Ἰνδόν ὄντα, οὐδέν τι αὐτῷ προσήκον τῆς γῆς τῆς Αἰγυπτίας: τῆνικαῦτα δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τοῦτο τὸ ἀμφὶ τῷ Νεῖλῳ γραφὲν ἀφελεῖν. [6] καὶ τὸν κατάπλουν τὸν κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἐπινοοῦντα παρασκευασθῆναι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷδε κελεῦσαι τὰς ναῦς. αἱ δὲ ὑπηρεσίαι αὐτῷ ἐς τὰς ναῦς συνεπληρώθησαν ἐκ τῶν ξυνεπομένων τῇ στρατιᾷ Φοινίκων καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων.

[1] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Κοῖνος μὲν ἐν τοῖς πιστοτάτοις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὦν τῶν ἐταίρων νόσῳ τελευτᾷ: καὶ τοῦτον θάπτει ἐκ τῶν παρόντων μεγαλοπρεπῶς. αὐτὸς δὲ ξυναγαθὸν τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καὶ ὅσοι Ἰνδῶν πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένοι ἦσαν βασιλέα μὲν τῆς ἐαλωκυίας ἤδη Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἀπέδειξε Πῶρον, ἐπὶ μὲν ἔθνων τῶν ξυμπάντων, πόλεων δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τὰς δισχιλίας. τὴν στρατιὰν δὲ διένειμεν ὥδε: [2] αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς τε ἅμα οἱ ξύμπαντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀνεβίβασε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὸ ἄγλημα τῶν ἱππέων. κρατερὸς δὲ αὐτῷ μοῖράν τε τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ Ὑδάσπου τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἦγεν: κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν ὄχθην τὸ πλεῖστον τε καὶ κράτιστον τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας Ἡφαιστίων προὐχώρει ἄγων, ἤδη ὄντας ἐς διακοσίους: τούτοις δὲ ἦν παρηγγελμένον ὡς τάχιστα ἄγειν ἵνα περ τὰ Σωπεΐθου βασιλεία. [3] Φιλίππῳ δὲ τῷ σατράπῃ τῆς ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ Βακτρίου γῆς διαλιπόντι τρεῖς ἡμέρας παρήγγελο ἔπεσθαι ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν. τοὺς ἱππέας δὲ τοὺς Νυσαίους ὀπίσω ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὴν Νῦσαν. τοῦ μὲν δὴ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς Νέαρχος αὐτῷ ἐξηγεῖτο, τῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ νεῶς κυβερνήτης ἦν Ὀνησίκριτος, ὃς ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ, ἦντινα ὑπὲρ

Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυνέγραψε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεύσατο, ναύαρχον ἑαυτὸν εἶναι γράψας, κυβερνήτην ὄντα. [4] ἦν δὲ τὸ ξύμπαν πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ὡς λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ὃ μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἔπομαι, τριακόντοροι μὲν ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα, τὰ δὲ πάντα πλοῖα σὺν τοῖς ἱππαγωγοῖς τε καὶ κερκούροις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ποτάμια ἢ τῶν πάλαι πλεόντων κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἢ ἐν τῷ τότε ποιηθέντων οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέοντα τῶν δισχιλίων.

[1] ὡς δὲ ξύμπαντα αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαστο, ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω ὁ μὲν στρατὸς ἐπέβαινε τῶν νεῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔθυε τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς νόμος καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ ὅπως οἱ μάντις ἐξηγοῦντο. καὶ ἐπιβὰς τῆς νεῶς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώρας ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης ἔσπενδεν ἐς τὸν ποταμόν, τὸν τε Ἀκεσίνην ξυνεπικαλούμενος τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ, ὄντινα μέγιστον αὐτῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν ξυμβάλλειν τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ ἐπέπυστο καὶ οὐ πόρρω αὐτῶν εἶναι τὰς ξυμβολάς, καὶ τὸν Ἰνδόν, ἐς ὄντινα ὁ Ἀκεσίνης ξὺν τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ ἐμβάλλει. [2] ἐπὶ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ προπάτορι στείσας καὶ Ἀμμωνι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὅσοις αὐτῷ νόμος σημῆναι ἐς ἀναγωγὴν κελεῖται τῇ σάλπιγγι. ἅμα τε δὴ ἐσημάνθη καὶ ἀνήγοντο ἐν κόσμῳ. παρήγγελτο γάρ ἐφ' ὅσων τε τὰ σκευοφόρα πλοῖα ἐχρῆν τετάχθαι καὶ ἐφ' ὅσων τὰ ἱππαγωγά, ἐφ' ὅσων τε τὰς μαχίμους τῶν νεῶν, ὡς μὴ συμπίπτειν ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τὸν πόρον εἰκὴ πλεούσας· καὶ ταῖς ταχυναυτούσαις φθάνειν οὐκ ἐφίετο ἔξω τῆς τάξεως. [3] ἦν δὲ ὁ τε κτύπος τῆς εἰρεσίας οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐοικώς, ἅτε ἀπὸ πολλῶν νεῶν ἐν ταῦτῳ ἐρессομένων, καὶ βοή ἀπὸ τε τῶν κελευστῶν ἐνδιδόντων τὰς ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἀναπαύλας τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐρετῶν ὅποτε ἀθρόοι ἐμπίπτοντες τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἐπαλαλάξιαν· αἱ τε ὄχθαι, ὑψηλότεραι τῶν νεῶν πολλαχῇ οὔσαι, ἐς στενόν τε τὴν βοήν ξυνάγουσαι καὶ τῇ ξυναγωγῇ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ μέγα ηὔξημένην ἐς ἀλλήλας ἀντέπεμπον, καὶ πού και νάπαι ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ τε ἐρημῇ καὶ τῇ ἀντιπέμψει τοῦ κτύπου καὶ αὐταὶ ξυνεπελάμβανον· [4] οἱ τε ἵπποι διαφανόμενοι διὰ τῶν ἱππαγωγῶν πλοίων, οὐ πρόσθεν ἵπποι ἐπὶ νεῶν ὀφθέντες ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Διονύσου ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς στόλον οὐκ ἐμέμνηντο γενέσθαι ναυτικόν, ἔκκληξιν παρῆχον τοῖς θεωμένοις τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥστε οἱ μὲν αὐτόθεν τῇ ἀναγωγῇ παραγενόμενοι ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐφωμάρτουν, [5] ἐς ὅσους δὲ τῶν ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσκεχωρηκότων Ἰνδῶν ἡ βοή τῶν ἐρετῶν ἢ ὁ κτύπος τῆς εἰρεσίας ἐξίκετο, καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ κατέθεον καὶ ξυνείποντο ἐπάρδοντες βαρβαρικῶς. φιλῶδοι γάρ, εἴπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, Ἰνδοὶ καὶ φιλορρήμονες ἀπὸ Διονύσου ἔτι καὶ τῶν ἅμα Διονύσῳ βακχευσάντων κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν.

[1] οὕτω δὴ πλέων τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατέσχευεν, ἵνα περ Ἡφαιστίωνί τε καὶ Κρατερῷ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀντιπέραις ὄχθαις παρήγγελτο. μείνας δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἡμέρας δύο, ὡς καὶ Φίλιππος αὐτῷ ξὺν τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ ἀφίκετο, τοῦτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμὸν ἐκπέμπει ξὺν οἷς ἔχων ἦκε, τάξας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ τὴν ὄχθην πορεύεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ Κρατερόν τε καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα αὐθις ἐκπέμπει, παραγγείλας ὅπως χρῆ τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπλει κατὰ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμὸν οὐδαμοῦ μείονα ἐν τῷ κατάπλῳ εἴκοσι σταδίων τὸ εὖρος. προσορμιζόμενος δὲ ὅπῃ τύχοι ταῖς ὄχθαις τοὺς προσοικούντας τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἐνδιδόντας σφᾶς ὁμολογίαις παρελάμβανεν, ἤδη δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν

χωρήσαντας βία κατεστρέψατο. [3] αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Μαλλῶν τε καὶ Ὀξυδρακῶν γῆν σπουδῇ ἔπλει, πλείστοις τε καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν πυνθανόμενος καὶ ὅτι ἐξηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας ἀποτεθεῖσθαι εἰς τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας τῶν πόλεων, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐγνωκέναι διὰ μάχης ἰέναι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ σπουδῇ πλείονι ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ καθεστηκόσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἐνδοεῖ τε ἔτι τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τεταραγμένῳ προσφέρηται. [4] ἐνθεν δὲ ὠρμήθη τὸ δεύτερον, [καὶ] πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν ξυμβολὴν τοῦ τε Ὑδάσπου καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου. ἵνα δὲ ξυμβάλλουσιν οἱ ποταμοὶ οὗτοι, στενότατος εἷς ποταμὸς ἐκ τοῖν δυοῖν γίνεται καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα αὐτῷ ὀξὺ ἐπὶ τῇ στενότητι καὶ δίνειν ἄτοποι ὑποστρέφοντος τοῦ ῥοῦ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ κυμαίνεται τε καὶ καχλάζει ἐπὶ μέγα, ὡς καὶ πόρρω ἔτι ὄντων ἐξακούεσθαι τὸν κτύπον τοῦ κύματος. [5] καὶ ἦν μὲν προεξηγγελμένα ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ τῶν ἐγχωρίων καὶ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ στρατιᾷ: ὅμως δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλαζεν αὐτῷ ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς ὁ στρατός, ἐς τοσόνδε ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥοῦ κτύπος κατεῖχεν, ὥστε ἐπέστησαν τὰς εἰρεσίας οἱ ναῦται, οὐκ ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ τῶν τε κελευστῶν ὑπὸ θαύματος ἐκσιωπησάντων καὶ αὐτοὶ μετέωροι πρὸς τὸν κτύπον γενόμενοι.

[1] ὡς δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῶν ξυμβολῶν ἦσαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ κυβερνήται παραγγέλλουσιν ὡς βιαιοτάτῃ εἰρεσία χρωμένους ἐξελαύνειν ἐκ τῶν στενῶν, τοῦ μὴ ἐμπιπτούσας τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὰς δίνας ἀναστρέφεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖν γὰρ τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ τῶν ἐπιστροφῶν τοῦ ὕδατος. [2] τὰ μὲν δὴ στρογγύλα πλοῖα ὅσα καὶ ἔτυχεν αὐτῶν περιστραφέντα πρὸς τοῦ ῥοῦ, οὐδέν τι παθόντα ἐν τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ ὅτι μὴ ταράζαντα τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας, κατέστη ἐς εὐθύ, πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥοῦ ὀρθωθέντα: αἱ δὲ μακραι νῆες οὐχ ὡσαύτως ἀπαθείς ἀπῆλθον ἐν τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ, οὔτε μετέωροι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπικαχλάζοντος κύματος ὡσαύτως οὔσαι, ὅσαι τε δίκροτοι αὐτῶν τὰς κάτω κώπας οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔξω ἔχουσαι τοῦ ὕδατος: [3] καὶ αἱ κῶπαι δὲ αὐτοῖς πλαγίους ἐν ταῖς δίναις γενομένοις συνετρίβοντο, ὅσων γε ἐγκατελήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐ φθασάντων αὐτὰς μετεωρίσαι, ὡς πολλὰς μὲν πονῆσαι τῶν νεῶν, δύο δὲ δὴ περιπεσοῦσας ἀλλήλαις αὐτάς τε διαφθαρῆναι καὶ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων ἐν αὐταῖς πολλούς. ὡς δὲ ἐς πλάτος ἦδη ὁ ποταμὸς διέσχεν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ τε ῥοὺς οὐκέτι ὡσαύτως χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ αἱ δίνειν οὐχ ὁμοίᾳ τῇ βίᾳ ἐπέστρεφον. [4] προσορμίσας οὖν τῇ ἐν δεξιᾷ ὄχθῃ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν στρατόν, ἵνα σκέπη τε ἦν τοῦ ῥοῦ καὶ προσβολὴ ταῖς ναυσὶν καὶ τις καὶ ἄκρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιτηδείως ἀνείχεν ἐς τῶν ναυαγίων τε τὴν ξυναγωγὴν καὶ εἴ τινες ἐπ' αὐτῶν ζῶντες ἔτι ἐφέροντο, τούτους τε διέσωσε καὶ ἐπισκευάσας τὰς πεπονηκυίας τῶν νεῶν Νέαρχον μὲν καταπλεῖν κελεύει ἔστ' ἂν ἀφίκηται ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια τοῦ Μαλλῶν ἔθνους, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν οὐ προσχωρούντων καταδρομὴν τῆς χώρας ποιησάμενος καὶ καλύσας ἐπικουρῆσαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς Μαλλοῖς, οὕτω δὴ αὐθις ξυνέμιξε τῷ ναυτικῷ. [5] καὶ ἐνταῦθα Ἡφαιστίων τε αὐτῷ καὶ Κρατερὸς καὶ Φίλιππος ξὺν τοῖς ἅμφ' αὐτοὺς ὁμοῦ ἦδη ἦσαν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὴν Πολυπέρχοντος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς ἵπποτοξότας καὶ Φίλιππον ξὺν τῇ ἅμφ' αὐτὸν στρατιᾷ διαβιάσας τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμὸν Κρατερῷ ἄγειν προσέταξε: Νέαρχον δὲ ξὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ πέμπει τρισὶν ἡμέραις τὴν στρατιὰν κελεύσας

φθάνειν κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν. [6] τὸν δὲ ἄλλον στρατὸν τριχῇ διένειμε: καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν πέντε ἡμέραις προΐεναι ἔταξεν, ὥς εἴ τινες τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ τεταγμένους φεύγοντες ἐς τὸ πρόσω κατὰ σπουδὴν ἴοιεν, τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα ἐμπίπτοντες ἀλίσκωνται: Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Λάγου δοὺς καὶ τούτῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος τρισὶν ἡμέραις ὑπολειπόμενον ἔπεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὥς ὅσοι τὸ ἔμπαλιν ὑποστρέφοιεν αὐτὸν φεύγοντες, [7] οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐμπίπτοιεν. ἐπὰν δὲ ἀφίκωνται ἐς τὰς ξυμβολὰς τοῦ τε Ἀκεσίνου καὶ τοῦ Ὑδραῶτου ποταμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοὺς τε φθάνοντας ὑπομένειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἔστ' ἂν ἦκη αὐτός, καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν καὶ Πτολεμαῖον αὐτῷ ξυμβαλεῖν.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τῶν πεζεταίρων καλουμένων τὴν Πείθωνος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας τε πάντας καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἐταίρων τοὺς ἡμίσεας διὰ γῆς ἀνύδρου ὥς ἐπὶ Μαλλοὺς ἦγεν, ἔθνος Ἰνδικὸν Ἰνδῶν τῶν αὐτονόμων. [2] καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς ὕδατι οὐ πολλῷ, ὃ δὴ ἀπεῖχε τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ σταδίου ἐς ἑκατόν: δειπνοποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν οὐ πολὺν χρόνον παραγγέλλει ὃ τι τις ἔχοι ἄγγος ἐμπλῆσαι ὕδατος. διελθὼν δὲ τῆς τε ἡμέρας τὸ ἔτι ὑπολειπόμενον καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐς τετρακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίου ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς πόλιν ἀφίκετο, ἐς ἣν ξυμπεφύγεσαν πολλοὶ τῶν Μαλλῶν. [3] οἱ δὲ οὐποτ' ἂν οἰθέντες διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου ἔλθειν ἐπὶ σφᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔξω τε τῆς πόλεως οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνοπλοι ἦσαν. ἐφ' ὅτῳ καὶ δῆλος ἐγένετο ταύτην ἀγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἦν ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀγαγεῖν χαλεπὸν ἦν, ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐδὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅτι ἄξει πιστὸν ἐφαίνετο. τούτοις μὲν δὴ οὐ προσδοκήσασιν ἐπιπεσὼν τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἐς ἀλκὴν οἶα δὴ ἀνόπλους τραπέντας: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατεilhθέντων κύκλῳ περιστήσας τῷ τείχει τοὺς ἱππείας, ὅτι μήπω ἢ φάλαγξ τῶν πεζῶν ἠκολουθῆκει αὐτῷ, ἀντὶ χάρακος ἐχρήσατο τῇ ἵππῳ. [4] ὥς δὲ τάχιστα οἱ πεζοὶ ἀφίκοντο, Περδίκκαν μὲν τὴν τε αὐτοῦ ἱππαρχίαν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Κλείτου καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας πρὸς ἄλλην πόλιν ἐκπέμπει τῶν Μαλλῶν, οἳ ξυμπεφευγότες ἦσαν πολλοὶ τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν, φυλάσσειν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κελεύσας, ἔργου δὲ μὴ ἔχεσθαι ἔστ' ἂν ἀφίκηται αὐτός, ὥς μηδὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως διαφυγόντας τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀγγέλους γενέσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις ὅτι προσάγει ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος: αὐτὸς δὲ προσέβαλλεν τῷ τείχει. [5] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἐκλείπουσιν, ὥς οὐκ ἂν διαφυλάξαντες αὐτὸ ἔτι, πολλῶν ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τεθνηκότων, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τραυμάτων ἀπομάχων γεγενημένων: ἐς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν ξυμφυγόντες χρόνον μὲν τινα ἡμύνοντο ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τε χωρίου καὶ χαλεποῦ ἐς προσβολήν, προσκειμένων δὲ πάντοθεν εὐρώστως τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ ἐπιφαινομένου τῷ ἔργῳ ἢ τε ἄκρα κατὰ κράτος ἐάλω καὶ οἱ ξυμφυγόντες ἐς αὐτὴν πάντες ἀπέθανον: ἦσαν δὲ ἐς δισχιλίους. [6] Περδίκκας δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐφ' ἣντινα ἐστάλη ἀφικόμενος τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐρήμην καταλαμβάνει, μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ πεφεύγεσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες δρόμῳ ἤλαυνε κατὰ στίβον τῶν φευγόντων: οἱ δὲ ψιλοὶ ὥς τάχους ποδῶν εἶχον αὐτῷ ἐφείποντο. καταλαβὼν δὲ τῶν φευγόντων

κατέκοπεν ὅσοι γε μὴ ἔφθασαν εἰς τὰ ἔλη ξυμφυγόντες.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ δειπνοποιησάμενός τε καὶ ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἔστε ἐπὶ πρώτην φυλακὴν ἦει τοῦ πρόσω· καὶ τὴν νύκτα διελθὼν πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἅμα ἡμέρα ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν Ὑδραώτην ποταμὸν. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν Μαλλῶν τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς διαβεβηκότας ἤδη ἔμαθεν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ διαβαίνουσιν ἐπιγενόμενος περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πόρον πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διέφθειρε. [2] καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς εἶχε ξυνδιαβὰς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν πόρον διώκων εἶχετο τῶν φθασάντων εἰς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, οἱ πλείους δὲ κατέφυγον ἔς τι χωρίον ὄχυρόν καὶ τετειχισμένον. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς οἱ πεζοὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ, ἀποστέλλει ἐπὶ τούτους Πείθωνα τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δύο ἱππαρχίας. [3] καὶ οὗτοι δὴ ἐξ ἐφόδου προσβαλόντες λαμβάνουσι τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοὺς καταπεφυγότες εἰς αὐτὸ ἠνδραποδίσαν, ὅσοι γε μὴ ἐν τῇ προσβολῇ διεφθάρησαν. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἄμφι τὸν Πείθωνα διαπραζάμενοι ἐπανῆλθον αὐθις εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. [4] αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων τινὰ πόλιν ἦγεν, ὅτι καὶ εἰς ταύτην ξυμπεφευγένοι τινὰς τῶν Μαλλῶν ἔμαθεν. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐπῆγε τῷ τείχει πάντοθεν πυκνὴν τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ ὑπορυσσόμενα τὰ τεῖχη ἰδόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν βελῶν ἀναστελλόμενοι τὰ μὲν τεῖχη καὶ οὗτοι ἐκλείπουσιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν ξυμφυγόντες ἐκεῖθεν ἡμύνοντο· ξυνεισπεσόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγων Μακεδόνων μεταβαλλόμενοι καὶ ξυστραφέντες τοὺς μὲν ἐξέωσαν αὐτῶν, ἀπέκτειναν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὑποστροφῇ ἔς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. [5] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος τὰς τε κλίμακας πάντοθεν κελεύει προστιθέναι τῇ ἄκρᾳ καὶ ὑπορύττειν τὸ τεῖχος. ὡς δὲ πύργος τε ἔπεσεν ὑπορυσσόμενος καὶ τοῦ μεταπυργίου τι παραρραγὲν ἐπιμαχωτέραν ταύτῃ ἐποίησε τὴν ἄκραν, πρῶτος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιβὰς τοῦ τείχους ὦφθη ἔχων τὸ τεῖχος. [6] καὶ τοῦτον ἰδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες αἰσχυρθέντες ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἀνῆσαν. εἶχετό τε ἡδὴ ἡ ἄκρα, καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ μὲν τὰς οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπρασαν καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγκαταλαμβάνόμενοι ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ μαχόμενοι αὐτῶν. ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ πάντες εἰς πεντακισχιλίους, ζῶντες δὲ δι' ἀνδρείαν ὀλίγοι ἐλήφθησαν.

[1] μείνας δὲ αὐτοῦ μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ προῦχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μαλλοὺς. καὶ τὰς μὲν πόλεις ἐκλελοιπότες καταλαμβάνει, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἔμαθεν ὅτι πεφευγότες εἶεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. [2] καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐθις μίαν ἡμέραν ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν Πείθωνα μὲν καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν ἱπάρχην πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν, ὧν τε αὐτοὶ ἡγοῦντο ἄγοντας καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ψιλῶν τάξεις δούς αὐτοῖς ὅσαι ἱκαναὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον. [3] προσέταξε δὲ παρὰ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἰόντας, εἴ τις περιτυγχάνοιεν τῶν εἰς τὰς ὕλας ξυμπεφευγόντων, αἱ δὴ πολλαὶ πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἦσαν, τούτους κτείνειν, ὅσοι μὴ ἐθελονταὶ σφᾶς ἐνδιδοῖεν. καὶ πολλοὺς καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις οἱ ἄμφι Πείθωνα τε καὶ Δημήτριον ἀπέκτειναν. [4] αὐτὸς δὲ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν Μαλλῶν πόλιν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων πολλοὺς ξυμπεφευγένοι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἐξέλιπον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ὡς προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἔμαθον. διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Ὑδραώτην ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄχθαις αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ὕψηλα αἱ ὄχθαι ἦσαν, παρατεταγμένοι ἔμενον, ὡς εἰρζοντες τοῦ πόρου Ἀλέξανδρον. [5]

καὶ ταῦτα ὥς ἤκουσεν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἅμα αὐτῷ πᾶσαν ἦει ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραῶτην, ἵνα περ παρατετάχθαι τοὺς Μαλλοὺς ἐξηγγέλλετο. οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ ἔπεσθαι αὐτῷ ἐτάχθησαν. ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετό τε ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ πέραν τοὺς πολεμίους τεταγμένους κατείδεν, ὥς εἶχεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὸν πόρον ζὺν τῇ ἵππῳ μόνῃ. [6] οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄντα ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρον κατὰ σπουδὴν μὲν, ζυντεταγμένοι δὲ ὁμῶς ἀπεχώρουν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ζὺν μόνῃ τῇ ἵππῳ εἶπετο. ὥς δὲ κατείδον ἱππέας μόνους, ἐπιστρέψαντες οἱ Ἴνδοι καρτερῶς ἐμάχοντο πλῆθος ὄντες ἐς πέντε μυριάδας. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὥς τὴν τε φάλαγγα αὐτῶν πυκνὴν κατείδε καὶ αὐτῷ οἱ πεζοὶ ἀπῆσαν, προσβολὰς μὲν ἐποιεῖτο ἐς κύκλους παριππεύων, ἐς χεῖρας δὲ οὐκ ἦει τοῖς Ἴνδοις. [7] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ παραγίγνονται αὐτῷ οἱ τε Ἀγριᾶνες καὶ ἄλλαι τάξεις τῶν ψιλῶν, ἃς δὴ ἐπιλέκτους ἅμα οἱ ἦγε, καὶ οἱ τοξόται· οὐ πόρρῳ δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ φάλαγξ ἐφαίνετο τῶν πεζῶν. καὶ οἱ Ἴνδοι ὁμοῦ σφισι πάντων τῶν δεινῶν προσκειμένων ἀποστρέψαντες ἤδη προτροπάδην ἔφευγον ἐς πόλιν ὀχυρωτάτην τῶν πλησίον. [8] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπόμενός τε αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε καὶ ὥς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἱ διαφυγόντες κατειλήθησαν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐκυκλώσατο τὴν πόλιν· ὥς δὲ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ παρήσαν, ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περιστρατοπεδεύει ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχους, ὅτι οὐ πολὺ τε τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπελείπετο ἐς τὴν προσβολὴν καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τε πορείας μακρᾶς οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ ὑπὸ διώξεως συνεχοῦς οἱ ἵπποι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα κατὰ τὸν πόρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τεταλαιπωρήκεσαν.

[1] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία διχῇ διελὼν τὸν στρατὸν τοῦ μὲν ἐτέρου αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Περδίκκας προσῆγε. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οὐ δεξάμενοι οἱ Ἴνδοι τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν ὁρμὴν τὰ μὲν τείχη τῆς πόλεως λείπουσιν, αὐτί δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ζυνέφευγον. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν πυλῖδα τινὰ κατασχίσαντες παρήλθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων· [2] οἱ δὲ ὁμοῦ Περδίκκα τεταγμένοι ὑστέρησαν ὑπερβαίνοντες κατὰ τὰ τείχη οὐκ εὐπετῶς, οὐδὲ τὰς κλίμακας οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν φέροντες, ὅτι ἐαλωκέναι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις, ἐρημούμενα τῶν προμαχομένων τὰ τείχη ὥς κατείδον. ὥς δὲ ἡ ἄκρα ἐχομένη πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τεταγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι πολλοὶ ἐφάνησαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τείχος, οἱ δὲ προσθέσει ὅπῃ παρείκοι τῶν κλιμάκων βιάσασθαι ἐπειρῶντο ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. [3] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὥς βλακεύειν αὐτῷ ἐδόκουν τῶν Μακεδόνων οἱ φέροντες τὰς κλίμακας, ἀρπάσας κλίμακα ἐνὸς τῶν φερόντων προσέθηκε τῷ τείχει αὐτὸς καὶ εἰληθείς ὑπὸ τῇ ἀσπίδι ἀνέβαινε· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Πευκέστας ὁ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσπίδα φέρων, ἦν ἐκ τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰλιάδος λαβὼν ἅμα οἱ εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐφέρετο ἐν ταῖς μάχαις· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Λεοννάτος ἀνῆει κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν κλίμακα ὁ σωματοφύλαξ· κατὰ δὲ ἄλλην κλίμακα Ἀβρέας τῶν διμοιριτῶν τις στρατευομένων. [4] ἤδη τε πρὸς τῇ ἐπάλξει τοῦ τείχους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ ἐρείσας ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὴν ἀσπίδα τοὺς μὲν ὥθει εἴσω τοῦ τείχους τῶν Ἰνδῶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ ξίφει ἀποκτείνας γεγυμνώκει τὸ ταύτῃ τείχος· καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ὑπέρφοβοι γενόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδῇ ὠθούμενοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν κλίμακα συντρίβουσιν αὐτήν, ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἤδη ἀνιόντες αὐτῶν

κάτω ἔπεσον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἄπορον ἐποίησαν τὴν ἄνοδον. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους στὰς κύκλῳ τε ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον πύργων ἐβάλλετο, οὐ γὰρ πελάσαι γε ἐτόλμα τις αὐτῷ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, οὐδὲ πόρρῳ τούτων γε ἐσακοντιζόντων ἔτυχε γάρ τι καὶ προσκεχωσμένον ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, δῆλος μὲν ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὢν τῶν τε ὅπλων τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ ἀτόπῳ τῆς τόλμης, ἔγνω δὲ ὅτι αὐτοῦ μὲν μένων κινδυνεύσει μηδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἀποδεικνύμενος, καταπηδήσας δὲ εἴσω τοῦ τείχους τυχὸν μὲν αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἐκπλήξει τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ κινδυνεύειν δέοι, μεγάλα ἔργα καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα πυθέσθαι ἄξια ἐργασάμενος οὐκ ἀσπουδεὶ ἀποθανεῖται — ταῦτα γνοὺς καταπηδᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. [6] ἔνθα δὴ ἐρεισθεὶς πρὸς τῷ τείχει τοὺς μὲν τινὰς ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας καὶ τὸν γε ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ἰνδῶν προσφερόμενόν οἱ θρασύτερον παίσας τῷ ξίφει ἀποκτείνει· ἄλλον δὲ πελάζοντα λίθῳ βαλὼν ἔσχε καὶ ἄλλον λίθῳ, τὸν δὲ ἐγγυτέρῳ προσάγοντα τῷ ξίφει αὖθις. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι πελάζειν μὲν αὐτῷ οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἔβαλλον δὲ πάντοθεν περιεστηκότες ὅ τι τις ἔχων βέλος ἐτύγχανεν ἢ ἐν τῷ τότε ἔλαβεν.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Πευκέστας τε καὶ ὁ διμοιρίτης Ἀβρέας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Λεοννάτος, οἱ δὴ μόνοι ἔτυχον πρὶν ξυντριβῆναι τὰς κλίμακας ἀναβεβηκότες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, καταπηδήσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸ τοῦ βασιλείως ἐμάχοντο. καὶ Ἀβρέας μὲν ὁ διμοιρίτης πίπτει αὐτοῦ τοξευθεὶς ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ βάλλεται καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στῆθος τοξεύματι ὑπὲρ τὸν μαστόν, ὥστε λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὅτι καὶ πνεῦμα ὁμοῦ τῷ αἵματι ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἐξεπνεῖτο. [2] ὁ δέ, ἔστε μὲν ἔτι θερμὸν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ αἷμα, καίπερ κακῶς ἔχων ἡμύνετο· πολλοῦ δὲ δὴ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἀθρόου οἷα δὴ ζὺν πνεύματι ἐκρύνετος, ἱλιγγός τε αὐτὸν καὶ λειποψυχία κατέσχε καὶ πίπτει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ξυννεύσας. Πευκέστας δὲ περιβὰς πεπτωκότη καὶ ὑπερσχὼν τὴν ἱερὰν τὴν ἐξ Ἰλίου ἀσπίδα πρὸ αὐτοῦ [εἶχε], καὶ Λεοννάτος ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα, οὗτοί τε βάλλονται ἀμφοτέροι καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐγγὺς ἦν ἤδη ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος ἐκλιπεῖν. [3] τοῖς γὰρ Μακεδόσι καὶ ταύτῃ ἐν ἀπόρῳ γεγένητο τὰ τῆς προσβολῆς, ὅτι οἱ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον βαλλόμενόν τε ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει ἰδόντες καὶ πηδῶντα ἔσω ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τε καὶ φόβου μή τι αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς πάθῃ οὐ ζὺν νόφ κινδυνεύων, τὰς κλίμακας ξυντετριφότες ἄλλοι ἄλλας μηχανὰς ἐς τὸ ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις ἐμηχανῶντο, οἱ μὲν πασσάλους ἐμπηγνύοντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος γήϊνον ὄν, καὶ κατὰ τούτους ἐκκρεμαννύμενοι χαλεπῶς ἀνείρπον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλους ἐπιβαίνοντες. [4] ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἀνελθὼν ἐνρίπτει αὐτὸν κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἵναπερ τὸν βασιλέα ἐώρων κείμενον, ζὺν οἰμωγῇ καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ πάντες. ἤδη τε ἀμφ' αὐτῷ πεπτωκότη καρτερὰ μάχῃ ξυνειστήκει ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τῶν Μακεδόνων προασπίζοντος, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ μὲν τὸν μοχλὸν ὄτῳ εἶχετο ἢ κατὰ τὸ μεταπύργιον πύλῃ κατασχίσαντες ἐπ' ὀλίγους παρήεσαν, οἱ δὲ καθ' ὅ τι ἢ πύλῃ διέσχε τοὺς ὤμους ὑποθέντες καὶ ὥσαντες ἐς τὸ ἔσω τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεπέτασαν ταύτῃ τὴν ἄκραν.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ μὲν ἔκτεινον τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν γε πάντα οὐδὲ γυναῖκα ἢ παῖδα ὑπελείποντο, οἱ δὲ ἐξέφερον τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος κακῶς ἔχοντα, οὐπω γινώσκοντες βιώσιμον ὄντα. τὸ δὲ βέλος ἐξελκύσαι ἐκ

τοῦ τραύματος ἐπιτεμόντα τὴν πληγὴν οἱ μὲν Κριτόδημον ἀνέγραψαν, ἱατρὸν Κῶον, τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν, οἱ δὲ Περδίκκαν τὸν σωματοφύλακα, οὐ παρόντος ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἱατροῦ, ἐγκελευσαμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ ξίφει ἐπιτεμεῖν τὴν πληγὴν καὶ κομίσασθαι τὸ βέλος. [2] ἐν δὲ τῇ κομιδῇ φορὰ αἵματος πολλοῦ γίνεται, ὥστε λειποψυχεῖσθαι αὐθις Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ οὕτω σχεθῆναι αὐτῷ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὸ τῇ λειποψυχίᾳ. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀναγράφονται τοῖς ξυγγραφεῦσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παθήματος, καὶ ἡ φήμη παραδεξαμένη αὐτὰ κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους ψευσαμένους ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διασώζει, οὐδὲ ἀφήσει παραδιδούσα καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἄλλοις τὰ ψευδῆ, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ξυγγραφῆς παύσεται. [3] αὐτίκα ἐν Ὁξυδράκαις τὸ πάθημα τοῦτο γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὁ πᾶς λόγος κατέχει: τὸ δὲ ἐν Μαλλοῖς ἔθνει αὐτονόμῳ Ἰνδικῷ ξυνέβη, καὶ ἡ τε πόλις Μαλλῶν ἦν καὶ οἱ βαλόντες Ἀλέξανδρον Μαλλοί, οἱ δὲ ἐγνώκεσαν μὲν ξυμμιζαντες τοῖς Ὁξυδράκαις οὕτω διαγωνίζεσθαι, ἔφθη δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλάσας πρὶν τινα ὠφέλειαν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν Ὁξυδρακῶν γενέσθαι ἢ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις τι ἐπωφελῆσαι. [4] ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν μάχην τὴν πρὸς Δαρεῖον γενομένην, καθ' ἣντινα ἔφυγε Δαρεῖος οὐδὲ πρόσθεν ἔληξε τῆς φυγῆς πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον καὶ προσάγοντος ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποθανεῖν, πρὸς Ἀρβήλοις γενέσθαι ὁ πᾶς λόγος κατέχει, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ τὴν πρὸ ταύτης ἐν Ἰσσοῦ καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἵππομαχίαν πρὸς Γρανίκῳ. [5] ἀλλὰ πρὸς Γρανίκῳ μὲν ξυνέβη ἡ μάχη ἡ ἱππικὴ καὶ πρὸς Ἰσσοῦ ἡ αὐθις πρὸς Δαρεῖον μάχη, Ἀρβηλα δὲ τοῦ χώρου, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἐσχάτην μάχην Δαρεῖος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐμάχεσαντο, οἱ μὲν τὰ πλεῖστα ξυγγράψαντες λέγουσιν ὅτι ἑξακοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχει, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐλάχιστα, ὅτι ἐς πεντακοσίους. ἀλλὰ ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις γὰρ γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην πρὸς ποταμῷ Βουμήλῳ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος. [6] πόλις δὲ οὐκ ἦν τὰ Γαυγάμηλα, ἀλλὰ κώμη μεγάλη, οὐδὲ ὀνομαστός ὁ χώρος οὐδὲ ἐς ἀκοὴν ἡδὺ τὸ ὄνομα: ἔνθεν δὴ μοι δοκεῖ πόλις οὖσα τὰ Ἀρβηλα ἀπηνέγκατο τὴν δόξαν τῆς μεγάλης μάχης. εἰ δὲ πρὸς Ἀρβήλοις χρή οἶεσθαι γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον ἐκεῖνο ἐς τοσόνδε Ἀρβήλων ἀπέχον, καὶ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γενομένην ναυμαχίαν πρὸς ἰσθμῷ τῷ Κορινθίων ἔξεστι λέγειν ὅτι ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας πρὸς Αἰγίνῃ ἢ Σουνίῳ. [7] καὶ μὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπερασπισάντων ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Πευκέσταν μὲν γενέσθαι ξύμπαντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ Λεοννάτου δὲ οὐκέτι ξυμφέρονται οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ Ἀβρέου τοῦ διμοιρίτου. καὶ οἱ μὲν ξύλῳ πληγέντα κατὰ τοῦ κράνους Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἰλιγγιάσαντα πεσεῖν, αὐθις δὲ ἀναστάντα βληθῆναι βέλει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στήθος: Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου ταύτην μόνην τὴν πληγὴν πληγῆναι λέγει τὴν ἐς τὸ στήθος. [8] τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον πλημμέλημα τῶν ξυγγραψάντων τὰ ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκεῖνο τίθεμαι ἔγωγε. Πτολεμαῖον γὰρ τὸν Λάγου ἔστιν οἱ ἀνέγραψαν ξυναναβῆναί τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κατὰ τὴν κλίμακα ὁμοῦ Πευκέστα καὶ ὑπερασπίσαι κειμένου, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Σωτήρᾳ ἐπικληθῆναι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον: καίτοι αὐτὸς Πτολεμαῖος ἀναέγραφεν οὐδὲ παραγενέσθαι τοῦτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ στρατιᾶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος ἄλλας μάχεσθαι μάχας καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους βαρβάρους. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν ἐκβολῇ τοῦ λόγου ἀναγεγράφθω μοι, ὥς μὴ ἀταλαίπωρον γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἔπειτα ἀνθρώποις τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν

τηλικούτων ἔργων τε καὶ παθημάτων ἀφήγησιν.

[1] ἐν ᾧ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοῦ μένων τὸ τραῦμα ἐθεραπεύετο, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔνθεν περ ὠρμήθη ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαλλούς, ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λόγος ἦκεν ὅτι τεθνηκῶς εἶη ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οἰμωγὴ ἦν τῆς στρατιᾶς ξυμπάσης ἄλλου ἄλλω παραδιδόντος τὴν φήμην: παυσάμενοι δὲ τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἄθυμοί τε καὶ ἄποροι ἦσαν, ὅστις μὲν ἐξηγούμενος ἔσται τῆς στρατιᾶς [2] 'πολλοὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐν ἴσῳ τὰ τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἐδόκει πρὸς τε αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ πρὸς Μακεδόνων καθεστηκέναι, ὅπως δὲ ἀποσπῶνται ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, τοσούτων μὲν ἔθνων μαχίμων περιειργόντων σφᾶς ἐν κύκλῳ, τῶν μὲν οὐπω προσκεχωρηκότων, ἃ δὴ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας εἵκαζον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι καρτερῶς, τῶν δὲ ἀποστησομένων ἀφαιρεθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβου, ποταμῶν τε ἐν μέσῳ ἀδιαβάτων τότε δὴ ἐδόκουν εἶναι καὶ πάντα σφίσι βίβρακα καὶ ἀμήχανα ἐρήμοις Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφαίνετο. [3] ὥς δὲ ἦκέ ποτε λόγος ὅτι ζῇ Ἀλέξανδρος, τούτῳ μὲν μόγις ξυνεχώρησαν, εἰ δὲ καὶ βιώσιμός ἐστιν, οὐπω ἐπιστεύετο. ὥς δὲ καὶ γράμματα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἦκεν ὅτι ὅσον οὐπω κατελευσεται ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὐδὲ ταῦτα τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄγαν δέους πιστὰ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πλάττεσθαι γὰρ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν σωματοφυλάκων τε καὶ στρατηγῶν εἰκάζετο.

[1] καὶ ταῦτα ἐννοήσας Ἀλέξανδρος, μή τι νεωτερισθεῖν ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἡδυνήθη κομίζεται ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ὑδραώτου τὰς ὄχθας: καὶ πλέων κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦν γὰρ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς τοῦ τε Ὑδραώτου καὶ τοῦ Ἀκесίνου, ἵνα Ὑφαιστίων τε ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦν καὶ Νέαρχος τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῷ εἶχεν', ὥς [δὲ] ἐπέλαζεν ἡ ναὺς ἤδη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸν βασιλέα φέρουσα, κελεύει δὴ ἀφελεῖν τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πρύμνης, ὥς καταφανὴς εἶναι πᾶσιν. [2] οἱ δὲ ἔτι ἠπίστουν, ὥς νεκροῦ δῆθεν κομιζομένου Ἀλεξάνδρου, πρὶν γε δὴ προσχούσης τῆς νεῶς τῇ ὄχθῃ ὁ μὲν τὴν χεῖρα ἀνέτεινεν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος: οἱ δὲ ἀνεβόησαν, ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχόντες τὰς χεῖρας, οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον: πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ δάκρυα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνελπίστῳ προεχύθη ἀκούσια. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν κλίνην προσέφερον αὐτῷ ἐκκομιζομένῳ ἐκ τῆς νεῶς, ὁ δὲ τὸν ἵππον προσάγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. [3] ὥς δὲ ἐπιβὰς τοῦ ἵππου ὤφθη αὐθις, κρότῳ δὴ πολλῷ ἐπεκτύπησεν ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα, ἐπήχησαν δὲ αἱ τε ὄχθαι καὶ αἱ πλησίον αὐτῶν νάπαι. προσάγων δὲ ἤδη τῇ σκηνῇ καταβαίνει ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ὥστε καὶ βαδίζων ὀφθῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν, οἱ μὲν χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ γονάτων, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος αὐτῆς ἀπτόμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἐγγύθεν καὶ τι καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντες ἀπελθεῖν: οἱ δὲ ταινίαις ἔβαλλον, οἱ δὲ ἄνθεσιν, ὅσα ἐν τῷ τότε ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῇ παρεῖχε. [4] Νέαρχος δὲ λέγει, ὅτι χαλεποὶ αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων ἐγένοντο ὅσοι ἐκάκιζον, ὅτι αὐτὸς πρὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς κινδυνεύει: οὐ γὰρ στρατηγὸς ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ στρατιώτου εἶναι. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ἄχθεσθαι Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖσδε τοῖς λόγοις, ὅτι ἀληθεῖς τε ὄντας ἐγίγνωσκε καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπαίτιον τῇ ἐπιτιμῇ. καὶ ὅμως ὑπὸ μένους τε τοῦ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος τῆς δόξης, καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλης τινὸς ἡδονῆς ἐξηττώμενοι, οὐ καρτερὸς ἦν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων. [5] ἄνθρωπον δὲ τινα πρεσβύτερον λέγει Βοιωτίον, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ λέγει, ὥς ἀχθόμενόν τε πρὸς τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις τῶν φίλων κατέμαθεν

Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἐσκυθροπακότα, προσελθόντα τοῦτον βοιωτιάζοντα ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ ταῦτα φάσαι: ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἀνδρῶν τὰ ἔργα: καὶ τι καὶ ἱαμβεῖον ὑπειπεῖν, τὸν δὲ νοῦν εἶναι τοῦ ἱαμβείου ὅτι τῷ τι δρῶντι καὶ παθεῖν ἐστιν ὀφειλόμενον. καὶ τοῦτον ἐν τε τῷ παραντίκα εὐδοκιμήσαι καὶ ἐπιτηδεϊότερον ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γενέσθαι.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον τῶν Μαλλῶν τῶν ὑπολειπομένων πρέσβεις ἐνδιδόντες τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ παρὰ Ὀξυδρακῶν οἱ τε ἡγεμόνες τῶν πόλεων καὶ οἱ νομάρχαι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι ἅμα τούτοις ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα οἱ γνωριμώτατοι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ σπονδῶν δῶρά τε ὅσα μέγιστα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς κομίζοντες καὶ τὸ ἔθνος καὶ οὗτοι ἐνδιδόντες. [2] συγγνωστὰ δὲ ἁμαρτεῖν ἔφασαν οὐ πάσαι παρ' αὐτὸν πρεσβευσάμενοι: ἐπιθυμεῖν γάρ, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ αὐτόνομοι εἶναι, ἤντινα ἐλευθερίαν ἐξ ὅτου Διόνυσος ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἦκε σῶαν σφίσιν εἶναι ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον: εἰ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοκοῦν ἐστίν, ὅτι καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι λόγος κατέχει, σατράπην τε ἀναδέξασθαι, ὄντινα τάττοι Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ φόρους ἀποίσειν τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δόξαντας: διδόναι δὲ καὶ ὁμήρους ἐθέλειν ὅσους ἂν αἰτῇ Ἀλέξανδρος. [3] ὁ δὲ χιλίους ἤτησε τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας τοῦ ἔθνους, οὓς, εἰ μὲν βούλοιτο, ἀντὶ ὁμήρων καθέξειν, εἰ δὲ μή, ξυστρατεύοντας ἔξειν ἔστ' ἂν διαπολεμηθῇ αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰνδοὺς. οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε χιλίους ἔπεμψαν, τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ μεγίστους σφῶν ἐπιλεξάμενοι, καὶ ἄρματα πεντακόσια οὐκ αἰτηθέντες καὶ τοὺς ἀμβάτας τῶν ἀρμάτων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σατράπην μὲν τούτοις τε καὶ τῶν Μαλλῶν τοῖς ἔτι σωζομένοις ἐπέταξε Φίλιππον: τοὺς ὁμήρους δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀφῆκεν, τὰ δὲ ἄρματα ἔλαβεν. [4] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῷ κεκόσμητο καὶ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τῇ διατριβῇ τῇ ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος πολλὰ προσεναυπήγητο, ἀναβιβάσας ἐς τὰς ναῦς τῶν μὲν ἐταίρων ἱππέας ἑπτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, τῶν ψιλῶν δὲ ὅσουσπερ καὶ πρότερον, πεζοὺς δὲ ἐς μυρίους, ὀλίγον μὲν τι τῷ Ὑδραῳτῇ ποταμῷ κατέπλευσεν, ὥς δὲ συνέμιξεν ὁ Ὑδραῳτῆς τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ, ὅτι ὁ Ἀκεσίνης κρατεῖ τοῦ Ὑδραῳτοῦ [ἐν] τῇ ἐπωνυμίᾳ, κατὰ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην αὐτῷ ἔπλει, ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ξυμβολὴν τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἦκεν. [5] τέσσαρες γάρ οὗτοι μεγάλοι ποταμοὶ καὶ ναυσίποροι οἱ τέσσαρες εἰς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν τὸ ὕδωρ ξυμβάλλουσιν, οὐ ξὺν τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἑκαστος ἐπωνυμίᾳ, ἀλλὰ ὁ Ὑδάσπης μὲν ἐς τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ἐμβάλλει, ἐμβάλων δὲ τὸ πᾶν ὕδωρ Ἀκεσίνην παρέχεται καλούμενον: αὐθις δὲ ὁ Ἀκεσίνης οὗτος ξυμβάλλει τῷ Ὑδραῳτῇ, καὶ παραλαβὼν τοῦτον ἔτι Ἀκεσίνης ἐστί: καὶ τὸν Ὑφασιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀκεσίνης παραλαβὼν τῷ αὐτοῦ δὴ ὀνόματι ἐς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἐμβάλλει: ξυμβάλων δὲ ξυγχωρεῖ δὴ τῷ Ἰνδῷ. ἔνθεν δὴ ὁ Ἰνδὸς πρὶν ἐς τὸ Δέλτα σχισθῆναι οὐκ ἀπιστῶ ὅτι καὶ ἐς ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἔρχεται καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑκατὸν τυχόν, ἵνα περ λιμνάζει μᾶλλον.

[1] ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου καὶ Ἰνδοῦ προσέμενεν ἔστε ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ Περδίκκας καταστρεψάμενος ἐν παρόδῳ τὸ Ἀβαστανῶν ἔθνος αὐτόνομον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἄλλαι τε προσγίγνονται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τριακόντοροι καὶ πλοῖα στρογγύλα ἄλλα, ἃ δὴ ἐν Ξάθροις ἐναυπηγήθη αὐτῷ, καὶ Σόγδοι ἄλλο ἔθνος Ἰνδῶν αὐτόνομον προσεχώρησαν.

καὶ παρὰ Ὀσσαδίων, καὶ τούτου γένους αὐτονόμου Ἰνδικοῦ, πρέσβεις ἦκον, ἐνδιδόντες καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς Ὀσσαδίου. [2] Φιλίππῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς σατραπείας ὄρους ἔταξε τὰς συμβολὰς τοῦ τε Ἀκεσίνου καὶ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ ἀπολείπει ζὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς τε Θρᾶκας πάντας καὶ ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ὅσοι ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας ἱκανοὶ ἐφαίνοντο, πόλιν τε ἐνταῦθα κτίσαι ἐκέλευσεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ ζυμβολῇ τοῖν ποταμοῖν, ἐλπίσας μεγάλην τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐπιφανῇ ἐς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ νεωσοίκους ποιηθῆναι. [3] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ὀξυάρτης ὁ Βάκτριος, ὁ Ῥωξάνης τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου πατὴρ, ἦκε παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ προστίθησιν αὐτῷ Παραπαμισαδῶν σατραπεύειν, ἀπαλλάξας Τυρίεσπιν τὸν πρόσθεν σατράπην, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ ἐξηγεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ὁ Τυρίεσπις ἐξήγγελλτο. [4] ἔνθα δὴ διαβιβάσας Κρατερόν τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν πολλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὅτι εὐπορώτερά τε ταύτη τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν στρατιᾷ βαρεῖα ἐφαίνετο καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ προσοικούντα οὐ πάντῃ φίλια ἦν, αὐτὸς κατέπλει ἐς τῶν Σόγδων τὸ βασίλειον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πόλιν τε ἐτείχιζεν ἄλλην καὶ νεωσοίκους ἐποίει ἄλλους καὶ τὰ πλοῖα αὐτῷ τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐπεσκευάσθη. τῆς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ζυμβολῶν τοῦ τε Ἰνδοῦ καὶ Ἀκεσίνου χώρας ἔστε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν σατράπην ἀπέδεξε[ν Ὀξυάρτην καὶ] Πείθωνα ζὺν τῇ παραλίᾳ πάσῃ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς. [5] καὶ Κρατερόν μὲν ἐκπέμπει αὐθις ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ [διὰ τῆς Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ Δραγγῶν γῆς], αὐτὸς δὲ κατέπλει ἐς τὴν Μουσικανοῦ ἐπικράτειαν, ἦντινα εὐδαιμονεστάτην τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο, ὅτι οὐπῶ οὔτε ἀπνητῇκει αὐτῷ Μουσικανὸς ἐνδιδοὺς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν οὔτε πρέσβεις ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ ἐκπέμπει, οὐδέ τι οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐπεπόμφει ἃ δὴ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ εἰκός, οὔτε τι ῥητήκει ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου. [6] καὶ γίνεταί αὐτῷ ὁ πλοῦς κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς τοσόνδε ἐσπουδασμένος ὥστε ἔφθῃ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις γενέσθαι τῆς Μουσικανοῦ χώρας, πρὶν πυθέσθαι Μουσικανὸν ὅτι ὥρμηται ὡς ἐπ' αὐτόν Ἀλέξανδρος. οὕτω δὴ ἐκπλαγεὶς κατὰ τάχος ἀπῆντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, δῶρά τε τὰ πλείστου ἄξια παρ' Ἰνδοῖς κομίζων καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ζύμπαντας ἄγων καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τε καὶ αὐτόν ἐνδιδοὺς καὶ ὁμολογῶν ἀδικεῖν, ὅπερ μέγιστον παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦν ἐς τὸ τυχεῖν ὧν τις δέοιτο. [7] καὶ οὖν καὶ Μουσικανῷ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἅδεια ἐδόθη ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐθαύμασεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἄρχειν αὐτῆς Μουσικανῷ ἔδωκεν· κρατερός δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐτάχθη τὴν ἄκραν ἐκτειχίσαι· καὶ παρόντος ἔτι ἐτείχισθη Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ φυλακὴ κατεστάθη, ὅτι ἐπιτήδειον αὐτῷ ἐφάνη τὸ χωρίον ἐς τὸ κατεχεσθαι τα κύκλῳ ἔθνη φυλαττόμενα.

[1] ἔνθεν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἅμα οἱ πλέουσιν ἐξελαύνει ἐπὶ τὸν νομάρχην τῆς ταύτης γῆς, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν Ὀξικανός, ὅτι μῆτε αὐτὸς ἀφῆκτο μῆτε πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἦκον ἐνδιδόντες αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν. [2] δύο μὲν δὴ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Ὀξικανῷ ἐξ ἐφόδου κατὰ κράτος ἔλαβεν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τούτων καὶ αὐτὸς Ὀξικανὸς ἔαλω. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν λείαν τῇ στρατιᾷ οἰδῶσι, τοὺς ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἅμα οἱ ἦγε· καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις αὐτῷ αἱ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χώρᾳ ἐνεδίδοντο ἐπιόντι οὐδέ τις ἐτρέπετο ἐς ἀλκὴν· οὕτω καὶ Ἰνδοὶ πάντες ἐδεδούλωντο ἤδη τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τε καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης. [3] ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Σάμβον αὐ

ἦγε τῶν ὀρείων Ἰνδῶν σατράπην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντα, ὃς πεφευγέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο ὅτι Μουσικανὸν ἀφειμένον πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρου ἐπύθετο καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχοντα: τὰ γὰρ πρὸς Μουσικανὸν αὐτῷ πολέμια ἦν. [4] ὥς δὲ ἐπέλαζεν ἤδη τῇ πόλει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἦντινα μητρόπολιν εἶχεν ἢ τοῦ Σάμβου χώρα, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Σινδίμανα, αἱ τε πόλιν αὐτῷ ἀνοίγονται προσάγοντι καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι οἱ τοῦ Σάμβου τὰ τε χρήματα ἀπηρίθμησαν καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας μετὰ σφῶν ἄγοντες ἀπήντων: οὐ γὰρ δὴ Ἀλέξανδρῳ γε πολεμίως ἔχοντα Σάμβον φυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ Μουσικανοῦ τὴν ἄφεςιν δείσαντα. [5] ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλην πόλιν ἐν τούτῳ ἀποστᾶσαν εἶλεν καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων, οἳ δὴ σοφισταὶ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς εἰσιν, ὅσοι αἵτιοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐγένοντο ἀπέκτεινεν. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ τῆς σοφίας, εἰ δὴ τίς ἐστίν, ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ συγγραφῇ δηλώσω.

[1] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Μουσικανὸς αὐτῷ ἀφεστάναι ἐξηγγέλλετο. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἐκπέμπει Πείθωνα τὸν Ἀγίνωρος σατράπην ξὺν στρατιᾷ ἀποχρώσῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ Μουσικανῷ τεταγμένας ἐπελθὼν τὰς μὲν ἐξανδραποδίσας αὐτῶν κατέσκαψεν, εἰς ἃς δὲ φρουράς εἰσήγαγε καὶ ἄκρας ἐξετείχισε. ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδόν τε ἐπανῆκε καὶ τὸν στόλον. [2] ἔνθα δὴ Μουσικανὸς τε ξυλληφθεὶς ἄγεται πρὸς Πείθωνος, καὶ τούτῳ κρεμάσαι κελεύει Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ γῇ, καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων ὅσοι αἵτιοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως τῷ Μουσικανῷ κατέστησαν. ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ τῶν Πατάλων τῆς χώρας ἄρχων, ὃς δὴ τὸ Δέλτα ἔφην εἶναι τὸ πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποιούμενον, μεῖζον ἔτι τοῦ Δέλτα τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, καὶ οὗτος τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῷ ἐνεδίδου πᾶσαν καὶ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἐπέτρεψεν. [3] τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ ἐκπέμπει αὐτῷ παραγγεῖλας παρασκευάζειν ὅσα ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τῇ στρατιᾷ: αὐτὸς δὲ Κρατερὸν μὲν τὴν τε Ἀττάλου τάξιν ἄγοντα καὶ τὴν Μελεάγρου καὶ Ἀντιγένους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὗς καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τε καὶ ἄλλων Μακεδόνων ὅσους ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἀπομάχους ὄντας ἤδη ἔστελλε τὴν ἐπ' Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ Ζαραγγῶν ἔπεμπεν ἐς Καρμανίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τούτῳ ἄγειν ἔδωκεν: [4] τὴν δὲ ἄλλην στρατιάν, ὅση γε μὴ ξὺν αὐτῷ κατέπλει ὥς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ... Ἡφαιστίων ἐπετάχθη, Πείθωνα δὲ τοὺς τε ἱππακοντιστάς ἄγοντα καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἐς τὴν ἐπέκεινα ὄχθην τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ διαβιβάσας, οὐχ ἥπερ Ἡφαιστίων τὴν στρατιάν ἄγειν ἤμελλε, τὰς τε ἐκτετειχισμένας ἤδη πόλεις ξυνοικίσαι ἐκέλευσε καὶ εἰ δὴ τίνα νεωτερίζοιτο πρὸς τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν καὶ ταῦτα ἐς κόσμον καταστήσαντα ξυμβάλλειν οἱ ἐς τὰ Πάταλα. [5] ἤδη δὲ τρίτην ἡμέραν αὐτῷ τοῦ πλοῦ ἔχοντι ἐξαγγέλλεται ὅτι ὁ τῶν Πατάλων ὑπαρχος ξυλλαβὼν τῶν Παταλέων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀποδεδρακῶς οἴχοιτο ἀπολιπὼν τὴν χώραν ἔρημον: καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πλείονι ἢ πρόσθεν σπουδῇ κατέπλει Ἀλέξανδρος. ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὰ Πάταλα, τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔρημον καταλαμβάνει τῶν ἐνοικούντων τε καὶ ἐπεργαζομένων. [6] ὁ δὲ κατὰ δίωξιν τῶν φευγόντων ἐκπέμψας τῆς στρατιᾶς τοὺς κουφοτάτους, ἐπεὶ τινες αὐτῶν ξυνελήφθησαν, ἀποπέμπει τούτους παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐντειλόμενος ἐπανιέναι θαρροῦντας: εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν τε πόλιν οἰκεῖν ὥς πρόσθεν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐργάζεσθαι. καὶ ἐπανῆλθον οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνι προστάξας τειχίζειν ἐν τοῖς Πατάλοις ἄκραν

ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον τῆς πλησίον γῆς φρέατά τε ὀρύζοντας καὶ οἰκήσιμον τὴν χώραν κατασκευάσσοντας. καὶ τούτοις ἐπέθεντο τῶν προσχώρων τινὲς βαρβάρων, καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὖς διέφθειραν αὐτῶν ἄφνω προσπεσόντες, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ σφῶν ἀποβαλόντες ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν ἔρημον, ὥστε ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τοῖς ἐκπεμφθεῖσι τὰ ἔργα προσγενομένης αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλης στρατιᾶς, ἣν Ἀλέξανδρος πυθόμενος τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐστάλκει μεθέξοντας τοῦ ἔργου. [2] περὶ δὲ τοῖς Πατάλοις σχίζεται τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς δύο ποταμοὺς μεγάλους, καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφοτέροι οὐ σώζουσι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ἐνταῦθα ναύσταθμόν τε καὶ νεωσοίκους ἐποίει Ἀλέξανδρος· ὥς δὲ προὔκεχωρήκει αὐτῷ τὰ ἔργα, ὁ δὲ καταπλεῖν ἐπενόει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ ρέοντος ποταμοῦ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. [3] Λεοννάτον μὲν δὴ δούς αὐτῷ τῶν τε ἱππέων ἐς χίλιους καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τε καὶ ψιλῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τὰ Πάταλα ἐκπέμπει ἀντιπαράγειν τῷ στόλῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς μάλιστα τῶν νεῶν ταχυναντούσας ἀναλαβὼν ὅσαι τε ἡμιόλια καὶ τὰς τριακοντόρους πάσας καὶ τῶν κερκούρων ἔστιν οὖς ἐπλεῖ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ. [4] οὐκ ἔχοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ πλοῦ, ὅτι πεφεύγεσαν οἱ ταύτῃ Ἰνδοί, ἀπορώτερα τὰ τοῦ κατάπλου ἦν· χειμῶν τε ἐπιγίγνεται ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος τῷ ῥόφῳ πνέων ὑπεναντίος κοῖλόν τε ἐποίει τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὰ σκάφη διέσειεν, ὥστε ἐπόνησαν αὐτῷ αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν νεῶν, τῶν δὲ τριακοντόρων ἔστιν αἱ καὶ πάντῃ διελύθησαν. ἔφθησαν δὲ ἐποκειλάντες αὐτὰς πρὶν παντάπασιν διαπεσεῖν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι. [5] ἕτεραι οὖν ξυνεπῆγγυντο. καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν τοὺς κουφοτάτους ἐκπέμψας ἐς τὴν προσωτέρω τῆς ὄχθης χώραν ξυλλαμβάνει τινὰς τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ οὗτοι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐξηγοῦντο αὐτῷ τὸν πόρον. ὥς δὲ ἦκον ἵναπερ ἀναχεῖται ἐς εὖρος ὁ ποταμός, ὥς καὶ διακοσίους ταύτῃ σταδίους ἐπέχειν ἦπερ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ἦν, τό τε πνεῦμα κατήει μέγα ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης καὶ αἱ κῶπαι ἐν κλύδωνι χαλεπῶς ἀνεφέροντο, ξυμφεύγουσιν αὖ ἐς διώρυχα, ἐς ἣντινα οἱ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῷ καθηγήσαντο. ἐνταῦθα ὀρμισάντων τὸ πάθημα ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς

[1] μεγάλης θαλάσσης ἢ ἄμπωτις, ὥστε ἐπὶ ξηροῦ ἀπελήφθησαν αὐτοῖς αἱ νῆες. καὶ τοῦτο οὕτω πρότερον ἐγνωκόσι τοῖς ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκπληξιν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ οὐ σμικρὰν παρέσχε, πολὺ δὲ δὴ ἔτι μείζονα, ὁπότε διελθούσης τῆς ὥρας προσῆει τε τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ σκάφη ἐμετεωρίζοντο. [2] ὅσας μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῷ πηλῷ ἐδράϊας κατέλαβεν, αὗται δὲ ἀβλαβῶς τε ἐμετεωρίσθησαν καὶ οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν παθοῦσαι ἐπλεον αὐθις· ὅσαι δὲ ἐν ξηροτέρῳ τε τῇ γῇ καὶ οὐ βεβαίως τὴν στάσιν ἔχουσαι ὑπελείφθησαν, αὗται δὲ ἀθρόου ἐπελθόντος τοῦ κύματος αἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐμπεσοῦσαι ἐς ἀλλήλας, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἄρ[ρ]αχθεῖσαι συνετρίβησαν. [3] ταύτας τε οὖν ἐπεσκεύασεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων καὶ ἐν κερκούροις δυοῖν προπέμπει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τοὺς κατασκευομένους τὴν νῆσον, ἐς ἣντινα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἔφασκον ὀρμιστέα εἶναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· Κίλλουτα δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἔλεγον. ὥς δὲ ἐξηγγέλθη ὅτι ὄρμοι τε ἐν τῇ νήσῳ εἰσὶ καὶ αὐτὴ μεγάλη καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχουσα, ὁ μὲν ἄλλος αὐτῷ στόλος ἐς τὴν νῆσον κατέσχευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς ἄριστα πλεούσαις τῶν νεῶν ἐπέκεινα προὔχωρει, ὥς ἀπιδεῖν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν

ἐκβολὴν τὴν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εἰ παρέχει τὸν ἔκπλουον εὐπορον. [4] προελθόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου σταδίους ὅσον διακοσίους ἀφορῶσιν ἄλλην νήσον, ταύτην ἤδη ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ. τότε μὲν δὴ ἐπανήλθον ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ νήσον, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄκροις αὐτῆς καθορμισθεὶς θύει τοῖς θεοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ὅσους ἔφασκεν ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος ἐπηγγελμένον ἦν θῆσαι αὐτῷ. ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν κατέπλει ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ἐν τῷ πόντῳ νήσον, καὶ προσχὼν καὶ ταύτῃ ἔθυε καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἄλλας αὐθυσίας ἄλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ· καὶ ταύτας δὲ κατ' ἐπιθεσπισμὸν θύειν ἔφασκε τοῦ Ἄμμωνος. [5] αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνέπλει, ὡς μὲν ἔλεγεν, ἀπιδεῖν εἴ ποῦ τις χώρα πλησίον ἀνίσχει ἐν τῷ πόντῳ, ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, οὐχ ἥκιστα ὡς πεπλευκέναι τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ἔξω Ἰνδῶν θάλασσαν. ἐνταῦθα ταύρους τε σφάξας τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἀρῆκεν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ σπείσας ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τὴν τε φιάλην χρυσὴν οὔσαν καὶ κρατῆρας χρυσοῦς ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὸν πόντον χαριστήρια, εὐχόμενος σῶόν οἱ παραπέμψαι τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ναυτικόν, ὅντινα ξὺν Νεάρχῳ ἐπενόει στέλλειν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικὸν καὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ τε Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος.

[1] ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ Πάταλα τὴν τε ἄκραν τετειχισμένην καταλαμβάνει καὶ Πειθωνα ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀφιγμένον καὶ τούτῳ ζύμπαντα καταπεπραγμένα ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἐστάλη. Ἡφαιστίων μὲν δὴ ἐτάχθη παρασκευάζειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐκτειχισμόν τε τοῦ ναυστάθμου καὶ τῶν νεωσοίκων τὴν κατασκευήν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπενόει στόλον ὑπολείπεσθαι νεῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων πρὸς τῇ πόλει τοῖς Πατάλοις, ἵναπερ ἐσχίζετο ὁ ποταμός ὁ Ἰνδός. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον στόμα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ κατέπλει αὐθις ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, ὡς καταμαθεῖν, ὅπῃ εὐπορωτέρα ἢ ἐκβολὴ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς τὸν πόντον γίνεται· ἀπέχει δὲ ἀλλήλων τὰ στόματα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς σταδίους μάλιστα ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους. [3] ἐν δὲ τῷ κατάπλῳ ἀφίκετο τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην, ἣντινα ἀναχεόμενος ὁ ποταμός, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν περὶ ὑδάτων ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτήν, μεγάλην τε ποιεῖ καὶ κόλπῳ θαλάσσης μάλιστα εὐοικυῖαν· καὶ γὰρ ἰχθυεὺς ἤδη ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐφαίνοντο, μείζονες τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ θαλάσῃ. προσορμισθεὶς οὖν κατὰ τὴν λίμνην ἵναπερ οἱ καθηγεμόνες ἐξηγοῦντο, τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς καταλείπει σὺν Λεοννάτῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς κερκούρους ζύμπαντας, [4] αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς τριακοντόροις τε καὶ ἡμιολίαις ὑπερβαλὼν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ προελθὼν καὶ ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὐπορωτέραν τε κατέμαθεν τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκβολὴν καὶ αὐτὸς προσορμισθεὶς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ἄμα οἱ ἔχων παρὰ θάλασσαν ἦει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, τὴν τε χώραν ὁποία τίς ἐστιν ἢ ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ ἐπισκεπτόμενος καὶ φρέατα ὀρύσσεσθαι κελεύων, ὅπως ἔχοιεν ὑδρεύεσθαι οἱ πλέοντες. [5] αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ ἐπανελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀνέπλει ἐς τὰ Πάταλα· μέρος δέ τι τῆς στρατιᾶς τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐργασομένους κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν ἐπεμψεν, ἐπανιέναι καὶ τούτοις προστάξας ἐς τὰ Πάταλα. αὐθις δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καταπλεύσας ἄλλον ναύσταθμον καὶ ἄλλους νεωσοίκους ἐνταῦθα κατεσκεύασε, καὶ φυλακὴν καταλιπὼν τῷ χωρίῳ σῖτόν τε ὅσον καὶ ἐς τέτταρας μῆνας ἐξαρκέσαι τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐσηγάγετο καὶ ἅλλ' ὅσα

[έν] τῷ παράπλῳ παρεσκεύαζεν.

[1] ἦν δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε ἄπορος ἡ ὥρα ἐς τὸν πλοῦν· οἱ γὰρ ἐτησίαι ἄνεμοι κατεῖχον, οἱ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ οὐ καθάπερ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀπ' ἄρκτου, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης κατὰ νότον μάλιστα ἄνεμον ἴστανται. [2] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ ἀπὸ Πλειάδων δύσεως ἔστε ἐπὶ τροπᾶς, ὥς ἐν χειμῶνι ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστρέφει, πλοῖμα εἶναι ταύτῃ ἐξηγγέλλετο. τότε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν μᾶλλον οἶα δὴ πολλῶ ὕδατι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βεβρεγμένην αὔρας ἴστασθαι μαλθακὰς καὶ ἐς τὸν παράπλουν ταῖς τε κόπαις καὶ τοῖς ιστίοις ξυμμέτρους. [3] Νέαρχος μὲν δὲ ἐπιταχθεὶς τῷ ναυτικῷ προσέμενε τὴν ὥραν τοῦ παράπλου, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Πατάλων ἔστε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἀράβιον ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ προὔχωρει. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τε καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τῶν πεζεταίρων καλουμένων τὰς τάξεις καὶ τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς τό τε ἄγλημα καὶ ἵλην ἀφ' ἐκάστης ἱπαρχίας καὶ τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας ζύμπαντας ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐς ἀριστερὰ ἐτράπετο, ὕδατά τε ὀρύσσειν, ὥς κατὰ τὸν παράπλουν ἄφθονα εἶη τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ παραπλευούσῃ, καὶ ἅμα ὥς τοῖς Ὠρεῖταις τοῖς ταύτῃ Ἰνδοῖς αὐτονόμοις ἐκ πολλοῦ οὖσιν ἄφνω ἐπιτεσεῖν, ὅτι μηδὲν φίλιον αὐτοῖς ἐς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπέπρακτο. τῆς δὲ ὑπολειφθείσης δυνάμεως Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ ἀφηγεῖτο. [4] Ἀραβῖται μὲν δὴ, ἔθνος καὶ τοῦτο αὐτόνομον τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀράβιον ποταμὸν νεμομένων, οὔτε ἀξιόμαχοι δόξαντες εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρῳ οὔτε ὑποδῦναι ἐθελήσαντες, ὥς προσάγοντα ἐπύθοντο Ἀλέξανδρον, φεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράβιον ποταμὸν στενόν τε καὶ ὀλίγου ὕδατος καὶ διελθὼν ἐν νυκτὶ τῆς ἐρήμου τὴν πολλὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω πρὸς τῇ οἰκουμένη ἦν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς ἐν τάξει ἐκέλευσεν ἔπεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας ἀναλβὼν αὐτὸς καὶ ἐς ἴλας κατανείμας, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ πεδίου ἐπέχοιεν, ἐπήει τὴν χώραν τῶν Ὠρεῖτῶν. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἐς· [5] ἀλκὴν αὐτῶν ἐτράποντο κατεκόπησαν πρὸς τῶν ἱππέων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἐάλωσαν. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς ὕδατι οὐ πολλῷ, ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα αὐτῷ ὁμοῦ ἦδη ἦσαν, προὔχωρει ἐς τὸ πρόσω. ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς κόμην, ἥπερ ἦν μεγίστη τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦ Ὠρεῖτῶν, Ραμβακία ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ κόμη, τὸν τε χώρον ἐπήνεσε καὶ ἐδόκει ἂν αὐτῷ πόλις ξυνοικισθεῖσα μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων γενέσθαι. Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπελείπετο.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν αὐθις τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀγριάνων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τὸ ἄγλημα τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας προῆει ὥς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τῶν τε Γαδρωσῶν καὶ Ὠρεῖτῶν, ἵνα περ στενὴ τε ἡ πάροδος αὐτῷ εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο καὶ οἱ Ὠρεῖται τοῖς Γαδρωσοῖς ξυντεταγμένοι πρὸ τῶν στενῶν στρατοπεδεύειν, ὥς εἵρξοντες τῆς παρόδου Ἀλέξανδρον. [2] καὶ ἦσαν μὲν ταύτῃ τεταγμένοι, ὥς δὲ προάγων ἦδη ἐξηγγέλλετο, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν στενῶν λιπόντες τὴν φυλακὴν, οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ὠρεῖτῶν ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτόν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἐνδιδόντες. τούτοις μὲν δὲ προστάττει ξυγκαλέσαντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ὠρεῖτῶν λέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἦθη, ὥς δεινὸν οὐδὲν πεισομένους· σατράπην δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐπιτάσσει Ἀπολλοφάνην· [3] καὶ ξὺν τούτῳ ἀπολείπει Λεοννάτον τὸν σωματοφύλακα ἐν Ὠροις, ἔχοντα τοὺς τε Ἀγριᾶνας ζύμπαντας καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὖς καὶ

τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἄλλους πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἱππέας Ἑλλήνας μισθοφόρους, τὸ τε ναυτικὸν ὑπομένειν ἔστ' ἂν περιπλεύσῃ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ξυνοικίζειν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ὠρεΐτας κοσμεῖν, ὅπως μᾶλλον τι προσέχοιεν τῷ σατράπῃ τὸν νοῦν. αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ πολλῇ, καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἡφαιστίων ἀφίκετο ἄγων αὐτῷ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, προὔχῳρι ὡς ἐπὶ Γαδρωσοὺς ἔρημον τὴν πολλήν. [4] καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος σμύρνης πολλὰ δένδρα πεφυκέναι μείζονα ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην σμύρναν, καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς κατ' ἐμπορ[ε]ίαν τῇ στρατιᾷ ξυνεπομένους ξυλλέγοντας τὸ δάκρυον τῆς σμύρνης 'πολὺ γὰρ εἶναι, οἷα δὴ ἐκ μεγάλων τε τῶν πρέμων καὶ οὐπω πρόσθεν ξυλλελεγμένον' ἐμπλήσαντας τὰ ὑποζύγια ἄγειν. [5] ἔχειν δὲ τὴν ἔρημον ταύτην καὶ νάρδου ῥίζαν πολλήν τε καὶ εὐοδμον καὶ ταύτην ξυλλέγειν τοὺς Φοίνικας: πολὺ δὲ εἶναι αὐτῆς τὸ καταπατούμενον πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατουμένου ὁδὸν ἡδεῖαν κατέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας. τοσόνδε εἶναι τὸ πληθος: [6] εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα δένδρα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, τὸ μὲν τι δάφνη εἰκοὺς τὸ φύλλον, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς προσκλυζομένοις τῇ θαλάσῃ χωρίοις πεφυκέναι: καὶ ἀπολείπεσθαι μὲν τὰ δένδρα πρὸς τῆς ἀμπώτεως ἐπὶ ξηροῦ, ἐπελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ πεφυκότες φαίνεσθαι: τῶν δὲ καὶ αἰεὶ τὰς ῥίζας τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐπικλύζεσθαι, ὅσα ἐν κοίλοις χωρίοις ἐπεφύκει, ἔνθεν περ οὐχ ὑπενόστει τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὅμως οὐ διαφθείρεσθαι τὸ δένδρον πρὸς τῆς θαλάσσης. [7] εἶναι δὲ τὰ δένδρα ταύτῃ πῆχεων καὶ τριάκοντα ἔστιν ἅ αὐτῶν, τυχεῖν τε ἀνθοῦντα ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος εἶναι τῷ λευκῷ μάλιστα ἰὼ προσφερές, τὴν ὁδὸν δὲ πολὺ τι ὑπερφέρειν. καὶ ἄλλον εἶναι καυλὸν ἐκ γῆς πεφυκότες ἀκάνθης, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπεῖναι ἰσχυρὰν τὴν ἄκανθαν, ὥστε ἤδη τινῶν καὶ παριπτυνόντων ἐμπλακεῖσαν τῇ ἐσθῇτι κατασπάσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵπου μᾶλλον τι τὸν ἱππέα ἢ αὐτὴν ἀποσχισθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ καυλοῦ. [8] καὶ τῶν λαγῶν λέγεται ὅτι παραθεόντων εἶχοντο ἐν ταῖς θριξίν αἱ ἄκανθαί καὶ ὅτι οὕτως ἡλίσκοντο οἱ λαγῶ, καθάπερ ὑπὸ ἰξοῦ αἱ ὄρνιθες ἢ τοῖς ἀγκίστροις οἱ ἰχθύες, σιδήρῳ δὲ ὅτι διακοπῆναι οὐ χαλεπὴ ἦν: καὶ ὅπῃ ὅτι ἀνίει πολὺν ὁ καυλὸς τῆς ἀκάνθης τεμνομένης, ἔτι πλείονα ἢ αἱ συκαὶ τοῦ ἥρος καὶ δριμύτερον. ἔνθεν δὲ διὰ τῆς Γαδρωσῶν χώρας ἦι ὁδὸν

[1] χαλεπὴν καὶ ἄπορον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὕδωρ πολλαχῶς τῇ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἦν: ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ ἠναγκάζοντο γῆν πολλήν πορεύεσθαι καὶ προσωτέρω ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ γε ἐν σπουδῇ ἦν ἐλθεῖν τὰ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς χώρας καὶ λιμένας τε ἰδεῖν τοὺς ὄντας καὶ ὅσα γε ἐν παρόδῳ δυνατὰ γένοιτο τῷ ναυτικῷ παρασκευάσαι, ἢ φρέατα ὀρύξαντας ἢ ἀγορὰς πού ἢ ὄρμου ἐπιμεληθέντας. [2] ἀλλὰ ἦν γὰρ ἔρημα παντάπασιν τὰ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ τῆς Γαδρωσῶν γῆς, ὁ δὲ Θόαντα τὸν Μανδροδώρου καταπέμπει ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσιν, κατασκευσόμενον εἰ πού τις ὄρμος ὦν τυγχάνει ταύτῃ ἢ ὕδωρ οὐ πόρρω ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. [3] καὶ οὗτος ἐπανελθὼν ἀπήγγειλεν ἀλιέας τινὰς καταλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς: πεποιεσθαι δὲ τὰς καλύβας ξυνθέντας τὰς κόγχας: στέγην δὲ εἶναι αὐταῖς τὰς ἀκάνθας τῶν ἰχθύων: καὶ τούτους τοὺς ἀλιέας ὕδατι ὀλίγῳ διαχρῆσθαι χαλεπῶς διαμωμένους τὸν κάλχηκα, καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ πάντῃ γλυκεῖ τῷ ὕδατι. [4] ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς χώρον τινα τῆς Γαδρωσίας ἵνα

ἀφθονώτερος ἢν σίτος, διανέμει ἐς τὰ ὑποζύγια τὸν καταληφθέντα καὶ τοῦτον σημηνάμενος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σφραγίδι κατακομίζεσθαι κελεύει ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἦει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν σταθμόν, ἔνθεν περ ἐγγυτάτω ἦν ἡ θάλασσα, ἐν τούτῳ ὀλίγα φροντίσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται τῆς σφραγίδος αὐτοὶ τε οἱ φύλακες τῷ σίτῳ ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ὅσοι μάλιστα λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο καὶ τούτοις μετέδωκαν. [5] ἐς τοσόνδε γὰρ πρὸς τοῦ κακοῦ ἐνικῶντο, ὡς τὸν πρόδηλον καὶ παρόντα ἤδη ὄλεθρον τοῦ ἀφανοῦς τε καὶ πρόσω ἐτι ὄντος ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως κινδύνου ξὺν λογισμῷ ἔδοξε σφισιν ἔμπροσθεν ποιήσασθαι. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καταμαθὼν τὴν ἀνάγκην ξυνέγνω τοῖς πράξασιν. αὐτὸς δέ, ὅσα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐπιδραμὼν ξυναγαγεῖν ἠδυνήθη εἰς ἐπισιτισμὸν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ περιπλεούσῃ ξὺν τῷ στόλῳ, ταῦτα κομίσοντα πέμπει Κρηθεά τὸν Καλλατιανόν. [6] καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις προσετάχθη ἐκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων σίτον τε ὅσον δυνατοὶ ἦσαν κατακομίσαι ἀλέσαντας καὶ τὰς βολάνους τὰς τῶν φοινίκων καὶ πρόβατα ἐς ἀγορὰν τῷ στρατῷ. καὶ ἐς ἄλλον αὖ τόπον Τήλεφον κατέπεμψε τῶν ἐταίρων σὺν σίτῳ οὐ πολλῷ ἀηλεσμένῳ. αὐτὸς δὲ προὔχῳρει ὡς ἐς τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Γαδρωσῶν,

[1] ὁ δὲ χῶρος Ποῦρα ὀνομάζεται, ἵνα περ ἀφίκετο ἐξ Ὠρων ὀρμηθεὶς ἐν ἡμέραις ταῖς πάσαις ἐξήκοντα. καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν συγγραψάντων τὰ ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδὲ τὰ ζύμπαντα ὅσα ἐταλαιπώρησεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἢ στρατιᾷ συμβληθῆναι ἄξια εἶναι τοῖς τῇδε πονηθεῖσι πόνοις. [2] οὐ μὴν ἀγνοήσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς ὁδοῦ τὴν χαλεπότητα ταύτῃ ἐλθεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν μόνος Νέαρχος λέγει ὧδε, ἀλλὰ ἀκούσαντα γὰρ ὅτι οὐπω τις πρόσθεν διελθὼν ταύτῃ ξὺν στρατιᾷ ἀπεσώθη, ὅτι μὴ Σεμίραμις ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἔφυγε. καὶ ταύτην δὲ ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι σὺν εἴκοσι μόνοις τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀποσωθῆναι, Κῦρον δὲ τὸν Καμβύσου σὺν ἑπτὰ μόνοις καὶ τοῦτον. [3] ἐλθεῖν γὰρ δὴ καὶ Κῦρον ἐς τοὺς χώρους τούτους ὡς ἐσβαλοῦντα ἐς τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν, φθάσαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρημίας τε καὶ ἀπορίας τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἀπολέσαντα τὴν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς. καὶ ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐξαγγελλόμενα ἔριν ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς Κῦρον καὶ Σεμίραμιν. τούτων τε οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ ἅμα ὡς τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐγγύθεν ἐκπορίζεσθαι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, λέγει Νέαρχος ταύτην τραπῆναι Ἀλέξανδρον. [4] τό τε οὖν καῦμα ἐπιφλέγον καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τὴν ἀπορίαν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφθεῖραι καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὰ ὑποζύγια: ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τοῦ βάθους τε τῆς ψάμμου καὶ τῆς θερμῆς, ὅτι κεκαυμένη ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δίψει ἀπόλλυσθαι: καὶ γὰρ καὶ γηλόφοις ἐπιτυγχάνειν ὑψηλοῖς ψάμμου βαθείας, οὐ νευαγμένης, ἀλλ' οἷας δέχεσθαι καθάπερ ἐς πηλὸν ἢ ἐτι μᾶλλον ἐς χιόνα ἀπάτητον ἐπιβαίνοντας. [5] καὶ ἅμα ἐν ταῖς προσβάσεσιν τε καὶ καταβαίνοντας τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ἡμιόνους ἐτι μᾶλλον κακοπαθεῖν τῷ ἀνωμάλῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἅμα οὐ βεβαίῳ, τῶν τε σταθμῶν τὰ μήκη πῆσαι οὐχ ἥκιστα τὴν στρατιάν: ἀπορία γὰρ ὕδατος οὐ ζύμμετρος οὔσα μᾶλλον τι ἦγε πρὸς ἀνάγκην τὰς πορείας ποιεῖσθαι. [6] ὁπότε μὲν δὴ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπελθόντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἦντινα ἀνύσαι ἐχρῆν ἔωθεν πρὸς ὕδωρ ἔλθοιεν, οὐ πάντῃ ἐταλαιπωροῦντο: προχωρούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὸ μήκους τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἰ ὁδοιποροῦντες ἐτι ἐγκαταληφθεῖεν, ἐνταῦθα ἂν ἐταλαιπώρουν πρὸς τοῦ καύματός τε καὶ ἅμα δίψει ἀπαύστῳ συνεχόμενοι.

[1] τῶν δὲ δὴ ὑποζυγίων πολὺς ὁ φθόρος καὶ ἐκούσιος τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐγίνετο: ξυνιόντες γάρ, ὁπότε ἐπιλίποι σφᾶς τὰ σιτία, καὶ τῶν ἵππων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀποσφάζοντες καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων τὰ κρέα ἐσιτοῦντο καὶ ἔλεγον δίψει ἀποθανεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐκλιπόντας: καὶ ὁ τὴν ἀτρέκειαν τοῦ ἔργου ἐξελέγξων ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πόνου οὐδεὶς ἦν καὶ ὅτι ξύμπαντες τὰ αὐτὰ ἡμάρτανον. [2] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν οὐκ ἐλελήθει τὰ γινόμενα, ἴασιν δὲ τῶν παρόντων ἐώρα τὴν τῆς ἀγνοίας προσποίησιν μᾶλλον τι ἢ τὴν ὡς γινωσκομένων ἐπιχώρησιν. οὐκουν οὐδὲ τοὺς νόσφω κάμνοντας τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐδὲ τοὺς διὰ κάματον ὑπολειπομένους ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἄγειν ἔτι ἦν εὐμαρῶς ἀπορία τε τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ ὅτι τὰς ἀμάξας αὐτοὶ κατέκοπτον, ἀπόρους οὖσας αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ βάθους τῆς ψάμμου ἄγεσθαι καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις σταθμοῖς διὰ ταῦτα ἐξηναγκάζοντο οὐ τὰς βραχυτάτας ἰέναι τῶν ὁδῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰς εὐπορωτάτας τοῖς ζεύγεσι. [3] καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν νόσφω κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑπελείποντο, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ καμάτου ἢ καύματος ἢ τῷ δίψει οὐκ ἀντέχοντες, καὶ οὔτε οἱ ἄζοντες ἦσαν οὔτε οἱ μένοντες θεραπεύσοντες: σπουδῇ γὰρ πολλῇ ἐγίνετο ὁ στόλος, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς προθύμῳ τὸ καθ' ἑκάστους ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ ἡμελεῖτο: οἱ δὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ κάτοχοι κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς γενόμενοι οἷα δὴ νυκτὸς τὸ πολὺ τὰς πορείας ποιοῦμενοι, ἔπειτα ἐξαναστάντες, οἷς μὲν δύναμις ἔτι ἦν κατὰ τὰ ἵχνη τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐφομαρτήσαντες ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν πελάγει ἐκπεσόντες ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ ἀπώλλυντο. [4] ξυνηνέχθη δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ ἄλλο πάθημα, ὃ δὴ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπίεσεν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια. ὕεται γὰρ ἡ Γαδρωσίῳ γῇ ὑπ' ἀνέμων τῶν ἐτησίῳ, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῇ, οὐ τὰ πεδία τῶν Γαδρωσίῳ, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄρη, ἵναπερ προσφέρονται τε αἱ νεφέλαι ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἀναχέονται, οὐχ ὑπερβάλλουσαι τῶν ὀρῶν τὰς κορυφάς. [5] ὥς δὲ ἠὺλίσθη ἡ στρατιὰ πρὸς χειμάρρῳ ὀλίγου ὕδατος, αὐτοῦ δὴ ἔνεκα τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐμπλησθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὄμβρων ὁ χειμάρρους ὁ ταύτῃ ρέων ἀφανὼν τῇ στρατιᾷ γεγεννημένων τῶν ὄμβρων τοσούτῳ ἐπῆλθε τῷ ὕδατι, ὥς γύναια καὶ παιδιάρια τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπομένων τῇ στρατιᾷ διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν ξύμπασαν ἀφανίσαι καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ὅσα ἀπελείπετο, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐδὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἀποσωθῆναι. [6] οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πίνοντες, ὁπότε ἐκ καύματός τε καὶ δίψους ὕδατι ἀθρόῳ ἐπιτύχοιεν, πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀπαύστου ποτοῦ ἀπώλλυντο. καὶ τούτων ἔνεκα Ἀλέξανδρος τὰς στρατοπεδείας οὐ πρὸς τοῖς ὕδασιν αὐτοῖς τὸ πολὺ ἐποιεῖτο, ἀλλὰ ἀπέχων ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίους μάλιστα, ὥς μὴ ἀθρόους ἐμπίπτοντας τῷ ὕδατι αὐτοὺς τε καὶ κτήνη ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ ἅμα τοὺς μάλιστα ἀκράτορας σφῶν ἐπεμβαίνοντας ἐς τὰς πηγὰς ἢ τὰ ρεύματα διαφθεῖρειν καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ τὸ ὕδωρ.

[1] ἐνθα δὲ ἔργον καλὸν εἶπερ τι ἄλλο τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι ἀφανίσαι, ἢ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ πραχθὲν ἢ ἔτι ἔμπροσθεν ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις, ὥς μετεξέτεροι ἀνέγραψαν. ἰέναι μὲν τὴν στρατιάν διὰ ψάμμου τε καὶ τοῦ καύματος ἥδη ἐπιφλέγοντος, ὅτι πρὸς ὕδωρ ἐχρῆν ἐξανύσαι: τὸ δὲ ἦν πρόσθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ: καὶ αὐτόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον δίψει κατεχόμενον μόλις μὲν καὶ χαλεπῶς, πεζὸν δὲ ὅμως ἡγεῖσθαι: ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας, οἷάπερ φιλεῖ ἐν

τῷ τοιῷδε, κουφοτέρως φέρειν τοὺς πόνους ἐν ἰσότητι τῆς ταλαιπωρήσεως. [2] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν ψιλῶν τινὰς κατὰ ζήτησιν ὕδατος ἀποτραπέντας ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς εὐρεῖν ὕδωρ συλλελεγμένον ἐν τινι χαράδρᾳ οὐ βαθείᾳ, ὀλίγην καὶ φαύλην πίδακα· καὶ τοῦτο οὐ χαλεπῶς συλλέξαντας σπουδῇ ἰέναι παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ὥς μέγα δὴ τι ἀγαθὸν φέροντας· ὥς δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἥδη, ἐμβαλόντας ἐς κράνος τὸ ὕδωρ προσενεγκεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ. [3] τὸν δὲ λαβεῖν μὲν καὶ ἐπαινεῖσαι τοὺς κομίσαντας, λαβόντα δὲ ἐν ὄψει πάντων ἐκχέαι· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ ἐς τοσόνδε ἐπιρρωσθῆναι τὴν στρατιὰν ζύμπασαν ὥστε εἰκάσαι ἂν τινὰ πότον γενέσθαι πᾶσιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκχυθέν. τοῦτο ἐγώ, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, τὸ ἔργον εἰς καρτερίαν τε καὶ ἅμα στρατηγίαν ἐπαινῶ Ἀλεξάνδρου. [4] ξυνηνέχθη δέ τι καὶ τοιόνδε τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ. οἱ γὰρ ἡγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ τελευτῶντες οὐκέτι μεμνησθαι ἔφασκον τὴν ὁδόν, ἀλλ' ἀφανισθῆναι τὰ σημεῖα αὐτῆς πρὸς τοῦ ἀνέμου ἐπιπνεύσαντος· καὶ — οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ πολλῇ τε καὶ ὁμοίᾳ πάντῃ νενημένη ὅτῳ τεκμηριώσονται τὴν ὁδόν, οὐτ' οὖν δένδρα ξυνήθη παρ' αὐτὴν πεφυκότα, οὔτε τινὰ γήλοφον βέβαιον ἀνεστηκότα· οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄστρα ἐν νυκτὶ ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μεμελετῆσθαι σφισι τὰς πορείας, καθάπερ τοῖς ναύταις πρὸς τῶν ἄρκτων τὴν μὲν Φοίνιξι, τὴν ὀλίγην, τὴν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, τὴν μείζονα· — [5] ἐνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρον ξυνέντα ὅτι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δεῖ ἀποκλίναντα ἄγειν, ἀναλαβόντα ὀλίγους ἅμα οἱ ἱππέας προχωρήσαι· ὥς δὲ καὶ τούτων οἱ ἱπποὶ ἐξέκαμνον ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος, ἀπολιπεῖν καὶ τούτων τοὺς πολλούς, αὐτὸν δὲ ξὺν πέντε τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀφιππάσασθαι καὶ εὐρεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν, διαμησάμενόν τε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τὸν κάχληκα ἐπιτυχεῖν ὕδατι γλυκεῖ καὶ καθαρῷ καὶ οὕτω μετελθεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν· καὶ ἐς ἐπτά ἡμέρας ἰέναι παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὑδρευομένους ἐκ τῆς ῥήϊνος. ἐνθεν δέ, ἥδη γὰρ γινώσκειν τὴν ὁδὸν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἐπὶ τῆς μεσογαίας ποιεῖσθαι τὸν στόλον.

[1] ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τῶν Γαδρωσίων τὰ βασίλεια, ἀναπαύει ἐνταῦθα τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνην μὲν παύει τῆς σατραπείας, ὅτι οὐδενὸς ἔγνω ἐπιμεληθέντα τῶν προεπηγγελμένων, Θόαντα δὲ σατραπεύειν τῶν ταύτη ἔταξε· τούτου δὲ νόσῳ τελευτήσαντος Σιβύρτιος τὴν σατραπείαν ἐκδέχεται· ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Καρμανίας σατράπης ἦν νεωστὶ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ταχθεὶς· τότε δὲ τούτῳ μὲν Ἀραχωτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Γαδρωσίων ἄρχειν ἐδόθη, Καρμανίαν δὲ ἔσχε Τληπόλεμος ὁ Πυθοφάνους. [2] ἥδη τε ἐπὶ Καρμανίας προὐχῶρει ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ Φίλιππον τὸν σατράπην τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἐπιβουλευθέντα πρὸς τῶν μισθοφόρων δόλῳ ἀποθανεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτείναντας ὅτι οἱ σωματοφύλακες τοῦ Φιλίππου οἱ Μακεδόνες τοὺς μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὕστερον λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν. ταῦτα δὲ ὥς ἔγνω, ἐκπέμπει γράμματα ἐς Ἰνδοὺς παρὰ Εὐδαμόν τε καὶ Ταξίλην ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς χώρας τῆς πρόσθεν ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ τεταγμένης ἔστ' ἂν αὐτὸς σατράπην ἐκπέμψῃ ἐπ' αὐτῆς. [3] ἥδη δ' ἐς Καρμανίαν ἦκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Κρατερός ἀφικνεῖται, τὴν τε ἄλλην στρατιάν ἅμα οἱ ἄγων καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ Ὀρδάνην τὸν ἀποστάντα καὶ νεωτερίσαντα συνειληφώς. ἐνταῦθα δὲ Στασάνωρ τε ὁ Ἀρεῖών καὶ ὁ Ζαραγγῶν σατράπης ἦκεν καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς

Φαρισμάνης ὁ Φραταφέρνου τοῦ Παρθυαίων καὶ Ὑρκανίων σατράπου παῖς. ἦκον δὲ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ἅμα Παρμενίωνι ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς ἐν Μηδίᾳ, Κλέανδρός τε καὶ Σιτάλκης καὶ Ἡράκων, τὴν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ οὗτοι ἄγοντες. [4] τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κλέανδρόν τε καὶ Σιτάλκην πολλὰ ἐπικαλοῦντων αὐτοῖς τῶν τε ἐγχωρίων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτῆς, ὡς ἱερά τε πρὸς αὐτῶν σεσυλημένα καὶ θήκας παλαιὰς κεκινημένας καὶ ἄλλα ἄδικα ἔργα ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τετολημμένα καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλη, τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δέος εἶναι, ὅσοι σατράπαι ἢ ὕπαρχοι ἢ νομάρχαι ἀπολείποντο, τὰ ἴσα ἐκείνοις πλημμελοῦντας πείσεσθαι: [5] 'καὶ τοῦτο, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, κατέσχευεν ἐν κόσμῳ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου δοριάλωτα ἢ ἐκόντα προσχωρήσαντα, τοσαῦτα μὲν πλήθει ὄντα, τόσον δὲ ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξῆν ὑπὸ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλείᾳ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων:' Ἡράκων δὲ τότε μὲν ἀφείθη τῆς αἰτίας: ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον ἐξελεγχθεὶς πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Σουσίων σεσυληκέναι τὸ ἐν Σούσις ἱερὸν καὶ οὗτος ἔδωκεν δίκην. [6] οἱ δὲ σὺν Στασάνορι καὶ Φραταφέρνῃ πληθὺς τε ὑποζυγίων παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἄγοντες ἦλθον καὶ καμήλους πολλὰς, ὡς ἔμαθον ὅτι τὴν ἐπὶ Γαδρωσίων ἄγει, εἰκάσαντες ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα πείσεται αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ ἃ δὴ ἔπαθε: καὶ οὖν καὶ ἐν καιρῷ μὲν καὶ οὗτοι ἀφίκοντο, ἐν καιρῷ δὲ αἱ κάμηλοί τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια: διένειμε γὰρ ζύμπαντα Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσι κατ' ἄνδρα, τοῖς δὲ κατ' ἴλας τε καὶ ἑκατοστῶας, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ λόχους, ὅπως τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ καμήλων αὐτῷ ξυνέβαινεν.

[1] ἤδη δὲ τινες καὶ τοιάδε ἀνέγραψαν, οὐ πιστὰ ἔμοι λέγοντες, ὡς συζεύξας δύο ἄρμαμάξας κατακείμενος ξὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις καταυλούμενος τὴν διὰ Καρμανίας ἦγεν, ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐστεφανωμένη τε καὶ παίζουσα εἵπετο, προὔκειτο δὲ αὐτῇ σῖτά τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τρυφὴν παρὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς συγκεκομισμένα πρὸς τῶν Καρμανίων, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς μίμησιν τῆς Διονύσου βακχείας ἀπαικάσθῃ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, [2] ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου λόγος ἐλέγετο καταστρεψάμενον Ἰνδοὺς Διόνυσον οὕτω τὴν πολλὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπελθεῖν, καὶ Θριάμβόν τε αὐτὸν ἐπικληθῆναι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ταῖς ἐκ πολέμου πομπὰς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ θριάμβους. ταῦτα δὲ οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου οὔτε Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου ἀνέγραψαν οὐδέ τις ἄλλος ὄντινα ἱκανὸν ἂν τις ποιήσαιτο τεκμηριῶσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιῶνδε, καί μοι ὡς οὐ πιστὰ ἀναγεγράφθαι ἐξήρκεσαν. [3] ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνα ἤδη Ἀριστοβούλῳ ἐπόμενος ξυγγράφῳ, θῆσαι ἐν Καρμανίᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον χαριστήρια τῆς κατ' Ἰνδῶν νίκης καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ὅτι ἀπεσώθη ἐκ Γαδρωσίων, καὶ ἀγῶνα διαθεῖναι μουσικόν τε καὶ γυμνικόν: καταλέξει δὲ καὶ Πευκέσταν ἐς τοὺς σωματοφύλακας, ἤδη μὲν ἐγνωκότα σατράπην καταστήσαι τῆς Περσίδος, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πρὸ τῆς σατραπείας μηδὲ ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως ἀπείρατον εἶναι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν Μαλλοῖς ἔργῳ: [4] εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ ἑπτὰ εἰς τότε σωματοφύλακας, Λεοννάτον Ἀντέου, Ἡφαιστίωνα τὸν Ἀμύντορος, Λυσίμαχον Ἀγαθοκλέους, Ἀριστόνουν Πεισαίου, τούτους μὲν Πελλαίους, Περδίκκαν δὲ Ὀρόντου ἐκ τῆς Ὀρεστίδος, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ Λάγου καὶ Πείθωνα Κρατεύα Ἑορδαίους: ὄγδοον δὲ προσγενέσθαι αὐτοῖς Πευκέσταν τὸν

Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπερασπίσαντα. [5] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Νέαρχος περιπλεύσας τὴν Ὠρων τε καὶ Γαδρωσῶν γῆν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων κατῆρεν ἐς τῆς Καρμανίας τὰ πρὸς θάλασσαν ὠκισμένα: ἐνθεν δὲ ἀνελθὼν σὺν ὀλίγοις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀπήγγειλε τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν περίπλου τὸν γενόμενον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν. [6] τοῦτον μὲν δὴ καταπέμπει αὐθις ἐκπεριπλεύσοντα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν Σουσιανῶν τε γῆν καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ τὰς ἐκβολάς: ὅπως δὲ ἐπλεύσθη αὐτῷ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικὴν καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Τίγρητος, ταῦτα ἰδίᾳ ἀναγράψω αὐτῷ Νέαρχῳ ἐπόμενος, ὥς καὶ τήνδε εἶναι ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἑλληνικὴν τὴν συγγραφὴν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν ὑστέρῳ ἔσται τυχόν, εἰ[ς] ὃ τε θυμός [τέ] με καὶ ὁ δαίμων ταύτῃ ἄγοι. [7] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν σὺν τε τῇ πλείστη μοίρᾳ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἅμα οἱ ἔχοντα τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Καρμανίας ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅτι χειμῶνος ὥρα γιγνομένου αὐτῷ τοῦ στόλου τὰ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ τῆς Περσίδος ἀλεινὰ τε ἦν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθόνως ἔχοντα.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ζὺν τοῖς κουφοτάτοις τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ζὺν τῶν ἰππέων τοῖς ἐταίροις καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἦει τὴν ἐπὶ Πασαργάδας τῆς Περσίδος. Στασάνορα δὲ καταπέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. [2] ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις ἦν τῆς Περσίδος, Φρασαόρτην μὲν οὐ κατέλαβε σατραπεύοντα ἔτι νόσω γὰρ τετελευτηκῶς ἐτύγχανεν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἔτι Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος, Ὁρξίνης δὲ ἐπεμέλετο τῆς Περσίδος, οὐ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου κατασταθείς, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἀπηξίωσεν αὐτὸν ἐν κόσμῳ Πέρσας διαφυλάξαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐκ ὄντος ἄλλου ἄρχοντος. [3] ἦλθε δὲ ἐς Πασαργάδας καὶ Ἀτροπάτης ὁ Μηδ[ε]ίας σατράπης, ἄγων Βαρυάξην ἄνδρα Μηδὸν συνειλημμένον, ὅτι ὀρθὴν τὴν κίδαριν περιθέμενος βασιλεῖα προσεῖπεν αὐτὸν Περσῶν καὶ Μηδῶν, καὶ ζὺν τούτῳ τοὺς μετασχόντας αὐτῷ τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ τε καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀλέξανδρος. [4] ἐλύπησε δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ παρανομία ἡ ἐς τὸν Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσου τάφον, ὅτι διορωρυγμένον τε καὶ σεσυλημένον κατέλαβε τοῦ Κύρου τὸν τάφον, ὥς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος. εἶναι γὰρ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐν τᾷ παραδείσῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ Κύρου ἐκείνου τάφον καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλσος πεφυτεῦσθαι δένδρων παντοίων καὶ ὕδατι εἶναι κατάρρυτον καὶ πόαν βαθεῖαν πεφυκέναι ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν τάφον τὰ κάτω λίθου τετραπέδου ἐς τετράγωνον σχῆμα πεποιῆσθαι, [5] ἄνωθεν δὲ οἶκημα ἐπεῖναι λίθινον ἐστεγασμένον, θυρίδα ἔχον φέρουσαν ἔσω στενὴν, ὥς μόλις ἂν εἶναι ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ οὐ μεγάλῳ πολλὰ κακοπαθοῦντι παρελθεῖν. ἐν δὲ τῷ οἰκίματι πύελον χρυσὴν κεῖσθαι, ἵνα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κύρου ἐτέθαιπτο, καὶ κλίνην παρὰ τῇ πυλῶν: πόδας δὲ εἶναι τῇ κλίνῃ χρυσοῦς σφυρηλάτους καὶ τάπητα ἐπίβλημα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ καυνάκας πορφυροῦς ὑποστρώματα. [6] ἐπεῖναι δὲ καὶ κἀνδύς καὶ ἄλλους χιτῶνας τῆς Βαβυλωνίου ἐργασίας, καὶ ἀναξυρίδες Μηδικαὶ καὶ στολαὶ ὑακινθινοβαφεῖς λέγει ὅτι ἔκειντο, αἱ δὲ πορφύρας αἱ δὲ ἄλλης καὶ ἄλλης χροᾶς, καὶ στρεπτοὶ καὶ ἀκινάκαι καὶ ἐνώτια χρυσοῦ τε καὶ λίθων κολλητά, καὶ τράπεζα ἔκειτο. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς κλίνης ἡ πύελος ἔκειτο ἡ τὸ σῶμα τὸ Κύρου ἔχουσα. [7] εἶναι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου πρὸς τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον φερούσῃ οἶκημα σμικρὸν τοῖς Μάγοις πεποιημένον, οἱ δὴ

ἐφύλασσαν τὸν Κύρου τάφον ἔτι ἀπὸ Καμβύσου τοῦ Κύρου, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν φυλακὴν. καὶ τούτοις πρόβατόν τε ἐς ἡμέραν ἐδίδοτο ἐκ βασιλέως καὶ ἀλεύρων τε καὶ οἴνου τεταγμένα καὶ ἵππος κατὰ μῆνα ἐς θυσίαν τῷ Κύρῳ. [8] ἐπεγέγραπτο δὲ ὁ τάφος Περσικοῖς γράμμασι: καὶ ἐδήλου Περσιστὶ τάδε: ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἐγὼ Κύρός εἰμι ὁ Καμβύσου ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν Πέρσας καταστησάμενος καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύσας. μὴ οὖν φθονήσης μοι τοῦ μνήματος. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ, [9] ὁπότε ἔλοι Πέρσας, παριέναι ἐς τοῦ Κύρου τὸν τάφον· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καταλαμβάνει ἐκπεφορημένα πλὴν τῆς πυέλου καὶ τῆς κλίνης: οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κύρου ἐλωβήσαντο ἀφελόντες τὸ πῶμα τῆς πυέλου καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐξέβαλον: αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν πυέλον ἐπειρῶντο εὐογκόν σφισι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ταύτῃ εὐφορον τὰ μὲν παρακόπτοντες, τὰ δὲ ξυνθλῶντες αὐτῆς. ὥς δὲ οὐ προὐχώρει αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω δὴ ἐάσαντες τὴν πυέλον ἀπῆλθον. [10] καὶ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος αὐτὸς ταχθῆναι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου κοσμήσαι ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς τῷ Κύρῳ τὸν τάφον. καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος ὅσαπερ ἔτι σῶα ἦν καταθεῖναι ἐς τὴν πυέλον καὶ τὸ πῶμα ἐπιθεῖναι, ὅσα δὲ λελώβητο αὐτῆς κατορθῶσαι: καὶ τὴν κλίνην ἐντεῖναι ταινίαις καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐς κόσμον ἔκειτο κατὰ ἀριθμόν τε καὶ τοῖς πάλαι ὅμοια ἀποθεῖναι καὶ τὴν θυρίδα δὲ ἀφανίσαι τὰ μὲν αὐτῆς λίθῳ ἐνοικοδομήσαντα, τὰ δὲ πηλῷ ἐμπλάσαντα, καὶ ἐπιβαλεῖν τῷ πηλῷ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ βασιλικόν. [11] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ξυλλαβὼν τοὺς Μάγους τοὺς φύλακας τοῦ τάφου ἐστρέβλωσεν, ὥς κατεῖπιν τοὺς δράσαντας, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε σφῶν οὔτε ἄλλου κατεῖπον στρεβλούμενοι, οὐδὲ ἄλλη πη ἐξηλέγχοντο ξυνειδότες τῷ ἔργῳ: καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀφείθησαν ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

[1] ἔνθεν δὲ ἐς τὰ βασιλεία ἦει τὰ Περσῶν, ἃ δὴ πρόσθεν κατέφλεξεν αὐτός, ὥς μοι λέλεκται, ὅτε οὐκ ἐπήνουν τὸ ἔργον: ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπανελθὼν ἐπήνει. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ κατὰ Ὁρξίνου πολλοὶ λόγοι ἐλέχθησαν πρὸς Περσῶν, ὃς ἦρξε Περσῶν ἐπειδὴ Φρασαόρτης ἐτελεύτησε. [2] καὶ ἐξηλέγχθη Ὁρξίνης ἱερά τε ὅτι σεσυλήκει καὶ τάφους βασιλικούς, καὶ Περσῶν πολλοὺς ὅτι οὐ ξὺν δίκῃ ἀπέκτεινε. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ οἷς ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκρέμασαν, σατράπην δὲ Πέρσας ἔταξε Πευκέσταν τὸν σωματοφύλακα, πιστόν τε οἱ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τιθέμενος τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν Μαλλοῖς ἔργῳ, ἵνα προεκινδύνευσέ τε καὶ συνεξέσωσεν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἄλλως τῷ βαρβαρικῷ τρόπῳ τῆς διαίτης οὐκ ἀξύφορον: [3] ἐδήλωσε δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε εὐθύς ὥς κατεστάθη σατραπεύειν Περσῶν μόνος τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων μεταβαλὼν τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ φωνὴν τὴν Περσικὴν ἐκμαθὼν καὶ τᾶλλα ζύμπαντα ἐς τρόπον τὸν Περσικὸν κατασκευασάμενος. ἐφ' οἷς Ἀλέξανδρός γε ἐπήνει αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ὥς τὰ παρὰ σφίσι πρὸ τῶν πατρίων πρεσβεύοντι ἔχαιρον.

BOOK VII.

[1] ὥς δὲ ἐς Πασαργάδας τε καὶ ἐς Περσέπολιν ἀφίκετο Ἀλέξανδρος, πόθος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν καταπλεῦσαι κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικὴν καὶ τῶν τε ποταμῶν Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ τὴν ταύτη θάλασσαν. [2] οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδειδεῖν τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς ἐς τὸν πόντον, καθάπερ τοῦ ἀνέγραψαν, ὅτι ἐπενόει Ἀλέξανδρος περιπλεῦσαι τὴν τε Ἀραβίαν τὴν πολλὴν καὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπῶν γῆν καὶ τὴν Λιβύην τε καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἀτλαντα τὸ ὄρος ὥς ἐπὶ Γάδειρα ἔσω ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν Λιβύην τε καταστρεφάμενος καὶ Καρχηδόνᾳ οὕτω δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης δικαίως ἂν βασιλεὺς καλεῖσθαι. [3] τοὺς γάρ τοι Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων βασιλέας οὐδὲ τοῦ πολλοστοῦ μέρους τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπάρχοντας οὐ σὺν δίκη καλεῖν σφᾶς μεγάλους βασιλέας. ἔνθεν δὲ οἱ μὲν, ὅτι ἐς τὸν πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνιον ἐσπλεῖν ἐπενόει ἐς Σκύθας τε καὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαιῶτιν, οἱ δέ, ὅτι ἐς Σικελίαν τε καὶ ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν· ἤδη γάρ καὶ ὑποκινεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὄνομα προχωροῦν ἐπὶ μέγα. [4] ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποια μὲν ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰ ἐνθυμήματα οὔτε ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς ξυμβαλεῖν οὔτε μέλει ἔμοιγε εἰκάζειν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἰσχυρίσασθαι, οὔτε μικρόν τι καὶ φαῦλον ἐπινοεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον οὔτε μείναι ἂν ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἤδη κεκτημένων, οὐδὲ εἰ τὴν Εὐρώπην τῇ Ἀσίᾳ προσέθηκεν, οὐδ' εἰ τὰς Βρεττανῶν νήσους τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, ἀλλὰ ἔτι ἂν ἐπέκεινα ζητεῖν τι τῶν ἡγνοημένων, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἄλλω τῷ, ἀλλὰ αὐτόν γε αὐτῷ ἐρίζοντα. [5] καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐπαινῷ τοὺς σοφιστὰς τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὧν λέγουσιν ἔστιν οὗς καταληφθέντας ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπαιθρίους ἐν λειμῶνι, ἵνα περ αὐτοῖς διατριβαὶ ἦσαν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ποιῆσαι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς, κρούειν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ἧς βεβηκότες ἦσαν. ὥς δὲ ἤρετο Ἀλέξανδρος δι' ἑρμηνέων ὅ τι νοοῖ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔργον, τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὥδε: [6] βασιλεῦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἄνθρωπος μὲν ἕκαστος τοσόνδε τῆς γῆς κατέχει ὅσον περ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐφ' ὅτῳ βεβήκαμεν: σὺ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὢν παραπλήσιος τοῖς ἄλλοις, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι πολυπράγμων καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας τοσαύτην γῆν ἐπεξέρχῃ πράγματα ἔχων τε καὶ παρέχων ἄλλοις. καὶ οὖν καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἀποθανῶν τοσοῦτον καθέξεις τῆς γῆς ὅσον ἐξαρκεῖ ἐντεθάφθαι τῷ σώματι.

[1] κἀναυῦθα ἐπῆνεσε μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς τε λόγους αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς εἰπόντας, ἔπρασσε δὲ ὅμως ἄλλα καὶ τάναντία οἷς ἐπῆνεσεν. ἐπεὶ καὶ Διογένην τὸν ἐκ Σινώπης θαυμάσαι λέγεται, ἐν Ἰσθμῷ ἐντυχὼν τῷ Διογένει κατακειμένῳ ἐν ἡλίῳ, ἐπιστὰς σὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς καὶ τοῖς πεζεταίροις καὶ ἐρόμενος εἴ του δέοιτο: ὁ δὲ Διογένης ἄλλου μὲν ἔφη δεῖσθαι οὐδενός, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. οὕτω τοι οὐ πάντῃ ἔξω τοῦ ἐπινοεῖν τὰ κρεῖττω ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλ' ἐκ δόξης γὰρ δεινῶς ἐκρατεῖτο. [2] ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐς Τάξιλα αὐτῷ ἀφικομένῳ καὶ ἰδόντι τῶν σοφιστῶν τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς γυμνοὺς πόθος ἐγένετο ξυνεῖναι τινα οἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, ὅτι τὴν καρτερίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμασε: καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος τῶν σοφιστῶν, ὅτου ὀμιληταὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἦσαν, Δάνδαμης ὄνομα, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον

ἥξειν οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους εἶα, [3] ἀλλὰ ὑποκρίνασθαι γὰρ λέγεται ὡς Διὸς υἱὸς καὶ αὐτὸς εἶη, εἵπερ οὖν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ὅτι οὔτε δέοιτό του τῶν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἔχει γάρ οἱ εὖ τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ἅμα ὁρᾷν τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ πλανωμένους τοσαύτην γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ οὐδενί, μηδὲ πέρας τι αὐτοῖς γινόμενον τῶν πολλῶν πλανῶν. οὗτ' οὖν ποθεῖν τι αὐτὸς ὅτου κύριος ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος δοῦναι, οὔτε αὖ δεδιέναι, ὅτου κρατοίη ἐκεῖνος, ἔστιν οὗ εἵργεσθαι: [4] ζῶντι μὲν γάρ οἱ τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν ἐξαρκεῖν φέρουσιν τὰ ὠραῖα, ἀποθανόντα δὲ ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι οὐκ ἐπιεικοῦς ξυνοίκου τοῦ σώματος. οὐκ οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιχειρῆσαι βιάσασθαι γνόντα ἐλεύθερον ὄντα τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ Κάλανον γὰρ ἀναπεισθῆναι τῶν ταύτῃ σοφιστῶν, ὄντινα μάλιστα δὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκράτορα Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς σοφιστάς λέγειν κακίζοντας τὸν Κάλανον, ὅτι ἀπολιπὼν τὴν παρὰ σφίσιν εὐδαιμονίαν ὁ δὲ δεσπότην ἄλλον ἢ τὸν θεὸν ἐθεράπευε. ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀνέγραψα, ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ Καλάνου ἐχρῆν

[1] εἰπεῖν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου συγγραφῇ: μαλακισθῆναι γάρ τι τῷ σώματι τὸν Κάλανον ἐν τῇ Περσίδι γῇ, οὐπω πρόσθεν νοσήσαντα: οὐκ οὐδὲ δίαίταν διαιτᾶσθαι θέλειν ἀρρώστου ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ εἰπεῖν γὰρ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, καλῶς αὐτῷ ἔχειν ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε καταστρέψαι, πρὶν τινος ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν παθήματος ὃ τι περ ἐξαναγκάσει αὐτὸν μεταβάλλειν τὴν πρόσθεν δίαίταν. [2] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντειπεῖν μὲν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πολὺ: ὡς δ' οὐχ ἡττησόμενον ἑώρα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλως ἂν ἀπαλλαγέντα, εἰ μὴ τις ταύτῃ ὑπεικάθοι, οὕτω δὴ ὅπῃ ἐπήγγελλεν αὐτός, κελεῦσαι νησθῆναι αὐτῷ πυρὰν, καὶ ταύτης ἐπιμεληθῆναι Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου τὸν σωματοφύλακα. οἱ δὲ καὶ πομπὴν τινα προπομπεῦσαι αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ἵππους τε καὶ ἄνδρας, τοὺς μὲν ὠπλισμένους, τοὺς δὲ θυμιάματα παντοῖα τῇ πυρᾷ ἐπιφέροντας: οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκπώματα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ἐσθῆτα βασιλικὴν λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔφερον. [3] αὐτῷ δὲ παρασκευασθῆναι μὲν ἵππον, ὅτι βαδίσαι ἀδυνάτως εἶχεν ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου: οὐ μὴν δυνηθῆναι γε οὐδὲ τοῦ ἵππου ἐπιβῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ κλίνης γὰρ κοιμῆσθαι φερόμενον, ἐστεφανωμένον τε τῷ Ἰνδῶν νόμῳ καὶ ἄδοντα τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσσῃ. οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ὕμνοι θεῶν ἦσαν καὶ αὐτῶν ἔπαινοι. [4] καὶ τὸν μὲν ἵππον τοῦτον ὅτου ἐπιβήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, βασιλικὸν ὄντα τῶν Νησαίων, πρὶν ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν Λυσιμάχῳ χαρίσασθαι, τῶν τινι θεραπευόντων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σοφία: τῶν δὲ δὴ ἐκπωμάτων ἢ στρωμάτων ὅσα ἐμβληθῆναι εἰς τὴν πυρὰν κόσμον αὐτῷ τετάχει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἄλλα ἄλλοις δοῦναι τῶν ἁμφ' αὐτόν. [5] οὕτω δὲ ἐπιβάντα τῇ πυρᾷ κατακλιθῆναι μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ, ὁρᾶσθαι δὲ πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς ξυμπάσης. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιεικὲς φανῆναι τὸ θέαμα ἐπὶ φίλῳ ἀνδρὶ γιγνόμενον: ἀλλὰ τοῖς γὰρ ἄλλοις θαῦμα παρασχέσθαι οὐδέν τι παρακινήσαντα ἐν τῷ πυρὶ τοῦ σώματος. [6] ὡς δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὴν πυρὰν ἐνέβαλον οἷς προστεταγμένον ἦν, τάς τε σάλπιγγας φθέγγεσθαι λέγει Νέαρχος, οὕτως ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου προστεταγμένον, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπαλαλάξαι πᾶσαν ὁποῖόν τι καὶ ἐς τὰς μάχας ἰοῦσα ἐπηλάλαξε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας συνεπηγῆσαι τὸ ὅξυ καὶ πολεμικόν, τιμῶντας Κάλανον. ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ Καλάνου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἱκανοὶ ἀναγεγράφεσιν, οὐκ ἀχρεῖα πάντα ἐς ἀνθρώπους, ὅτῳ γινῶναι ἐπιμελές, [ὅτι] ὡς καρτερόν τέ ἐστι καὶ

ἀνίκητον γνώμη ἀνθρωπίνη ὃ τι περ ἐθέλοι ἐξεργάσασθαι.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀτροπάτην μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σατραπείαν ἐκπέμπει παρελθὼν ἐς Σοῦσα, Ἀβουλίτην δὲ καὶ τὸν τούτου παῖδα Ὁξάθρην, ὅτι κακῶς ἐπεμελεῖτο τῶν Σουσίων, συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε. [2] πολλὰ μὲν δὴ ἐπεπλημμέλητο ἐκ τῶν κατεχόντων τὰς χώρας ὅσαι δορίκτητοι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐγένοντο ἐς τε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τάφους καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ὅτι χρόνιος ὁ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς στόλος ἐγεγένητο τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ οὐ πιστὸν ἐφαίνετο ἀπονοστήσειν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοσῶνδε ἐθνῶν καὶ τοσῶνδε ἐλεφάντων, ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰνδὸν τε καὶ Ὑδάσπην καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην καὶ Ὑφασιν φθειρόμενον. [3] καὶ αἱ ἐν Γαδρωσίῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ξυμφοραὶ ξυνενεχθεῖσαι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπῆραν τοὺς [ἐν] ταύτῃ σατραπεύοντας καταφρονῆσαι αὐτοῦ τῆς οἴκοι ἀπονοστήσεως. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ὀξύτερος λέγεται γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ τότε ἐς τὸ πιστεῦσαι τε τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις ὡς πιθανοῖς δὴ ἐν παντὶ οὔσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τιμωρήσασθαι μεγάλως τοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ μικροῖς ἐξελεγχθέντας, ὅτι καὶ τὰ μεγάλα ἂν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ ἐξεργάσασθαι. [4] ὁ δὲ καὶ γάμους ἐποίησεν ἐν Σούσοις αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων· αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν Δαρείου θυγατέρων τὴν πρεσβυτάτην Βαρσίνην ἡγάγετο, ὡς δὲ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ, τῶν Ὠχοῦ θυγατέρων τὴν νεωτάτην Παρύσατιν. ἤδη δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ἡγμένη καὶ ἡ Ὁξυάρτου τοῦ Βακτρίου παῖς Ῥωξάνη. [5] Δρύπετιν δὲ Ἥφαιστίῳ δίδωσι, Δαρείου παῖδα καὶ ταύτην, ἀδελφὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικός· ἐθέλειν γάρ οἱ ἀνεψιούς τῶν παίδων γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἥφαιστίωνος παῖδας· Κρατερῷ δὲ Ἀμαστρίνην τὴν Ὁξυάρτου τοῦ Δαρείου ἀδελφοῦ παῖδα· Περδίκκᾳ δὲ τὴν Ἀτροπάτου τοῦ Μηδίας σατράπου παῖδα ἔδωκεν· [6] Πτολεμαίῳ δὲ τῷ σωματοφύλακι καὶ Εὐμενεῖ τῷ γραμματεῖ τῷ βασιλικῷ τὰς Ἀρταβάζου παῖδας τῷ μὲν Ἀρτακάμαν, τῷ δὲ Ἄρτωνιν· Νεάρχῳ δὲ τὴν Βαρσίνης τε καὶ Μέντορος παῖδα· Σελεύκῳ δὲ τὴν Σπιταμένους τοῦ Βακτρίου παῖδα· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐταίροις τὰς δοκιμωτάτας Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων παῖδας ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα. οἱ γάμοι δὲ ἐποιήθησαν νόμῳ τῷ Περσικῷ· [7] θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν τοῖς νυμφίοις ἐφεξῆς καὶ μετὰ τὸν πότον ἦκον αἱ γαμούμεναι καὶ παρεκαθέζοντο ἐκάστη τῷ ἑαυτῆς· οἱ δὲ ἐδεξιώσαντό τε αὐτάς καὶ ἐφίλησαν· πρῶτος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦρξεν· ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γὰρ πάντων ἐγίνοντο οἱ γάμοι. καὶ τοῦτο, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, ἔδοξε δημοτικόν τε καὶ φιλέταιρον πρᾶξαι Ἀλέξανδρον. [8] οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες ἀπῆγον τὴν αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος· προῖκας δὲ ξυμπάσαις ἐπέδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ ὅσοι δὲ ἄλλοι ἡγμένοι ἦσαν Μακεδόνες τῶν Ἀσιανῶν τινὰς γυναικῶν, ἀπογραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ τούτων τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ τούτοις δωρεαὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐδόθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς γάμοις.

[1] καὶ τὰ χρέα ἐπὶλύσασθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς ὅσοις χρέα ἦν ἐν καιρῷ οἱ ἔδοξε, καὶ κελεύει ἀπογράφεσθαι ὅποσον ὀφείλει ἕκαστος, ὡς ληγόμενους. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὀλίγοι ἀπέγραψαν σφῶν τὰ ὀνόματα δεδιότες ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου μὴ πείρα αὕτη εἶη καθειμένη, ὅτῳ οὐκ ἀποχρῶσα ἢ μισθοφορὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐστι καὶ ὅτῳ πολυτελὴς ἢ δίαται. [2] ὡς δὲ ἐξήγγελτο ὅτι οὐκ ἀπογράφουσι σφᾶς οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλ' ἐπικρύπτουσιν ὅτῳ τι εἶη συμβόλαιον, τὴν μὲν ἀπιστίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκάκισεν· οὐ γὰρ χρῆναι οὗτ' οὖν τὸν βασιλέα ἄλλο τι ἢ

ἀληθεύειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, οὕτε τῶν ἀρχομένων τινὰ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν δοκεῖν τὸν βασιλέα. [3] καταθεῖς δὲ τραπέζας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων χρυσίον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῆς δόσεως ἐκάστοις, ὅστις συμβόλαιον ἐπεδείκνυτο, ἐπιλύεσθαι τὰ χρέα ἐκέλευεν οὐκ ἀπογραφομένους ἔτι τὰ ὀνόματα. καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐπίστευσάν τε ἀληθεύειν ἡ λέξανδρον καὶ σὺν χάριτι μεῖζονι ἐγίγνετο αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γνωσθῆναι μᾶλλον τι ἢ τὸ παύσασθαι ὀφείλοντας. λέγεται δὲ γενέσθαι ἡ δόσις αὕτη τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς τάλαντα δισμύρια. [4] ἔδωκεν δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἄλλοις ἄλλα, ὅπως τις κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἐτιμᾶτο ἢ κατ' ἀρετὴν εἴ τις ἐπιφανὴς ἐγεγόνει ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις. καὶ ἐστεφάνωσε χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις τοὺς ἀνδραγαθία διαπρέποντας, πρῶτον μὲν Πευκέσταν τὸν ὑπερασπίσαντα, ἔπειτα Λεοννάτον, [5] καὶ τοῦτον ὑπερασπίσαντα, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς κινδύνους καὶ τὴν ἐν Ὠροῖς νίκην γενομένην, ὅτι παραταξάμενος σὺν τῇ ὑπολειφθείσῃ δυνάμει πρὸς τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας τῶν τε Ὠρειτῶν καὶ τῶν πλησίον τούτων ὠκισμένων τῇ τε μάχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καλῶς ἔδοξε τὰ ἐν Ὠροῖς κοσμήσαι. [6] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Νέαρχον ἐπὶ τῷ περίπλῳ τῷ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἐστεφάνωσε: καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἤδη ἀφιγμένος ἐς Σοῦσα ἦν: ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Ὀνησίκριτον τὸν κυβερνήτην τῆς νεῶς τῆς βασιλικῆς: ἔτι δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς σωματοφύλακας.

[1] ἦκον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ σατράπαι οἱ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τε τῶν νεοκτίστων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης γῆς τῆς δοριαλώτου παιδᾶς ἡβάσκοντας ἤδη ἐς τρισμυρίους ἄγοντες τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν γεγονότας, οὓς Ἐπιγόνους ἐκάλει Ἀλέξανδρος, κεκοσμημένους Μακεδονικοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἐς τὸν τρόπον τὸν Μακεδονικὸν ἡσκημένους. [2] καὶ οὗτοι ἀφικόμενοι λέγονται ἀνιάσαι Μακεδόνας, ὥς πάντα δὴ μηχανωμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι ὡσαύτως δεῖσθαι Μακεδόνων: εἶναι γὰρ οὖν καὶ Μηδικὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου στολὴν ἄλγος οὐ μικρὸν Μακεδόσιν ὀρωμένην καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ Περσικῷ ποιηθέντας οὐ πρὸς θυμῷ γενέσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν γημάντων ἔστιν οἷς, καίτοι τῇ ἰσότητι τῇ ἐς τὸν βασιλέα μεγάλως τετιμημένοις. [3] Πευκέστας τε ὁ Περσῶν σατράπης τῇ τε σκευῇ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ περσίζων ἐλύπει αὐτούς, ὅτι τῷ βαρβαρισμῷ αὐτοῦ ἔχαιρεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ οἱ Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ οἱ Σογδιανῶν καὶ Ἀραχωτῶν ἱππεῖς καὶ Ζαραγγῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρείων καὶ Παρθυαίων καὶ ἐκ Περσῶν οἱ Εὐάκαι καλούμενοι ἱππεῖς καταλοχισθέντες εἰς τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐταιρικὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν κατ' ἀξίωσιν καὶ κάλλει τοῦ σώματος ἢ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ ὑπερφέροντες ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ πέμπτη ἐπὶ τούτοις ἱππαρχία προσγενομένη, οὐ βαρβαρικὴ ἢ πᾶσα, [4] ἀλλὰ ἐπαυξηθέντος γὰρ τοῦ παντὸς ἱππικοῦ κατελέγησαν ἐς αὐτὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, τῷ τε ἀγῆματι προσκαταλεγέντες Κωφῆς τε ὁ Ἀρταβάζου καὶ Ὑδάρνης καὶ Ἀρτιβόλης οἱ Μαζαίου, καὶ Σισίνης καὶ Φραδασμένης [καὶ] οἱ Φραταφέρνου τοῦ Παρθυαίων καὶ Ὑρκανίας σατράπου παῖδες, [5] καὶ Ἰτάνης Ὁξυάρτου μὲν παῖς, Ῥωξάνης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀδελφός, καὶ Αἰγοβάρης καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφός Μιθροβαῖος, καὶ ἡγεμῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπισταθεῖς Ὑστάσπης ὁ Βάκτριος, καὶ τούτοις δόρατα Μακεδονικὰ ἀντὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν μεσαγκύλων δοθέντα, — ταῦτα πάντα ἐλύπει τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὥς πάντῃ δὴ

βαρβαρίζοντος τῇ γνώμῃ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὰ δὲ Μακεδονικὰ νόμιμά τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐν ἀτίμῳ χώρᾳ ἄγοντος.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς μὲν πεζῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν πολλὴν Ἑφαιστίωνα ἄγειν κελεύει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναπλεύσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐς τὴν Σουσίαν γῆν ἐπιβάς τῶν νεῶν ζὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς τε καὶ τῷ ἀγῆματι καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἐταίρων ἀναβιβασάμενος οὐ πολλοὺς κατέπλει κατὰ τὸν Εὐλαῖον ποταμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. [2] ἤδη δὲ πλησίον ὦν τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῆς ἐς τὸν πόντον τὰς μὲν πλειονάς τε καὶ πεπονηκυίας τῶν νεῶν καταλείπει αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς μάλιστα ταχυναυτούσαις παρέπλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐλαίου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι αὐτῷ νῆες ἀνακομισθεῖσαι κατὰ τὸν Εὐλαῖον ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν διώρυχα, ἣ τέμνεται ἐκ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐς τὸν Εὐλαῖον, ταύτη διεκομίσθησαν ἐς τὸν Τίγρητα. [3] τῶν γὰρ δὴ ποταμῶν τοῦ τε Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος, οἱ τὴν μέσσην σφῶν Ἀσσυρίαν ἀπείργουσιν, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Μεσοποταμία πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων κληῖζεται, ὁ μὲν Τίγρης πολὺ τι ταπεινότερος ῥέων τοῦ Εὐφράτου διώρυχάς τε πολλὰς ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐς αὐτὸν δέχεται καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς παραλαβὼν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν αὐξηθεὶς ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὸν πόντον τὸν Περσικόν, μέγας τε καὶ οὐδαμοῦ διαβατὸς ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκβολήν, καθότι οὐ καταναλίσκεται αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν χώραν. [4] ἔστι γὰρ μετεωροτέρα ἢ ταύτη γῆ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐδὲ ἐκδίδωσιν οὗτος κατὰ τὰς διώρυχας οὐδὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμόν, ἀλλὰ δέχεται γὰρ ἐκείνους μᾶλλον, ἄρδεσθαι τε ἀπὸ οὗ τὴν χώραν οὐδαμῇ παρέχει. [5] ὁ δὲ Εὐφράτης μετεώρός τε ῥεῖ καὶ ἰσοχεύλης πανταχῇ τῇ γῇ, καὶ διώρυχες δὲ πολλαὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιήνται, αἱ μὲν ἀέναιοι, ἀφ' ὧν ὑδρεύονται οἱ παρ' ἐκάτερα ὤκισμένοι, τὰς δὲ καὶ πρὸς καιρὸν ποιοῦνται, ὅποτε σφίσιν ὕδατος ἐνδεῶς ἔχοι, ἐς τὸ ἐπάρδειν τὴν χώραν· οὐ γὰρ ὕεται τὸ πολὺ ἢ γῆ αὕτη ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ οὕτως ἐς οὐ πολὺ ὕδωρ ὁ Εὐφράτης τελευτῶν καὶ τεναγῶδες [ἐς] τοῦτο οὕτως ἀποπαύεται. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περιπλεύσας κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὅσον μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Εὐλαίου ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπεῖχεν ὁ αἰγιαλὸς τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Περσικοῦ ἀνέπλει κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἵνα Ἑφαιστίων αὐτῷ τὴν δύναμιν πᾶσαν ἔχων ἐστρατοπεδεῦκει. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ αὐθις ἔπλει ἐς Ὠπιν, πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ὤκισμένην. [7] ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀνάπλω τοὺς καταρράκτας τοὺς κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀφανίζων ὁμαλὸν πάντῃ ἐποίει τὸν ῥοῦν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ Περσῶν πεποιημένοι ἦσαν τοῦ μή τινα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναπλεῦσαι εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν νῆτῃ στόλῳ κρατήσαντα. ταῦτα δὲ μεμηχάνητο ἅτε δὴ οὐ ναυτικοῖς τοῖς Πέρσαις· οὕτω δὴ συνεχεῖς οἱ καταρράκται πεποιημένοι ἄπορον τὸν ἀνάπλουν ἐποίουν τὸν κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τῶν κρατούντων τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφίσματα· οὐκουν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο ταύτην τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἥντινα ἔργῳ οὐδὲ λόγῳ ἀξίαν ἀπέφηνε οὐ χαλεπῶς διακόψας τῶν Περσῶν τὰ σπουδάσματα.

[1] ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὠπιν ἀφίκετο, συναγαγὼν τοὺς Μακεδόνας προεῖπεν ὅτι τοὺς ὑπὸ γήρως ἢ πηρώσεως τοῦ σώματος ἀχρεῖους ἐς τὰ πολέμια ὄντας παραλύει μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἀποπέμπει δὲ ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἦθη, ἐπιδώσει δὲ [μένουσιν] ὅσα αὐτοὺς τε ζηλωτοτέρους ποιήσει τοῖς οἰκοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους

Μακεδόνας ἐξορμήσει ἐς τὸ ἐθέλειν τῶν αὐτῶν κινδύνων τε καὶ πόνων μετέχειν. [2] Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ὡς χαριούμενος δῆθεν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ ὡς ὑπερορώμενοί τε ἦδη πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀχρεῖοι πάντη ἐς τὰ πολέμια νομιζόμενοι οὐκ ἀλόγως αὖ τῷ λόγῳ ἠχθέσθησαν τῷ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου λεχθέντι, κατὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ταύτην πᾶσαν πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ἀχθεσθέντες, ὅτι πολλάκις ἦδη ἐλύπει αὐτοὺς ἢ τε ἐσθὴς ἢ Περσικὴ ἐς τοῦτο φέρουσα καὶ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ ἐς τὰ Μακεδονικὰ ἦθη κόσμησις καὶ ἀνάμιξις τῶν ἄλλοφύλων ἱπέων ἐς τὰς τῶν ἐταίρων τάξεις. [3] οὐκουν σιγῇ ἔχοντες ἐκαρτέρησαν, ἀλλὰ πάντας γὰρ ἀπαλλάττειν στρατιᾶς ἐκέλευον, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς στρατεύεσθαι, τὸν Ἄμμωνα δὴ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπικερτομοῦντες. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὀξύτερός τε ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς θεραπείας οὐκέτι ὡς πάλαι ἐπεικῆς ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας· καταπηδήσας σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ξυλλαβεῖν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ταραζάντων τὸ πλῆθος κελεύει, αὐτοὺς τῇ χειρὶ ἐπιδεικνύων τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς οὐστίνας χρῆ συλλαμβάνειν· καὶ ἐγένοντο οὗτοι ἐς τρισκαίδεκα. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἀπάγειν κελεύει τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. ὡς δὲ κατεσιώπησαν οἱ ἄλλοι ἐκπλαγέντες, ἀναβάς αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

[1] οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταπαῦσαι ὑμῶν, ὃ Μακεδόνες, τὴν οἴκαδε ὀρμὴν λεχθήσεται μοι ὅδε ὁ λόγος, ἔξεστι γὰρ ὑμῖν ἀπιέναι ὅποι βούλεσθε ἐμοῦ γε ἔνεκα, ἀλλὰ ὡς γνῶναι ὑμᾶς πρὸς ὁποῖους τινὰς ἡμᾶς ὄντας ὁποῖοί τινες αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσεσθε. [2] καὶ πρῶτά γε ἀπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ πατρὸς, ἧπερ καὶ εἰκός, τοῦ λόγου ἄρξομαι. Φίλιππος γὰρ παραλαβὼν ὑμᾶς πλανήτας καὶ ἀπόρους, ἐν διφθέραις τοὺς πολλοὺς νέμοντας ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη πρόβατα ὀλίγα καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων κακῶς μαχομένους Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Τριβαλλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁμόροις Θραζῖν, γλαμύδας μὲν ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν διφθερῶν φορεῖν ἔδωκεν, κατήγαγε δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐς τὰ πεδία, ἀξιομάχους καταστήσας τοῖς προσχώροις τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς μὴ χωρίων ἔτι ὀχυρότητι πιστεύοντας μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἀρετῇ σῶζεσθαι, πόλεόν τε οἰκήτορας ἀπέφηνε καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσι χρηστοῖς ἐκόσμησεν. [3] αὐτῶν δὲ ἐκείνων τῶν βαρβάρων, ὑφ’ ὧν πρόσθεν ἦγεσθε καὶ ἐφέρεσθε αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἡγεμόνας κατέστησεν ἐκ δούλων καὶ ὑπηκῶν, καὶ τῆς Θράκης τὰ πολλὰ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ προσέθηκεν, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ χωρίων τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα καταλαβόμενος τὴν ἐμπορίαν τῇ χώρᾳ ἀνεπέτασε, καὶ τῶν μετᾴλων τὴν ἐργασίαν ἀδεῇ παρέσχε, Θεσσαλῶν δὲ ἄρχοντας, [4] οὓς πάλαι ἐτεθνήκειτε τῷ δέει, ἀπέφηνε, καὶ τὸ Φωκῶν ἔθνος ταπεινώσας τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀράοδον πλατεῖαν καὶ εὐπορον ἀντὶ στενῆς τε καὶ ἀπόρου ὑμῖν ἐποίησεν, Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Θηβαίους ἐφεδρεύοντας αἰετῇ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ ἐς τοσόνδε ἐταπείνωσεν, ἦδη ταῦτά γε καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ξυμπονούντων, ὡς ἀντὶ τοῦ φόρους τελεῖν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὑπακούειν Θηβαίον, παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐκείνους τὴν ἀσφάλειάν σφισι πορίζεσθαι. [5] ἐς Πελοπόννησον δὲ παρελθὼν τὰ ἐκεῖ αὖ ἐκόσμησε καὶ ἡγεμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ συμπάσης τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀποδειχθεὶς τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην στρατιᾶς οὐχ ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον τι τὴν δόξαν τήνδε ἢ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Μακεδόνων προσ- ἔθηκεν. [6] ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐς ὑμᾶς ὑπηργμένα, ὡς μὲν αὐτὰ ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν σκέψασθαι μεγάλα, μικρὰ δὲ ὥς γε δὴ πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα ξυμβαλεῖν. ὅς

παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς χρυσᾶ μὲν καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ἐκπώματα ὀλίγα, τάλαντα δὲ οὐδὲ ἐξήκοντα ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς, χρεῶν δὲ ὀφειλόμενα ὑπὸ Φιλίππου ἐς πεντακόσια τάλαντα, δανεισάμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτοὺς ἄλλα ὀκτακόσια ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς γε οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βοσκούσης καλῶς εὐθὺς μὲν τοῦ Ἑλληνόντου ὑμῖν τὸν πόρον θαλασσοκρατούντων ἐν τῷ τότε Περσῶν ἀνεπέτασα: [7] κρατήσας δὲ τῇ ἵππῳ τοὺς σατράπας τοὺς Δαρείου τὴν τε Ἰωνίαν πᾶσαν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀρχῇ προσέθηκα καὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα πᾶσαν καὶ Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ Λυδοὺς, καὶ Μίλητον εἶλον πολιορκία: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐκόντα προσχωρήσαντα λαβὼν ὑμῖν καρποῦσθαι ἔδωκα: [8] καὶ τὰ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κυρήνης ἀγαθὰ, ὅσα ἀμαχεὶ ἐκτησάμην, ὑμῖν ἔρχεται, ἥ τε κοίλη Συρία καὶ ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ ἡ μέση τῶν ποταμῶν ὑμέτερον κτῆμά εἰσι, καὶ Βαβυλὼν καὶ Βάκτρα καὶ Σοῦσα ὑμέτερα, καὶ ὁ Λυδῶν πλοῦτος καὶ οἱ Περσῶν θησαυροὶ καὶ τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἡ ἑξω θάλασσα ὑμέτερα: ὑμεῖς σατράπαι, ὑμεῖς στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξιάρχαι. [9] ὥς ἔμοιγε αὐτῷ τί περίεστιν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν πόνων ὅτι μὴ αὕτη ἡ πορφύρα καὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῦτο; κέκτημαι δὲ ἰδίᾳ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἔχει τις ἀποδείξαι θησαυροὺς ἐμοὺς ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα, ὑμέτερα κτήματα ἢ ὅσα ἔνεκα ὑμῶν φυλάττεται. ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἰδίᾳ μοι ἐς ὃ τι φυλάξω αὐτούς, σιτουμένῳ τε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν σιτία καὶ ὕπνον τὸν αὐτὸν αἰρουμένῳ: καίτοι οὐδὲ σιτία ἐμοὶ δοκῶ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς τρυφῶσιν ὑμῶν σιτεῖσθαι: προαγρυπνῶν δὲ ὑμῶν οἶδα, ὥς καθεύδειν ἔχοιτε ὑμεῖς.

[1] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῶν πονούντων καὶ ταλαιπωρουμένων ἐκτησάμην αὐτοὺς ἀπόνως καὶ ἀταλαιπώρως ἐξηγούμενος. καὶ τίς ὑμῶν ἢ πονήσας οἶδεν ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ... ἢ ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου; ἄγε δὴ καὶ ὅτῳ τραύματα ὑμῶν ἐστι γυμνώσας αὐτὰ ἐπιδειξάτω καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιδείξω ἐν μέρει: [2] ὥς ἔμοιγε οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι τοῦ σώματος τῶν γε δὴ ἔμπροσθεν μερῶν ἄτρωτον ὑπολέλειπται, οὐδὲ ὄπλον τι ἔστιν ἢ ἐκ χειρὸς ἢ τῶν ἀφιεμένων οὗ γε οὐκ ἔχνη ἐν ἐμαυτῷ φέρω: ἀλλὰ καὶ ξίφει ἐκ χειρὸς τέτρωμαι καὶ τετόξευμαι ἤδη καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς βέβλημαι, καὶ λίθοις πολλαχῇ καὶ ξύλοις παιόμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλούτου νικῶντας ὑμᾶς ἄγω διὰ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πάντων ποταμῶν καὶ ὀρῶν καὶ πεδίων πάντων, [3] γάμους τε ὑμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς γεγάμηκα καὶ πολλῶν ὑμῶν οἱ παῖδες συγγενεῖς ἔσονται τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς. ἔτι δὲ ᾧ χρέα ἦν, οὐ πολυπραγμονήσας ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐγένετο, τοσαῦτα μὲν μισθοφορούντων, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἀρπαζόντων, ὁπότε ἐκ πολιορκίας ἀρπαγὴ γίγνοιτο, διαλέλumi ταῦτα. στέφανοί τε χρυσοὶ τοῖς πλείστοις ὑμῶν εἰσι μνημεῖα τῆς τε ἀρετῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἐμοῦ τιμῆς ἀθάνατα. [4] ὅστις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀπέθανεν, εὐκλεῆς μὲν αὐτῷ ἡ τελευτὴ ἐγένετο, περιφανὴς δὲ ὁ τάφος, χαλκαῖ δὲ αἱ εἰκόνες τῶν πλείστων οἶκοι ἐστᾶσιν, οἱ γονεῖς δ' ἐντιμοὶ εἰσι λειτουργίας τε ξυμπάσης καὶ εἰσφορᾶς ἀπηλλαγμένοι: οὐ γάρ τίς γε φεύγων ὑμῶν ἐτελεύτα ἐμοῦ ἄγοντος. [5] καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀπολέμους ὑμῶν ζηλωτοὺς τοῖς οἶκοι ἀποπέμψειν ἤμελλον: ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἀπιέναι βούλεσθε, ἅπτε πάντες, καὶ ἀπελθόντες οἶκοι ἀπαγγεῖλατε ὅτι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν Ἀλέξανδρον, νικῶντα μὲν Πέρσας καὶ Μήδους καὶ Βακτρίους καὶ Σάκας, [6] καταστρεφνόμενον δὲ Οὐξίους τε καὶ Ἀραχωτοὺς καὶ Δράγγας, κекτημένον δὲ καὶ Παρθυαίους καὶ Χορασμίους καὶ Ὑρκανίους ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν

θάλασσαν τὴν Κασπίαν, ὑπερβάντα δὲ τὸν Καύκασον ὑπὲρ τὰς Κασπίας
πύλας, καὶ περάσαντα Ὅξον τε ποταμὸν καὶ Τάναϊν, ἔτι δὲ τὸν Ἰνδὸν
ποταμὸν, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὅτι μὴ Διονύσῳ περαθέντα, καὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην καὶ τὸν
Ἀκεσίνην καὶ τὸν Ὑδραώτην, [7] καὶ τὸν Ὑφασιν διαπεράσαντα ἄν, εἰ μὴ
ὕμεῖς ἀπωκνήσατε, καὶ ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν κατ' ἀμφοτέρα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ
τὰ στόματα ἐμβalόντα, καὶ διὰ τῆς Γαδρωσίας τῆς ἐρήμου ἐλθόντα, ἧ οὐδεὶς
πῶ πρόσθεν σὺν στρατιᾷ ἦλθε, καὶ Καρμανίαν ἐν παρόδῳ προσκτισάμενον
καὶ τὴν Ὠρειτῶν γῆν, περιπεπλευκότος δὲ ἤδη αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὴν ἀπ'
Ἰνδὸν γῆς εἰς Πέρσας θάλασσαν, ὡς εἰς Σοῦσα ἐπανηγάγετε, ἀπολιπόντες
οἷχεσθε, παραδόντες φυλάσσειν τοῖς νενικημένοις βαρβάροις. ταῦτα ὑμῖν καὶ
πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἴσως εὐκλεᾶ καὶ πρὸς θεῶν ὅσα δήπου ἔσται ἀπαγγελθέντα.
ἅπιτε.

[1] ταῦτα εἰπὼν κατεπήδησέ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ὀξέως καὶ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια
παρελθὼν οὔτε ἐθεράπευσε τὸ σῶμα οὔτε τῷ ὥφθη τῶν ἐταίρων· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐς
τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὥφθη. τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ καλέσας εἰσω τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους
τάς τε ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῖς τῶν τάξεων διένειμε καὶ ὅσους συγγενεῖς ἀπέφηνε,
τούτοις δὲ νόμιμον ἐποίησε φιλεῖν αὐτὸν μόνοις. [2] οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες ἐν τε τῷ
παρουσίᾳ ἀκούσαντες τῶν λόγων ἐκπεπληγμένοι σιγῇ ἔμενον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ
βήματι οὐδὲ τις ἠκολούθησε τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπαλλαττομένῳ ὅτι μὴ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν
ἐταῖροί τε καὶ οἱ σωματοφύλακες, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὔτε μένοντες ὅ τι πράττωσιν
ἢ λέγῳσιν εἶχον, οὔτε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἤθελον. [3] ὡς δὲ τὰ Περσῶν τε καὶ
Μήδων αὐτοῖς ἐξηγγέλλετο, αἶ τε ἡγεμονίαι Πέρσαις διδόμεναι καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ
ἢ βαρβαρική ἐς λόχους τε καταλεγομένη καὶ τὰ Μακεδονικὰ ὀνόματα ἄγνημά
τι Περσικὸν καλούμενον καὶ πεξέταιροι Πέρσαι [καὶ ἀσθέτεροι ἄλλοι] καὶ
ἀργυρασπίδων τάξις Περσική καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐταίρων ἵππος καὶ ταύτης ἄλλο ἄγνημα
βασιλικόν, οὐκέτι καρτεροὶ σφῶν ἦσαν, [4] ἀλλὰ ξυνδραμόντες ὡς πρὸς τὰ
basίλεια τὰ μὲν ὅπλα αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἐρρίπτουν, ἱκετηρίας ταύτας τῷ
βασιλεῖ, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐβῶν πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστηκότες δεόμενοι παρελθεῖν εἰσω:
τούς τε αἰτίους τῆς ἐν τῷ τότε ταραχῆς καὶ τοὺς ἄρξαντας τῆς βοῆς ἐκδιδόναι
ἐθέλειν· οὐκ οὖν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῶν θυρῶν οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτός, εἰ μὴ
τινα οἶκτον σφῶν ἔξει Ἀλέξανδρος. [5] ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ
σπουδῇ ἐξέρχεται καὶ ἰδὼν τε ταπεινῶς διακειμένους καὶ ἀκούσας σὺν οἰμωγῇ
τῶν πολλῶν βοῶντων καὶ αὐτῷ προχεῖται δάκρυα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνήγετο ὥς τι
ἐρῶν, οἱ δὲ ἔμενον λιπαροῦντες. [6] καὶ τις αὐτῶν καθ' ἡλικίαν τε καὶ
ἱππαρχίαν τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικής οὐκ ἀφανῆς, Καλλίνης ὄνομα, τοιαῦτα
εἶπεν· ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ λυποῦντά ἐστι Μακεδόνας ὅτι σὺ Περσῶν μὲν τινὰς ἤδη
πεποίησαι σαυτῷ συγγενεῖς καὶ καλοῦνται Πέρσαι συγγενεῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ
φιλοῦσί σε, Μακεδόνων δὲ οὐπω τις γέγευται ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς. [7] ἐνθα δὴ
ὑπολαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς τε, ἔφη, ξύμπαντας ἐμαυτῷ τίθεμαι
συγγενεῖς καὶ τό γε ἀπὸ τούτου οὕτως καλέσω. ταῦτα εἰπόντα προσελθὼν ὁ
Καλλίνης τε ἐφίλησε καὶ ὅστις ἄλλος φιλῆσαι ἠθέλησε. καὶ οὕτω δὴ
ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα βοῶντές τε καὶ παιωνίζοντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
ἀπήγεσαν. [8] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις θυσίαν τε θύει τοῖς θεοῖς οἷς αὐτῷ
νόμος καὶ θοίνην δημοτελεῖ ἐποίησε, καθήμενός τε αὐτὸς καὶ πάντων

καθημένων, ἀμφ' αὐτὸν μὲν Μακεδόνων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐφεξῆς τούτων Περσῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ὅσοι κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἢ τινα ἄλλην ἀρετὴν πρεσβευόμενοι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κρατῆρος αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀρνούμενοι ἔσπενδον τὰς αὐτὰς σπονδὰς καταρχομένων τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων μάντεων καὶ τῶν Μάγων. [9] εὐχέτο δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα [καὶ τὰ] ἀγαθὰ καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς Μακεδόσι καὶ Πέρσαις. εἶναι δὲ κατέχει λόγος τοὺς μετασχόντας τῆς θοίνης ἐννακισχιλίου, καὶ τούτους πάντας μίαν τε σπονδὴν σπεῖσαι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ παιωνίσαι.

[1] ἔνθα δὴ ἐθελονταὶ ἦδη αὐτῷ ἀπήεσαν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὅσοι διὰ γῆρας ἢ τινα ἄλλην ξυμφορὰν ἀπόλεμοι ἦσαν: καὶ οὗτοι αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο ἐς τοὺς μυρίους. τούτοις δὲ τὴν τε μισθοφορὰν οὐ τοῦ ἐξήκοντος ἤδη χρόνου ἔδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀπονόστησιν τὴν οἴκαδε ξυμβαίνοντος. [2] ἐπέδωκεν δὲ καὶ τάλαντον ἐκάστῳ ὑπὲρ τὴν μισθοφορὰν: παῖδες δὲ εἴ τῳ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀσιανῶν γυναικῶν, παρὰ οἷ καταλιπεῖν ἐκέλευσε μηδὲ στάσιν κατάγειν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἄλλοφύλους τε καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων γυναικῶν παῖδας τοῖς οἴκοι ὑπολελειμμένοις παισὶ τε καὶ μητράσιν αὐτῶν: αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὥς ἐκτρέφοντο Μακεδονικῶς τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐς τὰ πολέμια κοσμούμενοι, γενομένους δὲ ἄνδρας ἄξειν αὐτὸς ἐς Μακεδονίαν καὶ παραδώσειν τοῖς πατράσιν. [3] ταῦτά τε ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἀστάθμητα καὶ ἀτέκμαρτα ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ ὅπως ἔχει φιλίας τε καὶ πόθου ἐς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον τεκμήριον ἐκεῖνο ποιεῖσθαι ἡξίου, ὅτι τὸν πιστότατόν τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὄντινα ἴσον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ ἄγει, Κρατερόν, ξυμπέμπει αὐτοῖς φύλακά τε καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ στόλου. οὕτω δὴ ἀσπασάμενος ξύμπαντας αὐτὸς τε δακρύνων καὶ δακρύνοντας ἐκείνους ἀπὸ οὗ ἀπήλλαξε. [4] Κρατερῷ δὲ τούτους τε ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἀπαγαγόντι Μακεδονίας τε καὶ Θράκης καὶ Θετταλῶν ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς ἐλευθερίας: Ἀντίπατρον δὲ διαδόχους τοῖς ἀποπεμπομένοις ἄγειν Μακεδόνας τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἐκέλευσεν. ἔστειλε δὲ καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα ὁμοῦ τῷ Κρατερῷ, δεύτερον δὲ ἀπὸ Κρατεροῦ ἡγεμόνα, ὥς εἴ τι κατὰ πορείαν Κρατερῷ συμπίπτει, ὅτι καὶ μαλακῶς τὸ σῶμα ἔχοντα ἀπέπεμπεν αὐτόν, μὴ ποθῆσαι στρατηγὸν τοὺς ἰόντας. [5] λόγος δὲ τις οὗτος ἐφοῖτα ἀφανὴς παρὰ τοῖς τὰ βασιλικά πράγματα, ὅσῳ ἐπικρύπτεται, τοσῶδε φιλοτιμότερον ἐξηγουμένοις, καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἐς τὸ χεῖρον μᾶλλον, ἢ τὸ εἰκὸς τε καὶ ἡ αὐτῶν μοχθηρία ἄγει, ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐκτρέπουσιν, ἐξηττώμενον Ἀλέξανδρον ἤδη τῆς μητρὸς τῶν διαβολῶν τῶν ἐς Ἀντίπατρον ἀπαλλάξαι ἐθέλειν ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀντίπατρον. [6] καὶ τυχὸν οὐκ ἐς ἀτιμίαν τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου ἢ μετάπεμψις αὐτοῦ ἔφερεν, ἀλλ' ὥς μὴ τι ἐκ τῆς διαφορᾶς αὐτοῖς γένοιτο ἄχαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἰάσιμον. ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἐπαύοντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γράφοντες ὁ μὲν τὴν αὐθάδειάν τε τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀζύτητα καὶ πολυπραγμοσύνην, ἥκιστα δὲ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὶ εὐσχήμονα, ὥστε καὶ λόγος τις τοιόσδε ἐφέρετο Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφ' οἷς ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο, βαρὺ δὴ τὸ ἐνοίκιον τῶν δέκα μηνῶν εἰσπράττεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα: [7] ἡ δέ, ὑπέρογκον εἶναι τῇ τε ἀξιώσει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ θεραπείᾳ Ἀντίπατρον οὐδὲ μεμνησθαι τοῦ καταστήσαντος ἔτι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν γὰρ ἀξιοῦν τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις Μακεδόσι τε καὶ Ἑλλήσι. καὶ ταῦτα

μᾶλλον τι ἰσχύειν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐφαίνετο ὅσα ἐς τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν διαβολὴν φέροντα ἦν, οἷα δὴ καὶ φοβερώτερα ἐν βασιλείᾳ ὄντα. οὐ μέντοι καταφανές γέ τι ἢ ἔργον ἢ λόγος ἐξηγγέλλετο Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἂν τις συνέθηκεν οὐχ ὡσαύτως εἶναι αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ Ἀντίπατρον ... Ἡφαιστίων. τοῦτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὑποπτήξαντα Ἡφαιστίωνα συναλλαγήναι

[1] Εὐμενεῖ, οὐχ ἐκόντα ἐκόντι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ τὸ πεδίον λέγεται ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ ἀνειμένον ταῖς ἵπποις ταῖς βασιλικαῖς, αὐτό τε πεδίον Νησαῖον καλούμενον καὶ αἱ ἵπποι ὅτι Νησαῖαι κληῖζονται λέγει Ἡρόδοτος· εἶναι δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας τῶν ἵππων, τότε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ πολὺ πλείονας τῶν πέντε καταλαβεῖν· πρὸς ληστῶν γὰρ διαρπαγῆναι τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν. [2] ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἀτροπάτης ὁ τῆς Μηδίας σατράπης γυναικας ἑκατὸν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν, ταύτας φάσκων εἶναι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, καὶ ταύτας σκευῇ ἀνδρῶν ἰπέων ἐσταλμένας, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι πελέκεις ἀντὶ δοράτων ἐφόρουσαν καὶ ἀντὶ ἀσπίδων πέλτας· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν μαστὸν λέγουσιν ὅτι μείονα εἶχον τὸν δεξιόν, ὃν δὴ καὶ ἐξω εἶχον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις. [3] ταύτας μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον, μὴ τι νεωτερισθεῖη κατ' αὐτὰς ἐς ὕβριν πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἢ βαρβάρων· κελεῦσαι δὲ ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς τὴν βασιλίσσαν σφῶν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἤξει πρὸς αὐτὴν παιδοποιησόμενος. ταῦτα δὲ οὔτε Ἀριστόβουλος οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος οὔτε τις ἄλλος ἀνέγραψεν ὅστις ἱκανὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων τεκμηριῶσαι. [4] οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι ἐν τῷ τότε σώζεσθαι τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, οὐδ' ἔτι πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἢ Ξενοφῶν ἂν ἐμνήσθη αὐτῶν, Φασιανῶν τε μνησθεῖς καὶ Κόλχων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀπὸ Τραπεζοῦντος ὁρμώμενοι ἢ πρὶν ἐς Τραπεζοῦντα κατελθεῖν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπῆλθον ἔθνη βαρβαρικά, ἵνα περ καὶ ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν ἐντετυχήκεσαν ἂν, εἴπερ οὖν ἔτι ἦσαν Ἀμαζόνες. [5] μὴ γενέσθαι μὲν γὰρ παντελῶς τὸ γένος τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν οὐ πιστὸν δοκεῖ ἔμοιγε, πρὸς τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ὑμνηθέν. ὥς Ἡρακλέα τε ἐπ' αὐτὰς λόγος κατέχει ὅτι ἐστάλη καὶ ζωστήρᾳ τινα Ἴππολύτης τῆς βασιλίσσης αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκόμισε, καὶ οἱ ξὺν Θησεῖ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι ἐπιούσας τὰς γυναικας ταύτας τὴν Εὐρώπην πρῶτοι μάχῃ νικήσαντες ἀνέστειλαν· καὶ γέγραπται ἡ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀμαζόνων μάχῃ πρὸς Μίκωνος οὐ μείον ἢ περ ἡ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Περσῶν. καὶ Ἡροδότῳ πολλάκις περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων πεποιήται, καὶ ὅσοι Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσαντας λόγῳ ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας ἔργου Ἀθηναίων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα μνήμην ἐποιήσαντο. εἰ δὲ ἱππικὰς δὴ τινας γυναικας Ἀτροπάτης ἔδειξεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, βαρβάρους τινὰς ἄλλας γυναικας ἱππεύειν ἡσκημένας δοκῶ ὅτι ἔδειξεν ἐς τὸν λεγόμενον δὴ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων κόσμον ἐσταλμένας.

[1] ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις δὲ θυσίαν τε ἔθυσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖς νόμος, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπετελεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν, καὶ πότοι αὐτῷ ἐγίνοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐταίροις. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἡφαιστίων ἔκαμε τὸ σῶμα· ἐβδόμῃ τε ἡμέρᾳ ἥδη ἦν αὐτῷ τῆς νόσου καὶ λέγουσι τὸ μὲν στάδιον πλήρες εἶναι· παίδων γὰρ ἀγὼν ἦν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γυμνικός· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξηγγέλλετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι κακῶς ἔχοι Ἡφαιστίων, ὁ δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν σπουδῇ οὐκέτι ζῶντα κατέλαβεν. [2] ἐνθα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα ἀνέγραψαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πένθους τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου· μέγα μὲν γενέσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ πένθος, πάντες

τοῦτο ἀνέγραψαν, τὰ δὲπραχθέντα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἄλλοι ἄλλα, ὡς ἕκαστος ἢ εὐνοίας πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα ἢ φθόνου εἶχεν ἢ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. [3] ὧν οἱ τὰ ἀτάσθαλα ἀναγράψαντες οἱ μὲν ἐς κόσμον φέρειν μοι δοκοῦσιν οἰηθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅσα ὑπεραλγήσας ἔδρασεν ἢ εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων δὴ ἀνθρώπων φιλτάτῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐς αἰσχύνην μᾶλλον τι ὡς οὐ πρόποντα οὐτ' οὖν βασιλεῖ οὔτε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οἱ μὲν, τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐρριμμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐταίρου ὀδύρεσθαι οὐδ' ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλαγῆναι, πρὶν γε δὴ πρὸς βίαν ἀπηνέχθῃ πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων: [4] οἱ δέ, τὴν τε ἡμέραν ὅλην καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐρριφθῆαι ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι: οἱ δὲ καί, τὸν ἱατρὸν Γλαυκίαν ὅτι ἐκρέμασε, καὶ τοῦτο[v] ὡς ἐπὶ φαρμάκῳ κακῶς δοθέντι, οἱ δέ, ὅτι οἶνου περιεῖδεν ἐμπλησθέντα θεωρῶν αὐτός: καὶ κείρασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τῷ νεκρῷ τὴν κόμην τὰ τε ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπεικότα τίθεμαι καὶ κατὰ ζήλον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, πρὸς ὄντινα ἐκ παιδὸς φιλοτιμία αὐτῷ ἦν: οἱ δὲ καί, τὸ ἄρμα ἐφ' ὅτῳ τὸ σῶμα ἐφέρετο αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὅτε ὅτι ἡνιόχει, [5] τοῦτο οὐδαμῇ πιστὸν ἔμοιγε λέγοντες: ἄλλοι δέ, ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἔδος ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις κατασκάψαι ἐκέλευσε, βαρβαρικὸν τοῦτό γε καὶ οὐδαμῇ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρόσφορον, ἀλλὰ τῇ Ξέρξου μᾶλλον τι ἀτασθαλίᾳ τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον καὶ ταῖς πέδαις ἃς λέγουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καθεῖναι Ξέρξην, τιμωροῦμενον δῆθεν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. [6] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνο οὐ πάντῃ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἀναγεγράφθαι μοι δοκεῖ, ὡς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἤλαυνεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πολλὰς πρεσβείας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἶναι δὲ δὴ ἐν τούτοις Ἐπιδαυρίων πρέσβεις: καὶ τούτους ὧν τε ἐδέοντο ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τυχεῖν καὶ ἀνάθημα δοῦναι αὐτοῖς Ἀλέξανδρον κομίζειν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ, ἐπειπόντα ὅτι: καίπερ οὐκ ἐπεικῶς κέχρηταί μοι ὁ Ἀσκληπιός, οὐ σώσας μοι τὸν ἐταῖρον ὄντινα ἴσον τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ ἦγον. ἐναγίζειν τε ὅτι αἰεὶ ὡς ἥρωϊ ἐκέλευεν Ἡφαιστίωνι, τοῦτο μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλείστων ἀναγέγραπται: [7] οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι καὶ εἰς Ἄμμωνος ἔπεμψεν ἐρησομένους τὸν θεὸν εἰ καὶ ὡς θεῷ θύειν συγχωρεῖ Ἡφαιστίωνι, τὸν δὲ οὐ συγχωρῆσαι. [8] ἐκεῖνα δὲ πρὸς πάντων ξυμφωνούμενα, ἐς τρίτην ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἡμέραν μήτε σίτου γεύσασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον μήτε τινὰ θεραπείαν ἄλλην θεραπεῦσαι τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἢ ὀδυρόμενον ἢ πενθικῶς σιγῶντα: καὶ πυρὰν κελεῦσαι αὐτῷ ἐτοιμάζεσθαι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἀπὸ ταλάντων μυρίων, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονων ἀνέγραψαν: [9] καὶ ὅτι πένθος ποιεῖσθαι περιηγγέλη κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τὴν βάρβαρον: καὶ ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς θεραπείαν τὴν ἐκείνου σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ὄπλα Ἡφαιστίωνι ἀνέθεσαν ἀποθανόντι: πρῶτον δὲ Εὐμενῇ ἄρξαι τοῦ σοφίσματος, ὄντινα ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν ἔφαμεν ὅτι διηνέχθῃ πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα: καὶ τοῦτο δὲ δρᾶσαι, τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὡς μὴ ἐφῆδεσθαι δοκοίη τελευτήσαντι Ἡφαιστίωνι. [10] οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ ἄλλον τινὰ ἔταξεν ἀντὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος χιλιάρχον ἐπὶ τῇ ἵπῳ τῇ ἐταιρικῇ Ἀλεξάνδρος, ὡς μὴ ἀπόλοιτο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, ἀλλὰ Ἡφαιστίωνός τε ἡ χιλιarchία ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ τὸ σημεῖον αὐτῆς ἡγεῖτο τὸ ἐξ Ἡφαιστίωνος πεποιημένον. ἀγῶνά τε ἐπενόει ποιῆσαι γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν πλήθει τε τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν χορηγία πολὺ τι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρόσθεν ἀριδηλότερον: τρισχιλίους γὰρ ἀγωνιστὰς τοὺς

σὺμπαντας παρεσκεύασε. καὶ οὗτοι ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ τάφῳ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἠγωνίσαντο.

[1] χρόνος τε ἦν συχνὸς τῷ πένθει καὶ αὐτός τε αὐτὸν ἤδη μετεκάλει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι μᾶλλον τι ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἡνυτον. ἐνθα δὴ ἐξέλασιν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ Κοσσαίου, ἔθνος πολεμικὸν ὁμορον τῷ Οὐξίων. [2] εἰσὶ δὲ ὄρειοι οἱ Κοσσαῖοι καὶ χωρία ὀχυρὰ κατὰ κώμας νέμονται, ὁπότε προσάγοι δύναμις ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὁρῶν ἀποχωροῦντες ἀθρόοι ἢ ὅπως ἂν προχωρῇ ἐκάστοις οὕτω διαφεύγουσιν, ἐς ἀπορίαν βάλλοντες τοὺς ξὺν δυνάμει σφίσιν ἐπιχειροῦντας· ἀπελθόντων δὲ αὐθις εἰς τὸ ληστεύειν τρεπόμενοι ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν βίον ποιοῦνται. [3] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐξεῖλεν αὐτῶν τὸ ἔθνος καίπερ χειμῶνος στρατεύσας. ἀλλ' οὔτε ὁ χειμὼν ἐμποδὼν ἐγένετο αὐτῷ οὔτε αἱ δυσχωρίαι, οὔτε αὐτῷ οὔτε Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου, ὃς μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦγεν. οὕτως οὐδὲν ἄπορον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἦν ἐς ὃ τι ὀρμήσειε. [4] κατιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα Λιβύων τε πρεσβεῖαι ἐνετύγχανον ἐπαινούντων τε καὶ στεφανοῦντων ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ἐξ Ἰταλίας Βρέττιοί τε καὶ Λευκανοὶ καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπρέσβευον. καὶ Καρχηδονίους τότε πρεσβεῦσαι λέγεται καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰθιόπων πρέσβεις ἐλθεῖν καὶ Σκυθῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, καὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Ἰβήρας, ὑπὲρ φιλίας δεησόμενους· ὧν τὰ τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς σκευὰς τότε πρῶτον ὀφθῆναι πρὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Μακεδόνων. [5] τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐς ἀλλήλους διαφορῶν λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διακρίναι ἐπέτρεπον· καὶ τότε μάλιστα αὐτὸν τε αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῖς ἅμφ' αὐτὸν φανῆναι γῆς τε ἀπάσης καὶ θαλάσσης κύριον. ἄριστος δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀναγραφάντων καὶ Ῥωμαίους λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπρέσβευσαν· καὶ ἐντυχόντα ταῖς πρεσβεῖαις Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων τι τῆς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐσομένης δυνάμεως μαντεύσασθαι, τὸν τε κόσμον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἰδόντα καὶ τὸ φιλόπονόν τε καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἅμα διαπυρρυνόμενον. [6] καὶ τοῦτο οὔτε ὥς ἀτρεκέες οὔτε ὥς ἄπιστον πάντῃ ἀνέγραψα· πλὴν γε δὴ οὔτε τις Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς πρεσβείας ταύτης ὥς παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον σταλείσης μνήμην τινὰ ἐποίησατο, οὔτε τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου γραψάντων, οἷστισι μᾶλλον ἐγὼ ξυμφέρομαι, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος· οὐδὲ τῷ Ῥωμαίων πολιτεύματι ἐπεοικὸς ἦν ἐλευθέρῳ δὴ τότε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντι, παρὰ βασιλεῖα ἀλλόφυλον ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐς τοσόνδε ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας πρεσβεῦσαι, οὔτε φόβου ἐξαναγκάζοντος οὔτε κατ' ἐλπίδα ὠφελείας, μίσει τε, εἴπερ τινὰς ἄλλους, τοῦ τυραννικοῦ γένους τε καὶ ὀνόματος κατεχομένους.

[1] ἐκ τούτου δὴ Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Ἀργαίου ἐκπέμπει ἐς Ὑρκανίαν ναυπηγοὺς ἅμα οἱ ἄγοντα, κελεύσας ὕλην τεμόντα ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν τῶν Ὑρκανίων ναυπηγεῖσθαι ναῦς μακρὰς ἀφράκτους τε καὶ πεφραγμένας ἐς τὸν κόσμον τὸν Ἑλληνικόν. [2] πόθος γὰρ εἶχεν αὐτὸν καὶ ταύτην ἐκμαθεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Κασπίαν τε καὶ Ὑρκανίαν καλουμένην ποῖα τινὶ ξυμβάλλει θαλάσσῃ, πότερα τῇ τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐφ' αὐτῇ τῆς κατ' Ἰνδοῦς ἐκπεριερχομένη ἢ μεγάλη θάλασσα ἀναχεῖται εἰς κόλπον τὸν Ὑρκάνιον, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ τὸν Περσικὸν ἐξεῦρε, τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν δὴ καλουμένην θάλασσαν, κόλπον οὖσαν τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης. [3] οὐ γὰρ πω ἐξεύρηντο αἱ

ἀρχαί τῆς Κασπίας θαλάσσης, καίτοι ἐθνῶν τε αὐτὴν περιουκούντων οὐκ ὀλίγων καὶ ποταμῶν πλοῖμων ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτήν: ἐκ Βάκτρων μὲν Ὅξος, μέγιστος τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ποταμῶν, πλὴν γε δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἐξίησιν ἐς ταύτην τὴν θάλασσαν, διὰ Σκυθῶν δὲ Ἰαζάρτης: καὶ τὸν Ἀράξην δὲ τὸν ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ῥέοντα ἐς ταύτην ἐσβάλλειν ὁ πλείων λόγος κατέχει. μέγιστοι μὲν οὗτοι: [4] πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τε τούτους ἐμβάλλοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ σφῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην ἐξιᾶσιν, οἱ μὲν καὶ γινωσκόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἁμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπελθόντων τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ κόλπου, ὡς εἰκός, κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας τοὺς Νομάδας, ὃ δὴ ἄγνωστον πάντῃ ἐστίν. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ διέβη ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος, ἐνταῦθα ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ Χαλδαίων οἱ λόγιοι, καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐδέοντο ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἔλασιν. λόγιον γὰρ γεγονέναι σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Βήλου μὴ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ οἱ εἶναι τὴν πάροδον τὴν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν τῷ τότε. τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐτοῖς λόγος τοῦ Εὐριπίδου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔπος: [6] ἔχει δὲ τὸ ἔπος Εὐριπίδῃ ὧδε: μάντις δ' ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς. σὺ δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἔφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, μὴ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἀφορῶν αὐτὸς μὴδὲ τὴν στρατιάν ταύτη ἐπέχουσιν ἄγων παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐκπεριελθὼν πρὸς ἕω μᾶλλον. [7] τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο εὐμαρὲς διὰ δυσχωρίαν ζυνέβη: ἀλλὰ ἦγε γὰρ αὐτὸν ταύτῃ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἢ παρελθόντα ἐχρῆν ἤδη τελευτῆσαι. καὶ που τυχὸν καὶ ἄμεινον αὐτῷ ἦν ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς τε ἄλλης δόξης καὶ τοῦ πόθου τοῦ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπηλλάχθαι, πρὶν τινα ξυμβῆναι αὐτῷ ξυμφορὰν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἧς ἔνεκα καὶ Σόλωνα Κροίσῳ παραινέσαι εἰκὸς τέλος ὄρᾶν μακροῦ βίου μὴδὲ πρόσθεν τινα ἀνθρώπων ἀποφαίνειν εὐδαίμονα. [8] ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡ Ὑφαιστιώνος τελευτὴ οὐ σμικρὰ ξυμφορὰ γεγένητο, ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος προαπελθεῖν ἂν δοκεῖ μοι ἐθελῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶν πειραθῆναι, οὐ μείον ἢ καὶ Ἀχιλλέα δοκῶ ἂν ἐλέσθαι προαποθανεῖν Πατρόκλου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῷ τιμωρὸν γενέσθαι.

[1] ἦν δέ τι καὶ ὑποπτον αὐτῷ ἐς τοὺς Χαλδαίους, ὡς οὐ κατὰ μαντείαν τι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς ὠφέλειαν τὴν αὐτῶν φέροι αὐτοῖς ἢ κώλυσιν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν τῷ τότε ἐλάσεως. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Βήλου νεῶς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἦν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, μεγέθει τε μέγιστος καὶ ἐκ πλίνθου ὀπτῆς ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ ἡρμοσμένης. [2] τοῦτον τὸν νεῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ τὰ Βαβυλωνίων, Ξέρξης κατέσκαψεν, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὀπίσω ἀπενόστησεν: Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν νῷ εἶχεν ἀνοικοδομεῖν οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς θεμελίοις τοῖς πρόσθεν, καὶ τούτου ἔνεκα τὸν χοῦν ἐκφέρειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους, οἱ δέ, ὅτι καὶ μείζονα ἔτι τοῦ πάλαι ὄντος. [3] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποστάντος αὐτοῦ μαλθακῶς ἀνθήψαντο τοῦ ἔργου οἷς ταῦτα ἐπετέτραπτο, ὁ δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ἐπενόει τὸ ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι. εἶναι δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῷ Βήλῳ πολλὴν μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀνειμένην ἐκ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέων, πολὺν δὲ χρυσόν. [4] καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου πάλαι μὲν τὸν νεῶν ἐπισκευάζεσθαι καὶ τὰς θυσίας τῷ θεῷ θύεσθαι, τότε δὲ τοὺς Χαλδαίους τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νέμεσθαι, οὐκ ὄντος ἐς ὃ τι ἀναλωθήσεται τὰ περιγιγνόμενα. τούτων δὴ εἵνεκα ὑποπτοὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦσαν οὐκ ἐθέλειν παρελθεῖν εἰσω Βαβυλῶνος Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς μὴ δι' ὀλίγου τὸν νεῶν

ἐπιτελεσθέντα ἀφελέσθαι αὐτοὺς τὰς ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων ὠφελείας. [5] ὁμως δὲ τὰ γε τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς τῆς κατὰ τὴν εἰσοδὸν τὴν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐθελῆσαι αὐτοῖς πεισθῆναι λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ μὲν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην καταστρατοπεδεῦσαι, ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντα τὸν ποταμὸν παρ' αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι, θέλοντα ὑπερβάλλειν τῆς πόλεως τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐς δυσμὰς τετραμμένον, ὡς ταύτῃ ἐπιστρέψαντα πρὸς ἑὸ ἄγειν. [6] ἀλλὰ οὐ γὰρ δυνηθῆναι ὑπὸ δυσχωρίας οὕτως ἐλάσαι ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ὅτι τὰ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰσιόντι, εἰ ταύτῃ πρὸς ἑὸ ἐπέστρεφεν, ἐλώδη τε καὶ τεναγώδη ἦν. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκόντα καὶ ἄκοντα ἀπειθῆσαι τῷ θεῷ.

[1] ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖόνδε τινὰ λόγον Ἀριστόβουλος ἀναγράφει, Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Ἀμφιπολίτην τῶν ἐταίρων τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦν παρὰ Μαζαίῳ τῷ Βαβυλῶνος σατράπῃ ἀπέλιπεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπειδὴ συνέμιξεν ἐπανιόντι αὐτῷ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν, ὀρῶντα πικρῶς τιμωρούμενον τοὺς σατράπας ὅσοι ἐπ' ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ χώρα τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, ἐπιστεῖλαι Πειθαγόρᾳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, μάντιν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Πειθαγόραν τῆς ἀπὸ σπλάγχχνων μαντείας, μαντεύσασθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας. [2] ἀντεπιστεῖλαι δὲ αὐτῷ Πειθαγόραν πυνθανόμενον τίνα μάλιστα φοβούμενος χρῆσασθαι ἐθέλοι τῇ μαντείᾳ. τὸν δὲ γράψαι αὐτῆς ὅτι τὸν τε βασιλέα αὐτὸν καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα. θύεσθαι δὴ τὸν Πειθαγόραν πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡφαιστίωνι: ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἥπατος τοῦ ἱερείου ὁ λοβὸς ἀφανὴς ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἐγγράψαντα καὶ κατασημνύμενον τὸ γραμματίον πέμψαι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Ἐκβάτανα, δηλοῦντα μηδὲν τι δεδιέναι Ἡφαιστίωνα: ἔσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγου χρόνου ἐκποδῶν. [3] καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος κομίσασθαι Ἀπολλόδωρον μιᾷ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ ἢ τελευτῆσαι Ἡφαιστίωνα. αὐτῆς δὲ θύεσθαι τὸν Πειθαγόραν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄλοβον τὸ ἦπαρ τοῦ ἱερείου. καὶ Πειθαγόραν τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου γράψαι Ἀπολλοδώρῳ. Ἀπολλόδωρον δὲ οὐ κατασιωπῆσαι, ἀλλὰ φράσαι γὰρ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα, ὡς εὖνοιαν μᾶλλον τι ἐπιδειζόμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ, εἰ φυλάττεσθαι παραινέσειε μή τις αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἐν τῷ τότε ξυμπέσοι. [4] καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρὸν τε λέγει ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπήνεσε καὶ τὸν Πειθαγόραν, ἐπειδὴ παρῆλθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ἦρετο ὅτου γενομένου αὐτῷ σημείου ταῦτα ἐπέστειλεν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν: τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἄλοβόν οἱ τὸ ἦπαρ ἐγένετο τοῦ ἱερείου: ἐρομένου δὲ ὅ τι νοοῖ τὸ σημεῖον μέγα εἰπεῖν εἶναι χαλεπόν. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τοσοῦτου δεῖσθαι χαλεπῆναι τῷ Πειθαγόρᾳ, ὡς καὶ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἔχειν αὐτὸν πλείονος, ὅτι ἀδόλως τὴν ἀλήθειάν οἱ ἔφρασε. [5] ταῦτα αὐτὸς Ἀριστόβουλος λέγει παρὰ Πειθαγόρου πυθέσθαι: καὶ Περδίκκᾳ δὲ μαντεύσασθαι αὐτὸν λέγει καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ χρόνῳ ὕστερον: καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου ἀμφοῖν γενομένου Περδίκκαν τε ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον στρατεύσαντα ἀποθανεῖν καὶ Ἀντίγονον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Σέλευκον καὶ Λυσίμαχον τῇ ἐν Ἰψῷ γενομένῃ. [6] καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ Καλάνου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τοῖόσδε τις ἀναγράφεται λόγος, ὅποτε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν ἦει ἀποθανούμενος, τότε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐταίρους ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτόν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι προσελθεῖν ἀσπασόμενον, ἀλλὰ φάναι γὰρ ὅτι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι αὐτῷ ἐντυχὼν ἀσπάσεται. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν

λόγον ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε ἀμεληθῆναι, ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐς μνήμην ἐλθεῖν τῶν ἀκουσάντων, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ ἄρα τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐθειάσθη.

[1] παρελθόντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα πρεσβεῖαι παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐνέτυχον, ὑπὲρ ὧν μὲν ἕκαστοι πρεσβευόμενοι οὐκ ἀναγράφονται, δοκεῖν δ' ἔμοιγε αἱ πολλαὶ στεφανούντων τε αὐτὸν ἦσαν καὶ ἐπαινούντων ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ταῖς τε ἄλλαις καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς, καὶ ὅτι σῶος ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπανήκει χαίρειν φασκόντων. καὶ τούτους δεξιωσάμενός τε καὶ τὰ εἰκότα τιμήσας ἀποπέμψαι ὀπίσω λέγεται. [2] ὅσους δὲ ἀνδριάντας ἢ ὅσα ἀγάλματα ἢ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἀνάθημα ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ξέρξης ἀνεκόμισεν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἢ ἐς Πασαργάδας ἢ ἐς Σοῦσα ἢ ὅπῃ ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἀσίας, ταῦτα δοῦναι ἄγειν τοῖς πρέσβεσι· καὶ τὰς Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος εἰκόνας τὰς χαλκᾶς οὕτω λέγεται ἀπενεχθῆναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Κελκῆας τὸ ἔδος. κατέλαβε δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἀναπεπλευκὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Περσικῆς, ὃ τι περ σὺν Νεάρχῳ ἦν, τὸ δὲ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνακεκομισμένον, πεντήρεις μὲν δύο τῶν ἐκ Φοινίκων, τετρήρεις δὲ τρεῖς, τριήρεις δὲ δώδεκα, τριακοντόρους δὲ ἐς τριάκοντα· ταύτας ξυντμηθείσας κομισθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς Θάψακον πόλιν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ξυντμηθείσας αὐτῆς καταπλεῦσαι ἐς Βαβυλῶνα. λέγει δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἄλλος αὐτῷ ἐναυπηγεῖτο στόλος τέμνοντι τὰς κυπαρίσσους τὰς ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ· [4] τούτων γὰρ μόνων τῶν δένδρων εὐπορίαν εἶναι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσα ἐς ναυπηγίαν ἀπόρως ἔχειν τὴν γῆν ταύτην· πληρώματα δὲ ἐς τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπηρεσίας πορφυρέων τε πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ἐργάται τῆς θαλάσσης ἀφίχθαι αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας· λιμένα τε ὅτι πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ἐποίει ὀρυκτὸν ὅσον χιλίαις ναυσὶ μακρᾶς ὄρμον εἶναι καὶ νεωσοίκους ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος. [5] καὶ Μίκαλος ὁ Κλαζομένιος μετὰ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων ἐπὶ Φοινίκης τε καὶ Συρίας ἐστέλλετο, τοὺς μὲν μισθῷ πείσων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὠνησόμενος ὅσοι θαλάττιοι ἄνθρωποι. τὴν τε γὰρ παραλίαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ κόλπῳ τῷ Περσικῷ κατοικίζειν ἐπενόει καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς αὐτῇ. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτῷ οὐ μείον ἢ Φοινίκης εὐδαίμων ἢ χώρα αὕτη γενέσθαι. [6] ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἢ παρασκευὴ ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀραβας τοὺς πολλούς, πρόφασιν μὲν, ὅτι μόνοι τῶν αὐτῇ βαρβάρων οὔτε πρεσβεῖαν ἀπέστειλαν οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἐπιεικὲς ἢ ἐπὶ τιμῇ ἐπέπρακτο Ἀραβιν ἐς αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ ἀληθές, ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖ, ἅπληστος ἦν τοῦ κτᾶσθαι τι αἰεὶ Ἀλέξανδρος.

[1] λόγος δὲ κατέχει ὅτι ἤκουεν Ἀραβας δύο μόνον τιμᾶν θεοῦς, τὸν Οὐρανὸν τε καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, τὸν μὲν Οὐρανὸν αὐτόν τε ὀρώμενον καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ἐν οἷς ἔχοντα τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον, ἀφ' ὅτου μεγίστη καὶ φανοτάτη ὠφέλεια ἐς πάντα ἦκει τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, Διόνυσον δὲ κατὰ δόξαν τῆς ἐς Ἰνδοὺς στρατιᾶς. οὐκ οὐκ ἀπαξιοῦν καὶ αὐτόν τρίτον ἂν νομισθῆναι πρὸς Ἀράβων θεόν, οὐ φανλότερα ἔργα Διονύσου ἀποδειξάμενον, εἴπερ οὖν καὶ Ἀράβων κρατήσας ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτοῖς, καθάπερ Ἰνδοῖς, πολιτεύειν κατὰ τὰ σφῶν νόμιμα. [2] τῆς τε χώρας ἢ εὐδαιμονία ὑπεκίνηει αὐτόν, ὅτι ἤκουεν ἐκ μὲν τῶν λιμνῶν τὴν κασίαν γίνεσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δένδρων τὴν σμύρναν τε καὶ

τὸν λιβανωτὸν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν θάμνων τὸ κιννάμωμον τέμνεσθαι, οἱ λειμῶνες δὲ ὅτι νάρδον αὐτόματοι ἐκφέρουσι: τὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς χώρας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐλάττων ἢ παράλιος τῆς Ἀραβίας ἤπερ ἢ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο, καὶ νῆσοι αὐτῇ προσκειῖσθαι πολλάι, καὶ λιμένες πανταχοῦ τῆς χώρας ἐνεῖναι, οἷοι παρασχεῖν μὲν ὄρμους τῷ ναυτικῷ, παρασχεῖν δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἐνοικισθῆναι καὶ ταύτας γενέσθαι εὐδαίμονας. [3] δύο δὲ νῆσοι κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Εὐφράτου πελάγαι ἐξηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ, ἡ μὲν πρώτη οὐ πρόσω τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Εὐφράτου, ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μικροτέρα αὕτη καὶ δασεῖα λῦη παντοία: εἶναι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς ἀμφὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὴν δίαιταν ποιεῖσθαι: [4] νέμεσθαι τε αὐτὴν αἰξί τε ἀγρίαις καὶ ἐλάφοις, καὶ ταύτας ἀνεῖσθαι ἀφέτους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, οὐδὲ εἶναι θέμις θήραν ποιεῖσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι μὴ θῆσαι τινα τῇ θεῷ ἐθέλοντα ἐπὶ τῷδε θηρᾶν μόνον: ἐπὶ τῷδε γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι ἀθέμιτον. [5] καὶ ταύτην τὴν νῆσον λέγει Ἀριστοβούλος ὅτι Ἴκαρον ἐκέλευσε καλεῖσθαι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῆς νήσου τῆς Ἰκάρου τῆς ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ, ἐς ἣντινα Ἴκαρον τὸν Δαιδάλου τακέντος τοῦ κηροῦ ὅτῳ προσήρτητο τὰ περὰ πεσεῖν λόγος κατέχει, ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐφέρετο, ἀλλὰ μετέωρος γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀνοίας πετόμενος παρέσχε τῷ ἡλίῳ θάλψαι τε καὶ ἀνεῖναι τὸν κηρόν, καὶ ἀπὸ ἐαυτοῦ τὸν Ἴκαρον τῇ τε νήσῳ καὶ τῷ πελάγει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν μὲν Ἴκαρον καλεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ Ἰκάριον. [6] ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα νῆσος ἀπέχει μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐλέγετο ὅσον πλοῦν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς κατ' οὐρον θεοῦση νῆ: Τύλος δὲ αὐτῇ εἶναι ὄνομα: μεγάλη δὲ εἶναι καὶ οὔτε τραχεῖα ἢ πολλὴ οὔτε ὑλώδης, ἀλλ' οἷα καρπούς τε ἡμέρους ἐκφέρειν καὶ πάντα ὥραϊα. [7] ταυτὶ ἀπηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ μὲν πρὸς Ἀρχίου, ὃς ξὺν τριακοντόρῳ ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τοῦ παράπλου τοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας μέχρι μὲν τῆς νήσου τῆς Τύλου ἦλθε, τὸ πρόσω δὲ οὐκέτι περαιωθῆναι ἐτόλμησεν: Ἀνδροσθένης δὲ ξὺν ἄλλῃ τριακοντόρῳ σταλεὶς καὶ τῆς χερρονήσου τι τῶν Ἀράβων παρέπλευσε: μακροτάτῳ δὲ τῶν ἐκπεμφθέντων προὐχώρησεν Ἰέρων ὁ Σολεὺς ὁ κυβερνήτης, λαβὼν καὶ οὗτος παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τριακόντορον. [8] ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ προστεταγμένον περιπλεῦσαι τὴν χερρόνησον τὴν Ἀράβων πᾶσαν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν Ἀράβιον τὸν κατ' Ἡρώων πόλιν: οὐ μὴν ἐτόλμησέ γε τὸ πρόσω ἐλθεῖν, καίτοι ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ παραπλεύσας τὴν Ἀράβων γῆν: ἀλλ' ἀναστρέψας γὰρ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐξήγγειλεν τὸ μέγεθος τε τῆς χερρονήσου θαυμαστόν τι εἶναι καὶ ὅσον οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέον τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ἅκραν τε ἀνέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης: [9] ἦν δὴ καὶ τοὺς σὺν Νεάρχῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πλέοντας, πρὶν ἐπικάμψαι ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικόν, οὐ πόρρω ἀνατείνουσιν ἰδεῖν τε καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθεῖν διαβαλεῖν ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ Ὀνησικρίτῳ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ ταύτῃ δοκοῦν: ἀλλὰ Νεάρχος λέγει ὅτι αὐτὸς διεκώλυσεν, ὡς ἐκπεριπλεύσας τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικόν ἔχοι ἀπαγγεῖλαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐφ' οἷσινσι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστάλη: [10] οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ πλεῦσαι τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἐστάλθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ καταμαθεῖν τὴν χώραν τὴν προσεχῇ τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀνθρώπους, ὄρμους τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὕδατα καὶ τὰ νόμια τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἀγαθὴ καρπούς

ἐκφέρειν ἢ εἴ τις κακὴ· καὶ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο αἴτιον γενέσθαι ἀποσωθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸν στρατόν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν σωθῆναι πλεῦσαντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀραβίας τὰ ἔρημα, ἐφ' ὅτῳ καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων ἐπιστρέψαι ὀπίσω λέγεται. ἐν ᾧ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐναυπηγοῦντο μὲν αἱ τριήρεις, ὁ

[1] λιμὴν δὲ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ὠρύσσετο, ἐκπλεῖ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Πολλακόπαν καλούμενον ποταμόν. ἀπέχει δὲ οὗτος τῆς Βαβυλῶνος σταδίους ὅσον ὀκτακοσίους, καὶ ἔστι διῶρυξ αὕτη [ὁ Πολλακόπας] ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτου, οὐχὶ δὲ ἐκ πηγῶν τις ἀνίσχων ποταμός. [2] ὁ γὰρ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὁρῶν χειμῶνος μὲν ὥρα προχωρεῖ κατὰ τὰς ὄχθας, οἷα δὴ οὐ πολλοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ὕδατος· ἥρος δὲ ὑποφαίνοντος καὶ πολὺ δὴ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τροπᾶς, ἄστινας τοῦ θέρους ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστρέφει, μέγας τε ἐπέρχεται καὶ υπερβάλλει ὑπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν· [3] τηνικαῦτα γὰρ αἱ χιόνες αἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις κατατηκόμεναι αὖξουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ μέγα. ὅτι δὲ ἐπιπολῆς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὁ ῥοῦς, υπερβάλλει ἐς τὴν χώραν, εἰ μὴ τις ἀναστομώσας αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν Πολλακόπαν ἐς τὰ ἔλη τε ἐκτρέψει καὶ τὰς λίμνας, αἱ δὴ ἀρχόμεναι ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς διῶρυχος διήκουσιν> ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ξυνεχὴ τῇ Ἀράβων γῇ, καὶ ἔνθεν μὲν ἐς τέναγος ἐπὶ πολὺ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀφανῆ στόματα ἐκδίδωσι. [4] τετηκυίας δὲ τῆς χιόνος ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων μάλιστα δύσιν ὀλίγος τε ὁ Εὐφράτης ῥέει καὶ οὐδὲν μείον τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν Πολλακόπαν ἐκδίδοι ἐς τὰς λίμνας. εἰ δὴ τις μὴ ἀποφράξει τὸν Πολλακόπαν αὐθις, ὡς κατὰ τὰς ὄχθας ἐκτραπὲν φέρεσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ κατὰ πόρου, ἐκένωσεν ἂν τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐς αὐτόν, ὡς μηδ' ἐπάρδεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν γῆν. [5] ἀλλὰ ἀπεφράσσοντο γὰρ αἱ ἐς τὸν Πολλακόπαν τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐκβολαὶ πρὸς τοῦ σατράπου τῆς Βαβυλωνίας πολλῷ πόνῳ, καίπερ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀναστομούμεναι, ὅτι ἰλυώδης τε ἡ ταύτη γῆ καὶ πηλὸς ἡ πολλὴ αὐτῆς, οἷα δεχομένη τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ εὐμαρῇ τὴν ἀποστροφὴν αὐτοῦ παρέχειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τρίτον μῆνα Ἀσσυρίων ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους ἐν τῷδε τῷ πόνῳ ξυνείχοντο. ταῦτα ἀπαγγελέντα ἐπήγαγεν Ἀλέξανδρον ὠφελεῖσθαι τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν. [6] ἔνθεν μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Πολλακόπαν ἐτρέπετο τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὁ ῥοῦς, ταύτη δὲ ἔγνω βεβαίως ἀποκλείσαι τὴν ἐκβολήν· προελθόντι δὲ ὅσον σταδίους τριάκοντα ὑπόπετρος ἡ γῆ ἐφαίνετο, οἷα διακοπεῖσα, εἰ ξυναφῆς ἐγένετο τῇ πάλαι διῶρυχι τῇ κατὰ τὸν Πολλακόπαν, οὗτ' ἂν διαχεῖσθαι παρέχειν τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ στερρότητος τῆς γῆς, τὴν τε ἀποστροφὴν αὐτοῦ τῇ τεταγμένη ὥρᾳ μὴ χαλεπῶς γίνεσθαι. [7] τούτων ἕνεκα ἐπὶ τε τὸν Πολλακόπαν ἔπλευσε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν καταπλεῖ ἐς τὰς λίμνας ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀράβων γῆν. ἔνθα χωρόν τινα ἐν καλῷ ἰδὼν πόλιν ἐξωκοδόμησέ τε καὶ ἐτείχισε, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ κατόκισε τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰς τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὅσοι τε ἐκόντες καὶ ὅσοι ὑπὸ γήρως ἢ κατὰ πῆρωσιν ἀπόλεμοι ἦσαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐξελέγξας δὴ τῶν Χαλδαίων τὴν

[1] μαντεῖαν, ὅτι οὐδὲν πεπόνθοι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἄχαρι, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἐμαντεύσαντο, ἀλλὰ ἔφθη γὰρ ἐλάσας ἔξω Βαβυλῶνος πρὶν τι παθεῖν, ἀνέπλει αὐθις κατὰ τὰ ἔλη θαρρῶν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὴν Βαβυλῶνα· ἵνα δὴ καὶ ἐπλανήθη αὐτῷ μέρος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κατὰ τὰ στενὰ ἀπορία ἡγεμόνος, πρὶν γε

δὴ αὐτὸς πέμψας τὸν ἡγησόμενον ἐπανήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν πόρον. λόγος δὲ λέγεται τοῖόςδε. [2] τῶν βασιλέων τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τοὺς τάφους ἐν ταῖς λίμναις τε εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι δεδομημένους. ὥς δὲ ἔπλει Ἀλέξανδρος κατὰ τὰ ἔλη, κυβερνᾶν γάρ αὐτὸν λόγος τὴν τριήρη, πνεύματος μεγάλου ἐμπεσόντος αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν καυσίαν καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῇ συνεχόμενον, τὴν μὲν δὴ οἷα βαρυτέραν πεσεῖν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ διάδημα δὲ ἀπενεχθὲν πρὸς τῆς πνοῆς σχεθῆναι ἐν καλάμῳ: τὸν κάλαμον δὲ τῶν ἐπιπεφυκῶτων εἶναι τάφῳ τινὶ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων. [3] τοῦτό τε οὖν αὐτὸ πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων σημῆναι καὶ ὅτι τῶν τις ναυτῶν ἐκνηξάμενος ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ διάδημα ἀφελὼν τοῦ καλάμου αὐτὸ μετὰ χεῖρας μὲν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν, ὅτι νηχομένου ἂν αὐτοῦ ἐβρέχετο, περιθεις δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ οὕτω διήνεγκε. [4] καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀναγραφάντων τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγουσιν ὅτι τάλαντον μὲν ἐδώρήσατο αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς προθυμίας ἕνεκα, ἀποτεμεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευσε τὴν κεφαλὴν, τῶν μάντεων ταύτῃ ἐξηγησαμένων, μὴ περιδεῖν σῶαν ἐκείνην τὴν κεφαλὴν ἣτις τὸ διάδημα ἐφόρησε τὸ βασιλεῖον: Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τάλαντον μὲν ὅτι ἔλαβε λέγει αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ πληγὰς λαβεῖν τῆς περιθέσεως ἕνεκα τοῦ διαδήματος. [5] Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν δὴ τῶν τινα Φοινίκων τῶν ναυτῶν λέγει ὅτι τὸ διάδημα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκόμισεν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σέλευκον λέγουσιν. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σημῆναι τὴν τελευταίαν καὶ τῷ Σελεύκῳ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν μεγάλην. Σέλευκον γάρ μέγιστον τῶν μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον διαδεξαμένων τὴν ἀρχὴν βασιλεῖα γενέσθαι τὴν τε γνώμην βασιλικώτατον καὶ πλείστης γῆς ἐπάρξει μετὰ γε αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ μοι δοκεῖ ἵεναι ἐς ἀμφύλογον.

[1] ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα καταλαμβάνει Πευκέσταν ἡκοντα ἐκ Περσῶν, ἄγοντα στρατιὰν Περσῶν ἐς δισμυρίους: ἦγε δὲ καὶ Κοσσαιῶν καὶ Ταπούρων οὐκ ὀλίγους, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἔθνη τῶν προσχώρων τῇ Περσίδι μαχιμώτατα εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο. ἦκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Φιλόξενος στρατιὰν ἄγων ἀπὸ Καρίας καὶ Μένανδρος ἐκ Λυδίας ἄλλους καὶ Μενίδας τοὺς ἱππέας ἄγων τοὺς αὐτῷ ξυνταχθέντας. [2] καὶ πρεσβεῖαι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦκον, καὶ τούτων οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῖς τε ἐστεφανωμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσῆλθον καὶ ἐστεφάνουν αὐτὸν στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς, ὥς θεωροὶ δῆθεν ἐς τιμὴν θεοῦ ἀφιγμένοι. τῷ δὲ οὐ πόρρω ἄρα ἢ τελευταῖ ἦν. [3] ἔνθα δὴ τοὺς τε Πέρσας ἐπαινέσας τῆς προθυμίας, ὅτι πάντα Πευκέστα ἐπέιθοντο, καὶ αὐτὸν Πευκέσταν τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ αὐτῶν ἐξηγήσεως, κατέλεγεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς Μακεδονικὰς τάξεις, δεκαδάρχην μὲν τῆς δεκάδος ἡγεῖσθαι Μακεδόνα καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ διμοιρίτην Μακεδόνα καὶ δεκαστάτηρον, οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς μισθοφορᾶς, ἦντινα μείονα μὲν τοῦ διμοιρίτου, πλείονα δὲ τῶν οὐκ ἐν τιμῇ στρατευομένων ἔφερεν: [4] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ δώδεκα Πέρσας καὶ τελευταῖον τῆς δεκάδος Μακεδόνα, δεκαστάτηρον καὶ τοῦτον, ὥστε ἐν τῇ δεκάδι τέσσαρας μὲν εἶναι Μακεδόνας, τοὺς μὲν τῇ μισθοφορᾷ προὔχοντας, τὸν δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς δεκάδος, δώδεκα δὲ Πέρσας, τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας τὴν πάτριον ὅπλισιν ὀπλισμένους, τοὺς δὲ Πέρσας τοὺς μὲν τοξότας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μεσάγκυλα ἔχοντας. [5] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πολλάκις μὲν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀπεπειράτο, πολλὰ δὲ ἔριδες αὐτῷ τῶν τριήρων καὶ ὅσαι τετρήρεις κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἀγῶνες τῶν τε ἑρετῶν καὶ τῶν κυβερνητῶν καὶ στέφανοι τῶν νικῶντων. [6]

ἦκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἄμμωνος οἱ θεωροὶ οὐστίνας ἐστάλκει ἐρησομένους ὅπως θέμις αὐτῷ τιμᾶν Ἑφαιστίωνα· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἤρωϊ ἔφησαν ὅτι θύειν θέμις ὁ Ἄμμων λέγει. ὁ δὲ ἔχαιρέ τε τῇ μαντεία καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὡς ἤρωα ἐγέραρει. καὶ Κλεομένει, ἀνδρὶ κακῷ καὶ πολλὰ ἀδικήματα ἀδικήσαντι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐπιστέλλει ἐπιστολήν. καὶ ταύτην τῆς μὲν ἐς Ἑφαιστίωνα καὶ ἀποθανόντα φιλίας ἔνεκα καὶ μνήμης οὐ μέμφομαι ἔγωγε, ἄλλων δὲ πολλῶν ἔνεκα μέμφομαι. [7] ἔγωγε γὰρ ἡ ἐπιστολή κατασκευασθῆναι Ἑφαιστίῳ ἡρῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ, ἐν τε τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Φάρῳ, ἵνα ὁ πύργος ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, μεγέθει τε μέγιστον καὶ πολυτελείᾳ ἐκπρεπέστατον, καὶ ὅπως ἐπικρατήσῃ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ Ἑφαιστίνωνος, καὶ τοῖς συμβολαίοις καθ' ὅσα οἱ ἔμποροι ἀλλήλοις συμβάλλουσιν ἐγγράφεσθαι τὸ ὄνομα Ἑφαιστίνωνος. [8] ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔχω μέμψασθαι, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις μεγάλως διεσπουδάζετο. ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ πάνυ μέμφομαι. ἦν γὰρ καταλάβω ἐγώ, ἔλεγε τὰ γράμματα, τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καλῶς κατεσκευασμένα καὶ τὰ ἡρῶα τὰ Ἑφαιστίνωνος, εἴ τέ τι πρότερον ἡμάρτηκας, ἀφήσω σε τούτου, καὶ τὸ λοιπόν, ὀπηλίκον ἂν ἀμάρτης, οὐδὲν πείσῃ ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἄχαρι. τοῦτο ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι πολλῆς μὲν χώρας, πολλῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου ἐπεσταλμένον, ἄλλως τε καὶ κακῷ ἀνδρί, οὐκ ἔχω ἐπαινέσαι.

[1] ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἦδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ τέλος. καὶ τι καὶ τοῖόνδε πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων σημεῖνα λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος· καταλοχίζει μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν σὺν Πευκέστᾳ τε ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ξὺν Φιλοξένῳ καὶ Μενάνδρῳ ἦκουσαν ἐς τὰς Μακεδονικὰς τάξεις· διψήσαντα δὲ ἀποχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς ἑδρας καταλιπόντα ἔρημον τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλείων. [2] εἶναι δὲ κλίνας ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ θρόνου ἀργυρόποδας, ἐφ' ὧν οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἐταῖροι ἐκάθηντο. τῶν τινα οὖν ἡμελημένων ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμοφ ὄντα λέγουσιν, ἔρημον ἰδόντα τὸν θρόνον καὶ τὰς κλίνας, περὶ τῷ θρόνῳ δὲ ἐστηκότας τοὺς εὐνούχους, καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι ξυνανέστησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποχωροῦντι, διελθόντα διὰ τῶν εὐνούχων ἀναβῆναί τε ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ καθέζεσθαι. [3] τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἀναστῆσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου κατὰ δὴ τινα νόμον Περσικόν, περιρρηξαμένους δὲ τύπτεσθαι τὰ τε στήθη καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, κελεῦσαι στρεβλωθῆναι τὸν καθίσαντα, μήποτε ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ξυντεταγμένον τοῦτο ἔδρασε γινῶναι ἐθέλοντα. τὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο κατεπεῖν ὅτι μὴ ἐπὶ νοῦν οἱ ἐλθόν οὕτω πρᾶξαι· ἦ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ ξυμβῆναι αὐτῷ οἱ μάντιες ἐξηγοῦντο. [4] ἡμέραι τε οὐ πολλαὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο καὶ τεθυκῶς τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς τε νομιζομένας θυσίας ἐπὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖς καὶ τινας καὶ ἐκ μαντείας εὐωχεῖτο ἅμα τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἔπινε πόρρῳ τῶν νυκτῶν. δοῦναι δὲ λέγεται καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἱερεῖα καὶ οἶνον κατὰ λόχους καὶ ἑκατοστύας. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πότου αὐτὸν μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐθέλειν ἐπὶ κοιτῶνα εἰσὶν οἱ ἀνέγραψαν· Μῆδιον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐντυχόντα, τῶν ἐταίρων ἐν τῷ τότε τὸν πιθανώτατον, δεηθῆναι κωμάσαι παρὰ οἷ· γενέσθαι γὰρ ἂν ἡδὺν τὸν κῶμον.

[1] καὶ αἱ βασιλεῖοι ἐφημερίδες ὧδε ἔχουσιν· πίνειν παρὰ Μηδίῳ αὐτὸν

κωμάσαντα: ἔπειτα ἐξαναστάντα καὶ λουσάμενον καθεύδειν τε καὶ αὖθις δειπνεῖν παρὰ Μηδίῳ καὶ αὖθις πίνειν πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν: ἀπαλλαχθέντα δὲ τοῦ πότου λούσασθαι: καὶ λουσάμενον ὀλίγον τι ἐμφαγεῖν καὶ καθεύδειν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἤδη ἐπύρεσεν. [2] ἐκκομισθέντα δὲ ἐπὶ κλίνης πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ θῦσαι ὡς νόμος ἐφ' ἐκάστη ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπιθέντα κατακεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀνδρῶνι ἔστε ἐπὶ κνέφας. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι παραγγέλλειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πορείας καὶ τοῦ πλοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ὡς περὶ ἰόντας παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐς τετάρτην ἡμέραν, τοὺς δὲ ἅμα οἱ πλεόντας ὡς εἰς πέμπτην πλευσουμένους. [3] ἐκεῖθεν δὲ κατακομισθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ πλοίου ἐπιβάντα διαπλεῦσαι πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς τὸν παράδεισον, κάκει αὖθις λουσάμενον ἀναπαύεσθαι. ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν λούσασθαι τε αὖθις καὶ θῦσαι τὰ νομιζόμενα: καὶ εἰς τὴν καμάραν εἰσελθόντα κατακεῖσθαι διαμυθολογούντα πρὸς Μήδιον: παραγγεῖλαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀπαντῆσαι ἕωθεν. ταῦτα πράξαντα δειπνήσαι ὀλίγον: [4] κομισθέντα δὲ αὖθις ἐς τὴν καμάραν πυρέσσειν ἤδη ξυνεχῶς τὴν νύκτα ὅλην: τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ λούσασθαι καὶ λουσάμενον θῦσαι. Νεάρχῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι παραγγεῖλαι τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν πλοῦν ὅπως ἔσται ἐς τρίτην ἡμέραν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ λούσασθαι αὖθις καὶ θῦσαι τὰ τεταγμένα, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπιθέντα οὐκέτι ἐλινύειν πυρέσσοντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἰσκαλέσαντα παραγγέλλειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλουν ὅπως αὐτῷ ἔσται ἔτοιμα: λούσασθαι τε ἐπὶ τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ, καὶ λουσάμενον ἔχειν ἤδη κακῶς. [5] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ μετακομισθῆναι ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ καὶ θῦσαι μὲν τὰ τεταγμένα, ἔχοντα δὲ πονήρως ὁμως εἰσκαλέσαι τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλοῦ αὖθις παραγγέλλειν. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ μόγις ἐκκομισθῆναι πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ θῦσαι, καὶ μηδὲν μείον ἔτι παραγγέλλειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλοῦ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν. [6] ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν κακῶς ἤδη ἔχοντα ὁμως θῦσαι τὰ τεταγμένα. παραγγεῖλαι δὲ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς διατρίβειν κατὰ τὴν αὐλήν, χιλιάρχας δὲ καὶ πεντακοσιάρχας πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. ἡδὴ δὲ παντάπασι πονήρως ἔχοντα διακομισθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐς τὰ βασίλεια. εἰσελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γινῶναι μὲν αὐτοὺς, φωνῆσαι δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ εἶναι ἄναυδον: καὶ τὴν νύκτα πυρέσσειν κακῶς καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν.

[1] οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσι ταῖς βασιλείοις ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται ἐπόθησαν ἰδεῖν αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν, ὡς ζῶντα ἔτι ἴδοιεν, οἱ δέ, ὅτι τεθνηκέναι ἤδη ἐξηγγέλλετο, ἐπικρύπτεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐτόπαζον πρὸς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τὸν θάνατον, ὡς ἔγωγε δοκῶ: τοὺς πολλοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πένθους καὶ πόθου τοῦ βασιλέως βιάσασθαι ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον. τὸν δὲ ἄφωνον μὲν εἶναι λέγουσι παραπορευομένης τῆς στρατιᾶς, δεξιοῦσθαι δὲ ὡς ἐκάστους τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἐπαίροντα μόγις καὶ τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν ἐπισημαίνοντα. [2] λέγουσι δὲ αἱ ἐφημερίδες αἱ βασιλεῖοι ἐν τοῦ Σαράπιδος τῷ ἱερῷ Πείθωνά τε ἐγκοιμηθέντα καὶ Ἄτταλον καὶ Δημοφῶντα καὶ Πευκέσταν, πρὸς δὲ Κλεομένην τε καὶ Μενίδαν καὶ Σέλευκον, ἐπερωτᾶν τὸν θεὸν εἰ λῶν καὶ ἄμεινον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κομισθέντα καὶ ἱκετεύσαντα θεραπεύεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ: καὶ γενέσθαι φήμην τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ κομίζεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ μένοντι ἔσεσθαι ἄμεινον. [3] ταῦτά τε

ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοὺς ἐταίρους καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς τοῦτο ἄρα ἤδη ὄν τὸ ἄμεινον. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τούτων οὔτε Ἀριστοβούλῳ οὔτε Πτολεμαίῳ ἀναγέγραπται. οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, ἐρέσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἐταίρους αὐτὸν ὅτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπει, τὸν δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὅτι τῷ κρατίστῳ: οἱ δέ, προσθεῖναι πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὅτι μέγαν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγῶνα ὀρᾷ ἐφ' αὐτῷ ἐσόμενον.

[1] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οἶδα ἀναγεγραμμένα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς, καὶ φάρμακον ὅτι ἐπέμφθη παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φαρμάκου ὅτι ἀπέθανε: καὶ τὸ φάρμακον ὅτι Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐξεῦρε δεδοικῶς ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρον Καλλισθένους ἔνεκα, Κάσανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου ἐκόμισεν: οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐν ἡμίονου ὀπλῇ ἐκόμισε καὶ τοῦτο ἀνέγραψαν. δοῦναι δὲ αὐτὸ Ἰόλλαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Κασάνδρου τὸν νεώτερον: [2] εἶναι γὰρ οἰνοχόον βασιλικὸν τὸν Ἰόλλαν καὶ τι καὶ λευπηθῆαι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς: οἱ δὲ καὶ Μήδιον μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ἐραστὴν ὄντα τοῦ Ἰόλλα: καὶ αὐτὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν εἰσηγητὴν γενόμενον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ κώμου: ὀδύνην τε αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι γενέσθαι ὀξεῖαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὀδύνῃ ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκ τοῦ πότου. [3] ἤδη δέ τις οὐκ ἡσχύνθη ἀναγράψαι ὅτι αἰσθόμενος οὐ βιώσιμον ὄντα αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἦει ἐμβαλῶν, ὡς ἀφανὴς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος πιστοτέραν τὴν δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐγκαταλείποι ὅτι ἐκ θεοῦ τε αὐτῷ ἡ γένεσις ξυνέβη καὶ παρὰ θεοὺς ἡ ἀποχώρησις. Πρωξάνην δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐ λαθεῖν ἐξιόντα, ἀλλὰ εἰργόμενον γὰρ πρὸς αὐτῆς ἐποιμώξαντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐφθόνησεν ἄρα αὐτῷ δόξης τῆς ἐς ἅπαν, ὡς θεῷ δὴ γεγεννημένῳ. καὶ ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ὡς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν δόξαιμι μᾶλλον ὅτι λεγόμενά ἐστιν ἢ ὡς πιστὰ ἐς ἀφήγησιν ἀναγεγράφθω.

[1] ἐτελεύτα μὲν δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ Ἥγησιου ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν: ἐβίω δὲ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη καὶ τοῦ τρίτου μῆνας ἐπέλαβεν ὀκτώ, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος: ἐβασίλευσε δὲ δώδεκα ἔτη καὶ τοὺς ὀκτὼ τούτους μῆνας, τό τε σῶμα κάλλιστος καὶ φιλοπονώτατος καὶ ὀξύτατος γενόμενος καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀνδρείοτατος καὶ φιλοτιμώτατος καὶ φιλοκινδυνώτατος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιμελέστατος: [2] ἡδονῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἐγκρατέστατος, τῶν δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἐπαίνου μόνου ἀπληστότατος: ξυνιδεῖν δὲ τὸ δέον ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ὄν δεινότατος, καὶ ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων τὸ εἰκὸς ξυμβαλεῖν ἐπιτυχέστατος, καὶ τάξαι στρατιὰν καὶ ὀπλίσαι τε καὶ κοσμησαι δαημονέστατος: καὶ τὸν θυμὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπᾶραι καὶ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν ἐμπλησαι καὶ τὸ δεῖμα ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τῷ ἀδεεῖ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἀφανίσαι, ξύμπαντα ταῦτα γενναιότατος. [3] καὶ οὖν καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ πρᾶξαι, ξὺν μεγίστῳ θάρσει ἔπραξεν, ὅσα τε φθάσας ὑφαρπάσαι τῶν πολεμίων, πρὶν καὶ δεῖσαί τινα αὐτὰ ὡς ἐσόμενα, προλαβεῖν δεινότατος: καὶ τὰ μὲν ξυντεθέντα ἢ ὁμολογηθέντα φυλάξαι βεβαιότατος, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἐξαπατώντων μὴ ἀλῶναι ἀσφαλέστατος, χρημάτων τε ἐς μὲν ἡδονὰς τὰς αὐτοῦ φειδωλότατος, ἐς δὲ εὐποιῶν τῶν πέλας ἀφθονώτατος.

[1] εἰ δέ τι ἐπλημμελήθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δι' ὀξύτητα ἢ ὑπ' ὀργῆς, ἢ εἴ τι ἐς τὸ ὑπερογκότερον προήχθη βαρβαρίσαι, οὐ μέγала τίθεμαι ἔγωγε, εἰ τὴν

νεότητά τέ τις τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μὴ ἀνεπιεικῶς ἐνθυμηθεῖη καὶ τὸ διηνεκὲς τῆς εὐτυχίας καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἡδονήν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίστῳ, τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ξυνόντας τε καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ ξυνησομένους: ἀλλὰ μεταγινῶναι γε ἐφ' οἷς ἐπλημμέλησε μόνῳ οἶδα τῶν πάλοι βασιλέων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὑπάρξει ὑπὸ γενναιότητος. [2] οἱ δὲ πολλοί, εἰ καὶ τι ἔγνωσαν πλημμελήσαντες, οἱ δὲ τῷ προηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ, ὡς καλῶς δὴπραχθέντος, ἐπικρύψειν οἴονται τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, κακῶς γινώσκοντες. μόνῃ γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἴσας ἀμαρτίας ὁμολογεῖν τε ἀμαρτόντα καὶ δηλον εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτῷ μεταγινώσκοντα, ὡς τοῖς τε παθοῦσι τι ἄχαρι οὐ πάντῃ χαλεπὰ τὰ παθήματα φαινόμενα, εἰ ὁ δράσας αὐτὰ ξυγχωροίῃ ὅτι οὐ καλὰ ἔδρασεν, αὐτῷ τέ τινι ἐς τὸ μέλλον ταύτην ἐλπίδα ἀγαθὴν ὑπολειπομένην, μή ποτε ἂν παραπλήσιόν τι ἀμαρτεῖν, εἰ τοῖς πρόσθεν πλημμεληθεῖσιν ἀχθόμενος φαίνοιτο. [3] ὅτι δὲ ἐς θεὸν τὴν γένεσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνέφερεν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ μέγα εἶναι αὐτῷ τὸ πλημμέλημα, εἰ μὴ καὶ σόφισμα ἦν τυχὸν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοῦ σεμινοῦ ἔνεκα. οὐκ οὖν δοκεῖ ἔμοιγε ἢ Μίνωος γενέσθαι βασιλεὺς ἀφανέστερος ἢ Αἰακοῦ ἢ Ῥαδαμάνθυος, οἷς δὴ ἐς Δία ἀνενεχθεῖσα ἡ γένεσις πρὸς τῶν πάλοι ἀνθρώπων οὐδεμιᾷ αὐτῶν ὕβρει προστίθεται, οὐδὲ Θησέως τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος οὐδὲ Ἰωῶνος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. [4] ὡς ἔμοιγε καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ σκευὴ σόφισμα δοκεῖ εἶναι πρὸς τε τοὺς βαρβάρους, ὡς μὴ πάντῃ ἀλλότριον αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὡς ἀποστροφὴν τινα εἶναι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀξύτητός τε καὶ ὕβρεως τῆς Μακεδονικῆς: ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ ἐγκαταμῖξαι μοι δοκεῖ ταῖς τάξεσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς μηλοφόρους καὶ τοῖς ἀγῆμασι τοὺς ὁμοτίμους. καὶ οἱ πότοι δέ, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, οὐ τοῦ οἴνου ἔνεκα μακροὶ αὐτῷ ἐγίγνοντο, οὐ γὰρ πίνειν πολὺν οἶνον Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀλλὰ φιλοφροσύνης τῆς ἐς τοὺς ἐταίρους.

[1] ὅστις δὲ κακίζει Ἀλεξάνδρου, μὴ μόνον ὅσα ἄξια κακίζεσθαι ἔστι προφερόμενος κακιζέτω, ἀλλὰ ξύμπαντα τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰς ἓν χωρίον ξυναγαθὼν οὕτω δὴ ἐκλογιζέσθω ὅστις τε ὦν αὐτὸς καὶ ὅποια τύχῃ κεχρημένος ὄντινα γενόμενον ἐκείνον καὶ ἐς ὅσον εὐτυχίας τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐλθόντα βασιλέα τε ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ἡπείροιν ἀναμφιλογώτατα γενόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἐξικόμενον τῷ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι κακίζει, σμικρότερός τε ὦν αὐτὸς καὶ ἐπὶ σμικροῖς πονούμενος καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐν κόσμῳ τιθέμενος. [2] ὡς ἔγωγε δοκῶ ὅτι οὔτε τι ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τις πόλις ἐν τῷ τότε ἦν οὔτε τις εἷς ἄνθρωπος εἰς ὃν οὐ πεφοιτῆται τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄνομα. οὐκ οὖν οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ ἔξω τοῦ θεοῦ φῦναι ἂν δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπων εὐοικῶς. καὶ ταῦτα χρησμοὶ τε ἐπισημῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγονται καὶ φάσματα ἄλλα ἄλλοις γενόμενα καὶ ἐνύπνια φανέντα ἄλλα ἄλλοις καὶ ἡ ἐς τοῦτο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τιμὴ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ μνήμη οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ οὕσα, καὶ νῦν δὲ διὰ τοσούτου ἄλλοι χρησμοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἔθνει τῷ Μακεδόνων χρησθέντες. [3] ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμεμψάμην ἔστιν ἃ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργων, ἀλλὰ αὐτόν γε Ἀλεξάνδρου οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι θαυμάζων: τὰ δὲ ἔργα ἐκεῖνα ἐκάκισα ἀληθείας τε ἔνεκα τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ ἅμα ὠφελείας τῆς ἐς ἀνθρώπους: ἐφ' ὅτῳ ὠρμήθη οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἄνευ θεοῦ ἐς τήνδε τὴν συγγραφὴν.

INDICA

[1] τὰ ἔξω τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔστε ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Κωφῆνα Ἀστακηνοὶ καὶ Ἀσσακηνοὶ, ἔθνεα Ἰνδικά, ἐποικεύουσιν. [2] ἀλλὰ οὔτε μεγάλοι τὰ σώματα, κατὰπερ οἱ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ὤκισμένοι, οὔτε ἀγαθοὶ ὡσαύτως τὸν θυμὸν οὐδὲ μέλανες ὡσαύτως τοῖσι πολλοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν. [3] οὗτοι πάλοι μὲν Ἀσσυρίοισιν ὑπήκοοι ἦσαν· ἐπὶ δὲ Μῆδοισι Περσέων ἤκουον, καὶ φόρους ἀπέφερον Κύρῳ τῷ Καμβύσειω ἐκ τῆς γῆς σφῶν, οὓς ἔταξε Κῦρος. [4] Νυσαῖοι δὲ οὐκ Ἰνδικὸν γένος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἅμα Διονύσῳ ἐλθόντων ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἰνδῶν, τυχὸν μὲν Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοι ἀπόμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο ἐν τοῖσι πολέμοισιν οὕστινας πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς Διόνυσος ἐπολέμησε, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. [5] τοὺς ἐθέλοντας τοῖσιν Ἑλλήσι συνώκισε, τὴν τε χώραν Νυσαίην ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρεὸς τῆς Νύσης Διόνυσος, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν Νῦσαν. [6] καὶ τὸ οὖρος τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει, ὅτου ἐν τῇσιν ὑπωρείησιν ὤκισται ἡ Νῦσα, Μηρὸς κληρίζεται ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορῇ ἥτινι ἐχρήσατο εὐθὺς γενόμενος. [7] ταῦτα μὲν οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐπὶ Διονύσῳ ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐξηγεῖσθων αὐτὰ ὅσοι λόγιοι Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων· [8] ἐν Ἀσσακηνοῖσι δὲ Μάσσακα, πόλις μεγάλη, ἵναπερ καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς γῆς ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσσακίης· καὶ ἄλλη πόλις Πευκελαΐτις, μεγάλη καὶ αὐτή, οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ. ταῦτα μὲν ἔξω τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ὤκισται πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα.

τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πρὸς ἔω, ταῦτά μοι ἔστω ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ, καὶ Ἰνδοὶ οὗτοι ἔστων. οὖροι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς πρὸς μὲν βορέεω ἀνέμου ὁ Ταῦρος τὸ οὖρος. [2] καλέεται δὲ οὗ Ταῦρος ἔτι ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀλλὰ ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ὁ Ταῦρος τῆς κατὰ Παμφύλους τε καὶ Λυκίην καὶ Κίλικας, παρατείνει δὲ ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς ἔω θάλασσαν, τέμνων τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. [3] ἄλλο δὲ ἄλλη καλέεται τὸ οὖρος, τῇ μὲν Παραπάμισος τῇ δὲ Ἡμωδός· ἄλλη δὲ Ἴμαον κληρίζεται, καὶ τυχὸν ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα ἔχει οὐνόματα. [4] Μακεδόνες δὲ οἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες Καύκασον αὐτὸ ἐκάλεον, ἄλλον τοῦτον Καύκασον, οὐ τὸν Σκυθικόν, ὥς καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Καυκάσου λόγον κατέχεον ὅτι ἐπῆλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος. [5] τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην δὲ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἀπείργει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, ἵναπερ αὐτὸς κατὰ δύο στόματα ἐκδιδοί, οὐ συνεχέα ἀλλήλοισι τὰ στόματα, [6] κατὰπερ τὰ πέντε τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἐστὶ συνεχέα, ἀλλὰ ὥς τὰ τοῦ Νείλου, ὑπ' ὧν τὸ Δέλτα ποιεέται τὸ Αἰγύπτιον, ὧδέ τοι καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς Δέλτα ποιεεί ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς, οὐ μείων τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου· καὶ τοῦτο Πάταλα τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσσει καλέεται. [7] τὸ δὲ πρὸς νότου τε ἀνέμου καὶ μεσαμβρίας αὐτὴ ἡ μεγάλη θάλασσα ἀπείργει τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν, καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἔω ἡ αὐτὴ θάλασσα ἀπείργει. [8] τὰ μὲν πρὸς μεσαμβρίας κατὰ Πάταλά τε καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ὥφθη πρὸς τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων· τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἔω Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὐκ ἐπῆλθε πρόσω ποταμοῦ Ὑφάσιος, [9] ὀλίγοι δὲ ἀνέγραψαν τὰ μέχρι ποταμοῦ Γάγγεω καὶ ἵνα τοῦ Γάγγεω αἱ ἐκβολαὶ καὶ πόλις Παλίμποθρα μεγίστη τῶν Ἰνδικῶν πρὸς τῷ Γάγγει.

ἐμοὶ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης ὁ Κυρηναῖος πιστότερος ἄλλου ἔστω, ὅτι γῆς

περίοδου περί ἔμελεν Ἑρατοσθένει. [p. 3] [2] οὗτος ἀπὸ τοῦ οὗρεος τοῦ Ταύρου, ἵνα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ αἱ πηγαί, παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἰόντι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς μυρίους σταδίους καὶ τρισχιλίους τὴν πλευρὴν λέγει ἐπέχειν τῆς γῆς τῆς Ἰνδῶν. [3] ταυτησί δὲ ἀντίπορον πλευρὴν ποιεῖ τὴν ἀπὸ τωὺτοῦ οὗρεος παρὰ τὴν ἐφ' ἣν θάλασσαν, οὐκέτι αὕτη τῇ πλευρῇ ἴσην, ἀλλὰ ἄκρην γὰρ ἀνέχειν ἐπὶ μέγα ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἐς τρισχιλίους σταδίους μάλιστα ἀνατείνουσιν τὴν ἄκρην, εἴη ἂν ὧν αὐτῷ ἡ πλευρὴ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς πρὸς ἑὼ μυρίους καὶ ἑξακισχιλίους σταδίους ἐπέχουσα. τοῦτο μὲν αὐτῷ πλάτος τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς συμβαίνει, [4] μήκος δὲ τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης ἐπὶ ἑὼ ἔστε μὲν ἐπὶ πόλιν Παλίμβοθρα μεμετρημένον σχοινίοισι λέγει ἀναγράφειν: καὶ εἶναι γὰρ ὁδὸν βασιλῆην. τοῦτο ἐπέχειν ἐς μυρίους σταδίους. [5] τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα οὐκέτι ὡσαύτως ἀτρεκέα. φήμας δὲ ὅσοι ἀνέγραψαν, σὺν τῇ ἄκρῃ τῇ ἀνεχούσῃ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἐς μυρίους σταδίους μάλιστα ἐπέχειν λέγουσιν: εἶναι ἂν ὧν τὸ μήκος τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς σταδίων μάλιστα διςμυρίων. [6] Κτησίης δὲ ὁ Κνίδιος τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν ἴσην τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἀσίῃ λέγει, οὐδὲν λέγων, οὐδὲ Ὀνησίκριτος, τρίτην μοῖραν τῆς πάσης γῆς. Νέαρχος δὲ μνηῶν τεσσάρων ὁδὸν τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πεδίου τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς. [7] Μεγασθένει δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ ἀνατολέων ἐς ἐσπέρην πλάτος ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ὃ τι περ οἱ ἄλλοι μήκος ποιεοῦσι: καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης μυρίων καὶ ἑξακισχιλίων σταδίων εἶναι ἵναπερ τὸ βραχύτατον αὐτοῦ. [8] τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ μήκος γίνεται, καὶ ἐπέχει τριηκοσίους καὶ διςχιλίους καὶ διςμυρίους ἵναπερ τὸ στεινότατον αὐτοῦ. [9] ποταμοὶ δὲ τοσοῖδε εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ, ὅσοι οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ πάσῃ Ἀσίῃ. μέγιστοι μὲν ὁ Γάγγης τε καὶ ὁ Ἰνδός, ὅτου καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐπάνυμος, ἅμφω τοῦ τε Νείλου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου [p. 4] καὶ τοῦ Ἰστρου τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ, καὶ εἰ ἐς τωὺτὸ συνέλθοι αὐτοῖσι τὸ ὕδωρ, μέζονες. δοκέειν δὲ ἔμοιγε, καὶ ὁ Ἀκεσίνης μέζων ἐστὶ τοῦ τε Ἰστρου καὶ τοῦ Νείλου, ἵναπερ παραλαβὼν ἅμα τὸν τε Ὑδάσπεα καὶ τὸν Ὑδραῶτα καὶ τὸν Ὑφασιν ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν, ὥς καὶ τριήκοντα αὐτῷ σταδίους τὸ πλάτος αὕτη εἶναι: καὶ τυχὸν καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ μέζονες ποταμοὶ ἐν τῇ

ἀλλὰ οὐ μοι ἀτρεκέες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ποταμοῦ ἰσχυρίσασθαι, ὅτι οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος. [2] αὐτοῖν δὲ τοῖν μέγιστοιν ποταμοῖν τοῦ τε Γάγγεω καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸν Γάγγεα μεγάλῃ πολλόν τι ὑπερφέρειν Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψε, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μνήμην τοῦ Γάγγεω ἔχουσιν: [3] αὐτὸν τε γὰρ μέγαν ἀνίσχειν ἀπὸ τῶν πηγέων, δέκεσθαι τε ἐς ἐωυτὸν τὸν τε Καϊνὴν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν Ἑραννοβοᾶν καὶ τὸν Κοσσόανον, πάντας πλωτοῦς: ἐπὶ δὲ Σῶνόν τε ποταμὸν καὶ Σιττόκατιν καὶ Σολόματιν, καὶ τούτους πλωτοῦς: [4] ἐπὶ δὲ Κονδοχάτην τε καὶ Σάμβον καὶ Μάγωνα καὶ Ἀγόρανιν καὶ Ὠμαλιν. ἐμβάλλουσι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν Κομμινάσης τε μέγας ποταμὸς καὶ Κάκουθις καὶ Ἀνδώματις ἐξ ἔθνεος Ἰνδικοῦ τοῦ Μαδυανδινῶν ῥέων, [5] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοισιν Ἀμυστις παρὰ πόλιν Καταδούπην, καὶ Ὀξύμαγισ ἐν τοῖσι Παζάλησι καλεομένοισι. καὶ Ἑρρένυσις δὲ ἐν Μάθησιν, ἔθνεϊ Ἰνδικῷ, συμβάλλει τῷ Γάγγῃ. [6] τούτων λέγει Μεγασθένης οὐδένα εἶναι τοῦ Μαϊάνδρου ἀποδέοντα, ἵναπερ ναυσίπορος ὁ Μαϊάνδρος. [7] εἶναι ὧν τὸ εὖρος τῷ Γάγγῃ, ἐνθαπερ αὐτὸς ἐωυτοῦ στεινότατος, ἐς ἑκατὸν σταδίους: πολλαχῇ

δὲ καὶ λιμνάζειν, ὥς μὴ ἄποπτον εἶναι τὴν πέρην χώραν, ἵναπερ χθαμαλή τέ ἐστι καὶ οὐδαμῇ γηλόφοισιν ἀνεστηκυῖα. [8] τῷ δὲ Ἰνδῷ ἐς ταῦτόν ἐρχεται. Ὑδραώτης μὲν ἐν Καμβισθόλοισι παρειληφώς [p. 5] τὸν τε Ὑφασιν ἐν Ἀστρύβησι καὶ τὸν Σαράγγην ἐκ Κηκέων καὶ τὸν Νευδρόν ἐξ Ἀττακηνῶν, ἐς τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ἐμβάλλουσιν. [9] Ὑδάσπης δὲ ἐν Ὄξυδράκησιν ἄγων ἅμα οἱ τὸν Σίναρον ἐν Ἀρίσπησιν ἐς τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ἐκδιδοῖ καὶ οὗτος. [10] ὁ δὲ Ἀκεσίνης ἐν Μαλλοῖσι συμβάλλει τῷ Ἰνδῷ: καὶ Τοῦταπος δὲ μέγας ποταμὸς ἐς τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ἐκδιδοῖ. τούτων ὁ Ἀκεσίνης ἐμπλησθεὶς καὶ τῇ ἐπικλήσει ἐκνικήσας αὐτὸς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δὴ οὐνόματι ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν. [11] κωφὴν δὲ ἐν Πευκελαΐτιδι, ἅμα οἱ ἄγων Μάλαντόν τε καὶ Σόαστον καὶ Γαρροῖαν, ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν. [12] κατύπερθε δὲ τούτων Πάρενος καὶ Σάπαρνος, οὐ πολὺ διέχοντες, ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν. Σόανος δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὀρεινῆς τῆς Ἀβισσαρέων ἔρημος ἄλλου ποταμοῦ ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτόν. καὶ τούτων τοὺς πολλοὺς Μεγασθένης λέγει ὅτι πλωτοὶ εἰσιν. [13] οὐκ οὐκ ἀπιστὴν χρὴ ἔχειν ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ τοῦ Γάγγεω, μηδὲ συμβλητοὺς εἶναι αὐτοῖσι τὸν τε Ἰστρον καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον. [14] ἐς μὲν γε τὸν Νεῖλον οὐδένα ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόντα ἴδμεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διώρυχας τετμημένας κατὰ τὴν χώραν τὴν Αἰγυπτίην: [15] ὁ δὲ Ἰστρος ὀλίγος μὲν ἀνίσχει ἀπὸ τῶν πηγέων, δέκεται δὲ πολλοὺς ποταμούς, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ πλήθει ἴσους τοῖσιν Ἰνδῶν ποταμοῖσιν, οἱ τὸν Ἰνδόν καὶ τὸν Γάγγεα ἐκδιδοῦσι, πλωτοὺς δὲ δὴ κάρτα ὀλίγους, ὧν τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἰδὼν οἶδα, τὸν Ἐνον τε καὶ τὸν Σάον. [16] Ἐνος μὲν ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς Νωρικῶν καὶ Ῥαιτῶν γῆς μίγνυται τῷ Ἰστρῷ, ὁ δὲ Σάος κατὰ Παίονας. ὁ δὲ χῶρος, ἵναπερ. συμβάλλουσιν οἱ ποταμοί, Ταυροῦνος καλέεσθαι. ὅστις δὲ καὶ ἄλλον οἶδε ναυσίπορον τῶν ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον ἐκδιδόντων, ἀλλὰ οὐ πολλοὺς κου οἶδε.

τὸ δὲ αἴτιον ὅστις ἐθέλει φράζειν τοῦ πλήθεός τε καὶ μεγέθους τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ποταμῶν, φραζέτω: ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ [p. 6] ταῦτα ὡς ἀκοῇ ἀναγεγράφθω. [2] ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ποταμῶν οὐνόματα Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψεν, οἱ ἔξω τοῦ Γάγγεω τε καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκδιδοῦσιν: ἐς τὸν ἐφ' ὃν τε καὶ μεσαμβρινὸν πόντον, ὥστε τοὺς πάντας ὀκτὼ καὶ πεντήκοντα λέγει ὅτι εἰσὶν Ἰνδικοὶ ποταμοί, ναυσίποροι πάντες. [3] ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ Μεγασθένης τὴν πολλὴν δοκεῖ μοι ἐπελθεῖν τῆς Ἰνδῶν χώρας, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι πλεῦνα ἢ οἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ [τῷ Φιλίππῳ] ἐπῆλθεν: συγγενέσθαι γὰρ Σανδρακόττῳ λέγει, τῷ μεγίστῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ πόρῳ, ἔτι τούτου μέζονι. [4] οὗτος ὧν ὁ Μεγασθένης λέγει, οὔτε Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιστρατεῦσαι οὐδαμοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν, οὔτε Ἰνδοῖσιν ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, [5] ἀλλὰ Σέσωστρον μὲν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, τῆς Ἀσίης καταστρεψάμενον τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην σὺν στρατιῇ [6] ἐλάσαντα ὀπίσω ἀπονοστήσαι, Ἰδάνθυρσον δὲ τὸν Σκύθεα ἐκ Σκυθίας ὀρμηθέντα πολλὰ μὲν Ἀσίης ἔθνεα καταστρέψασθαι, ἐπελθεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων γῆν κρατέοντα. [7] Σεμίραμιν δὲ τὴν Ἀσσυρίην ἐπιχειρεῖν μὲν στέλλεσθαι ἐς Ἰνδοὺς, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ πρὶν τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖσι βουλευμάσιν. ἀλλὰ Ἀλεξάνδρον γὰρ στρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς μῶνον. [8] χαί προ Ἀλεξάνδρου Διονύσου μὲν περί πολλὸς λόγος κατέχει ὡς καὶ τούτου στρατεύσαντος ἐς Ἰνδοὺς καὶ καταστρεψαμένου Ἰνδοῦς, Ἡρακλέος δὲ περί οὐ πολλός. [9] Διονύσου μὲν γε τῆς στρατηλασίης καὶ Νῦσα πόλις μνημα οὐ φαῦλον, καὶ ὁ

Μηρὸς τὸ οὖρος, καὶ ὁ κισσὸς ὅστις ἐν τῷ οὐρεῖ τούτῳ φύεται, καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἴνδοι ὑπὸ τυμπάνων τε καὶ κυμβάλων στελλόμενοι ἐς τὰς μάχας, καὶ ἐσθῆς αὐτοῖσι κατάστικτος ἐοῦσα, κατάπερ τοῦ Διονύσου τοῖσι βάκχοισιν: Ἡρακλῆος δὲ οὐ πολλὰ ὑπομνήματα. [10] ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἄορνον γὰρ πέτρην, ἣντινα Ἀλέξανδρος βίῃ ἐχειρώσατο, ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς οὐ δυνατὸς ἐγένετο ἐξελεῖν, μακεδονικὸν [p. 7] δοκέει μοι κόμπασμα, κατάπερ ὧν καὶ τὸν Παραπάμοσον Καύκασον ἐκάλεον Μακεδόνες, οὐδὲν τι προσήκοντα τούτῳ τῷ Καυκάσῳ. [11] καὶ τι καὶ ἄντρον ἐπιφρασθέντες ἐν Παραπαμισάδῃσι, τοῦτο ἔφασαν ἐκεῖνο εἶναι τοῦ Προμηθεὸς τοῦ Τιτηνὸς τὸ ἄντρον, ἐν ᾧ ἐκρέματο ἐπὶ τῇ κλοπῇ τοῦ πυρός. [12] καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν Σίβησιν, Ἰνδικῷ γένει, ὅτι δορὰς ἀμπεχομένους εἶδον τοὺς Σίβας, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλῆος στρατηλασίης ἔφασκον τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας εἶναι τοὺς Σίβας: καὶ γὰρ καὶ σκυτάλην φορέουσιν οἱ Σίβαι, καὶ τῇσι βουσὶν αὐτῶν ρόπαλον ἐπικέκαυται, καὶ τοῦτο ἐς μνήμην ἀνέφερον τοῦ ροπάλου τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος. [13] εἰ δέ τῳ πιστὰ ταῦτα, ἄλλος ἂν οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς εἴη, οὐχ ὁ Θηβαῖος ἢ ὁ Τύριος ἢ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἢ τις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄνω χώραν τὴν οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ὥκισμένην μέγας βασιλεὺς.

ταῦτα μὲν μοι ἐκβολὴ ἔστω τοῦ λόγου ἐς τὸ μὴ πιστὰ φαίνεσθαι ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ποταμοῦ Ἰνδῶν μετεξέτεροι ἀνέγραψαν: ἔστε γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑφασιν οἱ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηλασίης μετασχόντες οὐ πάντῃ ἄπιστοί εἰσιν. [2] ἐπεὶ καὶ τόδε λέγει Μεγασθένης ὑπὲρ ποταμοῦ Ἰνδικοῦ, Σίλαν μὲν εἶναι οἱ οὖνομα, ῥέειν δὲ ἀπὸ κρήνης ἐπωνύμου τοῦ ποταμοῦ διὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς Σιλέων, καὶ τούτων ἐπωνύμων τοῦ ποταμοῦ τε καὶ τῆς κρήνης, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ παρέχεσθαι τοιόνδε. [3] οὐδὲν εἶναι ὅτῳ ἀντέχει τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ οὔτε τι νήχεσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ οὔτε τι ἐπιπλέειν, ἀλλὰ πάντα γὰρ ἐς βυσσὸν δύεντι: οὕτω τι ἀμεννότερον πάντων εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἡεροειδέστερον. [4] ὕεται δὲ ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ τοῦ θέρεος, μάλιστα μὲν τὰ οὖρεα, Παραπάμισός τε καὶ Ἡμωδός καὶ τὸ Ἰμαϊκὸν οὖρος, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων μεγάλοι καὶ θολεροὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ ῥέουσιν. [5] ὕεται δὲ τοῦ θέρεος καὶ τὰ πεδία τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὥστε λιμνάζει τὰ πολλὰ [p. 8] αὐτῶν. καὶ ἔφυγεν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ μέσου θέρεος, ὑπερβαλόντος τοῦ [6] ὕδατος ἐς τὰ πεδία, ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶνδε ἔξεστι τεκμηριοῦσθαι καὶ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ πάθημα, ὅτι οἰκὸς ὕεσθαι τὰ Αἰθιοπῶν οὖρεα τοῦ θέρεος, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἐμπιμπλάμενον τὸν Νεῖλον ὑπερβάλλειν ὑπὲρ τὰρ ὄχθας ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Αἰγυπτίην. [7] θολερὸς ὧν καὶ οὗτος ῥέει ἐν τῇδε τῇ ὥρῃ, ὥς οὔτε ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος τηκομένης ἔρρεεν, οὔτε εἰ πρὸς τῶν ὥρῃ θέρεος πνεόντων ἐτησίῳ ἀνέμων ἀνεκόπτετό οἱ τὸ ὕδωρ: ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ χιονόβλητα εἴη τὰ Αἰθιοπῶν οὖρεα ὑπὸ καύματος. [8] ὕεσθαι δὲ κατάπερ τὰ Ἰνδῶν οὐκ ἔξω ἐστὶ τοῦ οἰκότος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰλλα ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ οὐκ ἀπέοικε τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ οἱ Ἰνδικοὶ ὁμοίως τῷ Νεῖλῳ τῷ Αἰθιοπηῖ τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίῳ κροκοδείλους τε φέρουσιν, ἔστιν δὲ οἱ αὐτῶν καὶ ἰχθύας καὶ ἄλλα κήτεια ὅσα ὁ Νεῖλος, πλὴν ἵππου τοῦ ποταμίου: Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ καὶ ἵππους τοὺς ποταμίους λέγει ὅτι φέρουσι. [9] τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων αἱ ιδεαὶ οὐ πάντῃ ἀπάδουσιν αἱ Ἰνδῶν τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς νότου ἀνέμου Ἴνδοι τοῖσιν Αἰθίοψι μᾶλλον τι εἰκόασι, μέλανές τε ιδέσθαι εἰσὶ, καὶ ἡ κόμη αὐτοῖσι μέλαινα, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι σιμοὶ οὐκ ὡσάυτως οὐδὲ οὐλόκρανοι ὥς

Αιθίοπες: οἱ δὲ βορειότεροι αὐτῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίους μάλιστα ἂν εἶεν τὰ σώματα.

ἔθνεα δὲ Ἰνδικὰ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τὰ πάντα λέγει ^[25] Μεγασθένης, δυοῖν δέοντα. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἶναι ἔθνεα Ἰνδικὰ καὶ αὐτὸς συμφέρομαι Μεγασθένει, τὸ δὲ ἀτρεκὲς. οὐκ ἔχω εἰκάσαι ὅπως ἐκμαθὼν ἀνέγραψεν, οὔτε πολλοστὸν μέρος τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἐπελθὼν, οὔτε ἐπιμιξίης πᾶσι τοῖσι γένεσιν εἰσῆς ἄλληλα. ^[2] πάλαι μὲν δὴ νομάδας εἶναι Ἰνδοὺς, κατάπερ Σκυθῶν τοὺς οὐκ ^[p. 9] ἄροτῆρας, οἱ ἐν τῇσιν ἀμάξῃσι πλανεῦμενοι ἄλλοτε ἄλλην τῆς Σκυθίης ἀμείβουσιν, οὔτε πόλιας οἰκέοντες οὔτε ἰρὰ θεῶν σέβοντες. ^[3] οὕτω μὴδὲ Ἰνδοῖσι πόλιας εἶναι μὴδὲ ἰρὰ θεῶν δεδομημένα, ἀλλὰ ἀμπίσχεσθαι μὲν δορὰς θηρίων ὅσων κατακάνοιεν, σιτέεσθαι δὲ τῶν δενδρέων τὸν φλοιόν. καλέεσθαι δὲ τὰ δένδρεα ταῦτα τῇ Ἰνδῶν φωνῇ τάλα, καὶ φύεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν, κατάπερ τῶν φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῇσι κορυφήσιν, οἷά περ τολύπας. ^[4] σιτέεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅσα ἔλοιεν ὠμοφαγέοντας, πρὶν γε δὴ Διόνυσον ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἰνδῶν. ^[5] Διόνυσον δὲ ἐλθόντα, ὡς καρτερὸς ἐγένετο Ἰνδῶν, πόλιάς τε οἰκίσαι καὶ νόμους θέσθαι τῇσι πόλισιν, οἴνου τε δοτῆρα Ἰνδοῖσι γενέσθαι κατάπερ Ἑλλήσι, καὶ σπείρειν διδάξαι τὴν γῆν διδόντα αὐτὸν σπέρματα, ^[6] ἢ οὐκ ἐλάσαντος ταύτῃ Τριπτολέμου, ὅτε περ ἐκ Δήμητρος ἐστάλη σπείρειν γῆν πᾶσαν, ἢ πρὸ Τριπτολέμου τις οὗτος Διόνυσος ἐπελθὼν τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν σπέρματά σφισιν ἔδωκε καρποῦ τοῦ ἡμέρου. ^[7] βόας τε ὑπ' ἄροτρον ζεύξαι Διόνυσον πρῶτον, καὶ ἄροτῆρας ἀντὶ νομάδων ποιῆσαι Ἰνδῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ ὀπλίσιαι ὀπλοῖσι τοῖσιν ἀρηίοισι. ^[8] καὶ θεοὺς σέβειν ὅτι ἐδίδαξε Διόνυσος ἄλλους τε καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ἑωυτὸν κυμβαλίζοντας καὶ τυμπανίζοντας: καὶ ὄρχησιν δὲ διδάξαι τὴν σατυρικὴν, ^[9] τὸν κόρδακα παρ' Ἑλλήσι καλεόμενον, καὶ κομᾶν Ἰνδοὺς τῷ θεῷ. μιτρηφορέειν τε ἀναδεῖξαι, καὶ μύρων ἀλοιφὰς ἐκδιδάξαι.

ἀπλέοντα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ὥς οἱ ταῦτα ἐκεκοσμητο, καταστῆσαι βασιλέα τῆς χώρας Σπατέμβαν, τῶν ἐταίρων τὸν βακχωδέστατον: τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σπατέμβα τὴν βασιληίην ἐκδέξασθαι Βουδύαν τὸν τούτου παῖδα. ^[2] καὶ τὸν μὲν πεντήκοντα καὶ δύο ἔτεα βασιλεῦσαι ^[p. 10] Ἰνδῶν, τὸν πατέρα, τὸν δὲ παῖδα εἴκοσιν ἔτεα. καὶ τούτου παῖδα ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην Κραδεύαν, ^[3] καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τὸ πολλὸν μὲν κατὰ γένος ἀμείβειν τὴν βασιληίην, παῖδα παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενον: εἰ δὲ ἐκλείποι τὸ γένος, οὕτω δὴ ἀριστίνδην κατίστασθαι Ἰνδοῖσι βασιλέας. ^[4] Ἡρακλέα δέ, ὄντινα ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀπικέσθαι λόγος κατέχει, παρ' αὐτοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσι γηγενέα λέγεσθαι. ^[5] τοῦτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα πρὸς Σουρασηνῶν γεραίρεσθαι, Ἰνδικοῦ ἔθνεος, ἵνα δύο πόλιες μεγάλαι, Μέθορά τε καὶ Κλεισόβορα: καὶ ποταμὸς Ἰωβάρης πλωτὸς διαρρέει τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. ^[6] τὴν σκευὴν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἦντινα ἐφόρει Μεγασθένης λέγει ὅτι ὁμοίην τῷ Θηβαίῳ Ἡρακλεῖ, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπηγέονται. καὶ τούτῳ ἄρσενας μὲν παῖδας πολλοὺς κάρτα γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ — πολλῇσι γὰρ δὴ γυναιξίν ἐς γάμον ἐλθεῖν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα —, θυγατέρα δὲ μουνογενήν. οὖνομα δὲ εἶναι τῇ παιδί Πανδαίην, καὶ τὴν χώραν. ^[7] ἵνα τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἥστινος ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῇ ἄρχειν Ἡρακλῆς, τῆς παιδὸς ἐπώνυμον. καὶ ταύτῃ ἐλέφαντας μὲν γενέσθαι

ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς πεντακοσίους, ἵππον δὲ ἐς τετρακισχίλιν, πεζῶν δὲ ἐς τὰς τρισκαίδεκα μυριάδας. [8] καὶ τάδε δὲ μετεξέτεροι Ἴνδων περὶ Ἡρακλέος λέγουσιν, ἐπελθόντα αὐτὸν πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν καὶ καθήραντα ὃ τι περ κακόν, καινὸν εἶδος ἐξευρεῖν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ κόσμου γυναικίου, [9] ὄντινα καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ἔτι οἱ τε ἐξ Ἴνδων τῆς χώρας τὰ ἀγώγιμα παρ' ἡμέας ἀγινέοντες σπουδῇ ὠνεόμενοι ἐκκομίζουσι, [10] καὶ Ἑλλήνων δὲ πάλαι καὶ Ῥωμαίων νῦν ὅσοι πολυκτέανοι καὶ εὐδαίμονες μέζονι ἔτι σπουδῇ ὠνεύονται τὸν μαργαρίτην δὴ τὰν θαλάσσιον οὕτω τῇ Ἴνδων γλώσῃ καλεόμενον. τὸν γὰρ Ἡρακλέα, ὡς καλὸν οἱ ἐφάνη τὸ φόρημα, ἐκ πάσης θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἴνδων δυναγινέειν [p. 11] τὸν μαργαρίτην δὴ τοῦτον, τῇ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι κόσμον. [11] καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, θηρεύεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν κόγχην δικτύοις, νέμεσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὸ πολλὰς κόγχας, κατὰπερ τὰς μελίσσας. καὶ εἶναι γὰρ καὶ τοῖσι μαργαρίτησι βασιλέα ἢ βασίλισσαν, ὡς τῆσι μελίσσησι. [12] καὶ ὅστις μὲν ἐκεῖνον κατ' ἐπιτυχίην συλλάβοι, τοῦτον μὲν εὐπετέως περιβάλλειν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σμῆνος τῶν μαργαριτέων· εἰ δὲ διαφύγοι σφᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς, τούτοις δὲ οὐκέτι θηρατοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἄλλους. τοὺς ἐλόντας δὲ περιορᾶν κατασαπῆναι σφισι τὴν σάρκα, τῷ δὲ ὀστέῳ ἐς κόσμον χρᾶσθαι. [13] καὶ εἶναι γὰρ καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖσι τὸν μαργαρίτην τριστάσιον κατὰ τιμὴν πρὸς χρυσίον τὸ ἄπεφθον, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Ἴνδων γῇ ὀρυσσόμενον.

ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, ἵνα ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ἐπταέτεας εὐούσας ἐς ὥρην γάμου ἰέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεα τὰ πλεῖστα βιώσκεσθαι. [2] καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου λεγόμενον λόγον εἶναι παρὰ Ἰνδοῖσιν. Ἡρακλέα, ὀνιγόνου οἱ γενομένης τῆς παιδός, ἐπεὶ τε δὴ ἐγγὺς ἔμαθεν ἑωυτῷ εὐούσαν τὴν τελευταίην, οὐκ ἔχοντα ὅτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐκδῶ τὴν παῖδα ἑωυτοῦ ἐπαξίῳ, αὐτὸν μιγῆναι τῇ παιδί ἐπταέτει εὐούσῃ, ὡς γένος ἐξ οὗ τε κακείνης ὑπολείπεσθαι Ἰνδὼν βασιλέας. ποιῆσαι ὦν αὐτὴν Ἡρακλέα ὠραίην γάμου· [3] καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε ἅπαν τὸ γένος τοῦτο ὅτου ἡ Πανδαίη ὑπῆρξε τὸν τοῦτο γέρας ἔχειν παρὰ Ἡρακλέος. [4] ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, εἴπερ ὦν τὰ ἐς τοσόνδε ἄτοπα Ἡρακλέης οἷός τε ἦν ἐξεργάζεσθαι, κἂν ἑωυτὸν ἀποφῆναι μακροβιώτερον, ὡς ὠραίῃ μιγῆναι τῇ παιδί. [5] ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὥρης τῶν ταύτῃ παίδων ἀτρεκέα ἐς τὸν τοῦτον φέρειν δοκεῖ ἔμοιγε ἐς ὃ τι περ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς ἡλικίης ὅτι τεσσαρακοντούτεες ἀποθνήσκουσιν [p. 12] οἱ πρεσβύτατοι αὐτῶν. [6] οἷς γὰρ τό τε γῆρας τοσῶδε ταχύτερον ἐπέρχεται καὶ ὁ θάνατος ὁμοῦ τῷ γῆραί, πάντως κου καὶ ἡ ἀκμὴ πρὸς λόγον τοῦ τέλους ταχύτερῃ ἐπανθέει. [7] ὥστε τριακοντούτεες μὲν ὁμογέροντες ἂν κου εἶεν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ ἄνδρες, εἴκοσι δὲ ἔτεα γεγονότες οἱ ἕξω ἥβης νεηνίσκοι, ἡ δὲ ἀκροτάτῃ ἥβῃ ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεα· καὶ τῆσι γυναιξὶν ὥρῃ γάμου κατὰ λόγον ἂν ἐς τὰ ἑπτὰ ἔτεα συμβαίνοι. [8] καὶ γὰρ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρῃ πεπαίνεσθαι τε ταχύτερον τῶν ἄλλῃ ὡυτὸς οὗτος Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψε καὶ φθίνειν ταχύτερον. [9] ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Διονύσου βασιλέας ἡρίθμεον Ἰνδοὶ ἐς Σανδράκοττον τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ἔτεα δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑξακισχίλια· ἐν δὲ τούτοις τρεῖς τὸ πᾶν ἐς ἐλευθερίην τὴν δὲ καὶ ἐς τριηκόσια· τὴν δὲ εἴκοσιν τε ἐτέων καὶ ἑκατόν. πρεσβύτερόν τε Διόνυσον Ἡρακλέος δέκα καὶ πέντε γενεῇσιν Ἰνδοὶ λέγουσιν· [10] ἄλλον δὲ

οὐδένα ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, οὐδὲ Κῦρον τὸν Καμβύσεω, καίτοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλάσαντα καὶ τᾶλλα πολυπραγμονέστατον δὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίην βασιλέων γενόμενον τὸν Κῦρον. [11] ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τε καὶ κρατῆσαι πάντων τοῖσιν ὅπλοισιν, ὅσους γε δὴ ἐπῆλθε: καὶ ἂν καὶ πάντων κρατῆσαι, εἰ ἡ στρατιὴ ἤθελεν. [12] οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ Ἰνδῶν τινὰ ἐξω τῆς οἰκῆς σταλῆναι ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διὰ δικαιοσύνην.

λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, μνημῖα ὅτι Ἰνδοὶ τοῖσι τελευτήσασιν οὐ ποιέουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἱκανὰς ἐς μνήμην τίθενται τοῖσιν ἀποθανοῦσι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εἰ αὐτοῖσιν ἐπάδονται. [2] πολίων δὲ ἀριθμὸν οὐκ εἶναι ἂν ἀτρεκέες ἀναγράψαι τῷ Ἰνδικῶν ὑπὸ πλήθεος. [p. 13] ταύτας μὲν ξυλίνας ποιέεσθαι: [3] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐκ πλίνθου ποιεομένας διαρκέσαι ἐπὶ χρόνον τοῦ τε ὕδατος εἵνεκα τοῦ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὅτι οἱ ποταμοὶ αὐτοῖσιν ὑπερβάλλοντες ὑπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας ἐμπιμπλάσῃ τοῦ ὕδατος τὰ πεδία. [4] ὅσαι δὲ ἐν ὑπερδεξιοσίᾳ τε καὶ μετεώροισι τόποισι καὶ τούτοις ψιλοῖσιν ὥκισμέναι εἰσί, ταύτας δὲ ἐκ πλίνθου τε καὶ πηλοῦ ποιέεσθαι. [5] μεγίστην δὲ πόλιν ἐν Ἰνδοῖσιν εἶναι τὴν Παλίμβοθρα καλεομένην, ἐν τῇ Πρασιῶν γῇ, ἵνα αἱ συμβολαὶ εἰσι τοῦ τε Ἑρραννοβόα ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Γάγγεω: τοῦ μὲν Γάγγεω, τοῦ μεγίστου ποταμῶν: ὁ δὲ Ἑρραννοβόας τρίτος μὲν ἂν εἴη τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ποταμῶν, μέζων δὲ τῶν ἄλλῃ καὶ οὗτος. ἀλλὰ συγχωρεῖ τῷ Γάγγῃ, ἐπειδὴν ἐμβάλλῃ ἐς αὐτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ. [6] καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, μήκος μὲν ἐπέχειν τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐκατέρην τὴν πλευρὴν ἵνα περ μακροτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς ὥκισται ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα. [7] τάφρον δὲ περιβεβληθῆσθαι τὴν πόλιν τὸ εὖρος ἐξάπλεθρον, τὸ δὲ βάθος τριήκοντα πήχεων: πύργους δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακοσίους ἔχειν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πύλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἐξήκοντα. [8] εἶναι δὲ καὶ τότε μέγα ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ, πάντας Ἰνδοὺς εἶναι ἐλευθέρους, οὐδέ τινα δοῦλον εἶναι Ἰνδόν. τοῦτο μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοισιν ἐς τωὐτὸ συμβαίνει καὶ Ἰνδοῖσι. [9] Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν γε οἱ εἰλωτες δοῦλοι εἰσι καὶ τὰ δουλῶν ἐργάζονται, Ἰνδοῖσι δὲ οὐδὲ ἄλλος δοῦλός ἐστι, μήτι γε Ἰνδῶν τις.

γενέμηνται δὲ οἱ πάντες Ἰνδοὶ ἐς ἑπτὰ μάλιστα γένηα. ἐν μὲν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ σοφισταὶ εἰσι, πλήθει μὲν μείους τῶν ἄλλων, δόξῃ δὲ καὶ τιμῇ γεραρώτατοι: [2] οὔτε γὰρ τι τῷ σώματι ἐργάζεσθαι ἀναγκαίῃ σφιν προσκέεται οὔτε τι ἀποφέρειν: ἀπ' ὅτων πονέουσιν ἐς τὸ κοινόν. οὐδέ τι ἄλλο ἀναγκαίης ἀπλῶς ἐπεῖται τοῖσι σοφιστῇσιν, [p. 14] ὅτι μὴ θύειν τὰς θυσίας τοῖσι θεοῖσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν: [3] ὅστις δὲ ἰδίᾳ θύει, ἐξηγητὴς αὐτῷ τῆς θυσίης τῶν τις σοφιστέων τούτων γίνεται, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως κεχαρισμένα τοῖσι θεοῖσι θύσαντι. [4] εἰσὶ σὲ καὶ μαντικῆς οὗτοι μοῦνοι Ἰνδῶν δαήμονες, οὐδὲ ἐπεῖται ἄλλῳ μαντεύεσθαι ὅτι μὴ σοφιστὴ ἀνδρὶ. [5] μαντεύονται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὥρέων τοῦ ἔτεος καὶ εἴ τις τὸ κοινὸν συμφορὴ καταλαμβάνοι: τὰ δὲ ἴδια ἐκάστοισιν οὐ σφιν μέλει μαντεύεσθαι, ἢ ὥς οὐκ ἐξικνεομένης τῆς μαντικῆς ἐς τὰ σμικρότερα, ἢ ὥς οὐκ ἄξιον ἐὼν ἐπὶ τούτοις πονέεσθαι. [6] ὅστις δὲ ἀμάρτοι ἐς τρεῖς μαντεύσάμενος, τούτῳ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν κακὸν γίνεσθαι οὐδέν, σιωπᾶν δὲ εἶναι ἐπ' ἀναγκῆς τοῦ λοιποῦ: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἐξαναγκάσει τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον φωνῆσαι, ὅτου σιωπὴ κατακέκριται. [7] οὗτοι γυμνοὶ διαιτέονται οἱ

σοφισταί, τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος, ἔπεαν ὁ ἥλιος κατέχη, ἐν τοῖσι λειμῶσι καὶ τοῖσιν ἔλεσιν ὑπὸ δένδρεσι μεγάλοισιν, ὧν τὴν σκιὴν Νέαρχος λέγει ἐς πέντε πλέθρα ἐν κύκλῳ ἐξικνεῖσθαι, καὶ ἂν καὶ μυρίους ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ ἐνὶ δένδρεϊ σκιάζεσθαι: τηλικαῦτα εἶναι ταῦτα τὰ δένδρεα. [8] σιτέονται δὲ τὰ ὥραϊα καὶ τὸν φλοιὸν τῶν δενδρέων, γλυκύν τε ἔοντα τὸν φλοιὸν καὶ τρόφιμον οὐ μείον ἥπερ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων. [9] δευτέροι δ' ἐπὶ τούτοισιν οἱ γεωργοὶ εἰσιν, πλήθει πλεῖστοι Ἰνδῶν ἔοντες. καὶ τούτοισιν οὔτε ὄπλα ἐστὶν ἀρήια οὔτε μέλει πολεμῆια ἔργα, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν οὗτοι ἐργάζονται, καὶ τοὺς φόρους τοῖσι τε βασιλεῦσι καὶ τῇσι πόλισιν, ὅσαι αὐτόνομοι, οὗτοι ἀποφέρουσι. [10] καὶ εἰ πόλεμος ἐς ἀλλήλους τοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσι τύχοι, τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὴν γῆν οὐ θέμις σφιν ἅπτεσθαι οὐδὲ αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν τέμνειν, ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν πολεμέουσι καὶ κατακαίνουσιν ἀλλήλους ὅπως τύχοιεν, οἱ δὲ πλησίον [p. 15] αὐτῶν κατ' ἡσυχίαν ἀροῦσιν ἢ τρυγέουσιν ἢ κλαδέουσιν ἢ θερίζουσιν. [11] τρίτοι δὲ εἰσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ νομέες, οἱ ποιμένες τε καὶ οἱ βουκόλοι. καὶ οὗτοι οὔτε κατὰ πόλιας οὔτε ἐν τῇσι κώμησιν οἰκέουσι, νομάδες δὲ εἰσι καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ οὖρεα βιοτεύουσι, φόρον δὲ οὗτοι ἀπὸ τῶν κτηνῶν ἀποφέρουσι, καὶ θηρεύουσιν οὗτοι ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ὄρνιθας τε καὶ ἄγρια θηρία.

τέταρτον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ δημιουργικὸν τε καὶ καπηλικὸν γένος. καὶ οὗτοι λειτουργοὶ εἰσι, καὶ φόρον ἀποφέρουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῶν σφετέρων, πλήν γε δὴ ὅσοι τὰ ἀρήια ὄπλα ποιεῖουσιν. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ προσλαμβάνουσιν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γένει οἱ τε ναυπηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ναυταί εἰσιν, ὅσοι γε κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς πλώουσι. [2] πέμπτον δὲ γένος ἐστὶν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ πολεμισταί, πλήθει μὲν δεύτερον μετὰ τοὺς γεωργούς, πλείστη δὲ ἐλευθερίῃ τε καὶ εὐθυμίῃ χρεόμενον. οὗτοι ἀσκηταὶ μούνων τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων εἰσὶ. [3] τὰ δὲ ὄπλα ἄλλοι αὐτοῖσι ποιεῖουσι, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἄλλοι παρέχουσι, καὶ διακονέουσιν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδῳ ἄλλοι, οἱ τοὺς τε ἵππους αὐτοῖσι θεραπεύουσι καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐκκαθαίρουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἄγουσι καὶ τὰ ἄρματα κοσμέουσι τε καὶ ἡνιοχεύουσιν. [4] αὐτοὶ δέ, ἔστ' ἂν μὲν πολεμέειν δέη, πολεμέουσιν, εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης εὐθυμέονται: καὶ σφιν μισθὸς ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοσόσδε ἔρχεται, ὥς καὶ ἄλλους τρέφειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εὐμαρέως. ἔκτοι δὲ εἰσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καλεόμενοι. [5] οὗτοι ἐφορέουσι τὰ γινόμενα κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ κατὰ τὰς πόλιας, καὶ ταῦτα ἀναγγέλλουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἵναπερ βασιλεύονται Ἰνδοί, ἢ τοῖσι τέλεσιν, ἵναπερ αὐτόνομοί [p. 16] εἰσι. καὶ τούτοισιν οὐ θέμις ψεῦδος ἀναγγεῖλαι οὐδέν, οὐδέ τις Ἰνδῶν αἰτίην ἔσχε ψεῦσασθαι. [6] ἑβδομοὶ δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευόμενοι ὁμοῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἢ κατὰ τὰς πόλιας ὅσαι αὐτόνομοι σὺν τῇσιν ἀρχῇσι. [7] πλήθει μὲν ὀλίγον τὸ γένος τοῦτό ἐστι, σοφίῃ δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ ἐκ πάντων προκεκριμένον. ἔνθεν οἱ τε ἄρχοντες αὐτοῖσιν ἐπιλέγονται καὶ ὅσοι νόμαρχοι καὶ ὑπαρχοὶ καὶ θησαυροφύλακες τε καὶ στρατοφύλακες, ναύαρχοι τε καὶ ταμίαι καὶ τῶν κατὰ γεωργίαν ἔργων ἐπιστάται. [8] γαμέειν δὲ ἐξ ἐτέρου γένεος οὐ θέμις, οἷον τοῖσι γεωργοῖσιν ἐκ τοῦ δημιουργικοῦ ἢ ἔμπαλιν. οὐδὲ δύο τέχνας ἐπιτηδεύειν τὸν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τοῦτο θέμις, οὐδὲ ἀμείβειν ἕτερον ἐξ ἐτέρου γένος, οἷον γεωργικὸν ἐκ νομέος γίνεσθαι, ἢ νομέα ἐκ δημιουργικοῦ. [9]

μοῦνόν σφισιν ἀνέϊται σοφιστὴν ἐκ παντὸς γένεος γίνεσθαι, ὅτι οὐ μαλθακά τοῖσι σοφιστῆσιν ἐστὶ τὰ πρήγματα ἀλλὰ πάντων ταλαιπωρότατα.

Θηρέουσι δὲ Ἴνδοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἄγρια θηρία κατάπερ καὶ Ἑλληνες, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων σφιν θήρη οὐδέν τι ἄλλη ἔοικεν, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα τὰ θηρία οὐδαμοῖσιν ἄλλοις θηρίοις ἐπέοικεν. [2] ἀλλὰ τόπον γὰρ ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἄπεδον καὶ καυματώδεα ἐν κύκλῳ τάφρον ὀρύσσουσιν, ὅσον μεγάλῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἐναυλίσασθαι. τῆς δὲ τάφρου τὸ εὖρος ἐς πέντε ὀργυιάς ποιέονται, βάθος τε ἐς τέσσαρας. [3] τὸν δὲ χόον ὄντινα ἐκβάλλουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖλα ἐκάτερα τῆς τάφρου ἐπιφορήσαντες ἀντὶ [4] τείχεος διαχρέονται, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλεος τοῦ ἔξω τῆς τάφρου σκηνάς σφιν ὀρυκτὰς ποιέονται, καὶ διὰ τούτων ὅπας ὑπολείπονται: δι' ὧν φάος τε αὐτοῖσιν ἐσέρχεται καὶ τὰ θηρία προσάγοντα καὶ ἐσελαύνοντα ἐς τὸ ἔρκος σκέπτονται. [5] ἐνθαῦτα ἐντὸς [p. 17] τοῦ ἔρκους καταστήσαντες τῶν τινος θηλέων τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας, ὅσαι μάλιστα τὸν θυμὸν χειροήθεις, μίαν ἔσοδον ἀπολιμπάνουσι κατὰ τὴν τάφρον, γεφυρώσαντες τὴν τάφρον: καὶ ταύτῃ χόον τε καὶ ποίην πολλὴν ἐπιφορέουσι τοῦ μὴ ἀρίδην εἶναι τοῖσι θηρίοις τὴν γέφυραν, μὴ τίνα δόλον οἰσθῶσιν. [6] αὐτοὶ μὲν ὧν ἐκποδὼν σφᾶς ἔχουσι κατὰ τῶν σκηνέων τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ δεδυκότες, οἱ δὲ ἄγριοι ἐλέφαντες ἡμέρης μὲν οὐ πελάζουσι τοῖσιν οἰκεομένοις, νύκτωρ δὲ πλανέονται τε πάντῃ καὶ ἀγελῆδόν νέμονται τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ γενναιοτάτῳ σφῶν ἐπόμενοι, κατάπερ αἱ βόες τοῖσι ταύροις. [7] ἐπεὰν ὧν τῷ ἔρκει πελάσωσι, τὴν τε φωνὴν ἀκούοντες τῶν θηλέων καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ αἰσθόμενοι, δρόμῳ ἵενται ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν χώρον τὸν πεφραγμένον: ἐκπεριελθόντες δὲ τῆς τάφρου τὰ χεῖλα εὐτ' ἂν τῇ γεφύρῃ ἐπιτύχωσι. κατὰ ταύτην ἐς τὸ ἔρκος ὠθέονται. [8] οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἔσοδον τῶν ἐλεφάντων τῶν ἀγρίων, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν γέφυραν ὀξέως ἀπειλὸν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πέλας κώμας ἀποδραμόντες ἀγγέλλουσι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἔρκει ἔχονται οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐπιβαίνουσι τῶν κρατίστων τε καὶ χειροθηεστάτων ἐλεφάντων, ἐπιβάντες δὲ ἐλαύνουσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρκος, ἐλάσαντες δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα μάχης ἄπτονται, ἀλλὰ ἐῶσι γὰρ λιμῷ τε ταλαιπωρηθῆναι τοὺς ἀγρίους ἐλέφαντας καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ δίψῃ δουλωθῆναι. [9] εὐτ' ἂν δὲ σφισι κακῶς ἔχειν δοκέωσι, τηνικαῦτα ἐπιστήσαντες αὐθις τὴν γέφυραν ἐλαύνουσί τε ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρκος, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μάχῃ κατίσταται καρτερὴ τοῖσιν ἡμέροισι τῶν ἐλεφάντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐάλωκotas: [10] ἔπειτα κρατέονται μὲν κατὰ τὸ οἶκος οἱ ἄγριοι ὑπὸ τε τῇ ἄθυμῃ καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ταλαιπωρεῦμενοι. [11] οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλεφάντων καταβάντες παρειμένοις ἤδη τοῖσιν ἀγρίοις τοὺς πόδας ἄκρους συνδέουσιν, [p. 18] ἔπειτα ἐγκελεύονται τοῖσιν ἡμέροισι πληγῇσι σφᾶς2κολάζειν πολλῇσιν, ἔστ' ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ταλαιπωρεῦμενοι ἐς γῆν πέσωσι. παραστάντες δὲ βρόχους περιβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖσι κατὰ τοὺς ἀνχένας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιβαίνουσι κειμένοις. [12] τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀποσεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀμβάτας μηδέ τι ἄλλο ἀτάσθαλον ἐργάζεσθαι, τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῖσιν ἐν κύκλῳ μαχαίρῳ ὀξεί ἐπιτέμνουσι, καὶ τὸν βρόχον κατὰ τὴν τομὴν περιδέουσιν, ὡς ἀτρέμα ἔχειν τὴν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔλκεος. [13] εἰ γὰρ περιστρέφοντο ὑπὸ ἀτασθαλίας, τρίβεται αὐτοῖσι τὸ ἔλκος ὑπὸ τῷ κάλῳ. οὕτω ὧν ἀτρέμα

ἴσχουσι, καὶ ταύτῃ γνωσιμαχέοντες

ἤδη ἄγονται πρὸς τῶν ἡμέρων. ὅσοι δὲ νήπιοι αὐτῶν ἢ διὰ κακότητα οὐκ ἄξιοι ἐκτῆσθαι, τούτους ἐῷσιν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἦθεα. [2] ἄγοντες δὲ ἐς τὰς κόμας τοὺς ἀλόντας τοῦ τε χλωροῦ καλάμου καὶ τῆς ποιῆς τὰ πρῶτα ἐμφαγεῖν ἐδοσαν, [3] οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν οὐδὲν σιτέεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ περιεστώμενοι οἱ Ἴνδοι ᾠδῆσί τε καὶ τυμπάνοισι καὶ κυμβάλοισιν κρούοντές τε καὶ ἐπάδοντες κατευνάζουσι. [4] θυμόσοφον γὰρ εἶπερ τι ἄλλο θηρίον ἐλέφας, καὶ τινες ἤδη αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀμβάτας σφῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντας ἄραντες αὐτοὶ ἐξήνεγκαν ἐς ταφὴν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπερήσπισαν κειμένους, οἱ δὲ καὶ πεσόντων προεκινδύνευσαν, ὃ δέ τις πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀποκτείνας τὸν ἀμβάτην ὑπὸ μετανοίης τε καὶ ἀθυμίας ἀπέθανεν. [5] εἶδον δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ κυμβαλίζοντα ἤδη ἐλέφαντα καὶ ἄλλους ὀρχεομένους, κυμβάλου τῷ κυμβαλίζοντι πρὸς τοῖν σκελοῖν τοῖν ἔμπροσθε προσηρτημένου, καὶ πρὸς τῇ προβοσκίδι καλεομένην ἄλλο κύμβαλον· [6] ὃ δὲ ἐν μέρεϊ τῇ προβοσκίδι ἐκρουε τὸ κύμβαλον ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς ἐκατέρω τῶν σκελοῖν, οἱ δὲ ὀρχεόμενοι ἐν κύκλῳ τε ἐχόρευον, καὶ ἐπαίροντές τε καὶ ἐπικάμπτοντες τὰ ἔμπροσθε [p. 19] σκέλεα ἐν τῷ μέρεϊ ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ οὗτοι ἔβαινον, κατ' ὅτι ὁ κυμβαλίζων σφίσιν ὑπηγέετο. [7] βαίνεται δὲ ἐλέφας ἥρος ὥρη, κατάπερ βοῦς ἢ ἵππος, ἐπεὰν τῇσι θηλέησιν αἱ παρὰ τοῖσι κροτάφοις ἀναπνοαὶ ἀνοιχθεῖσαι ἐκπνέωσι. κύει δὲ τοὺς ἐλαχίστους μὲν ἐκκαίδεκα μῆνας, τοὺς πλείστους δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα. τίκτει δὲ ἓν, κατάπερ ἵππος, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκτρέφει τῷ γάλακτι ἐς ἔτος ὄγδοον. [8] ζῶουσι δὲ ἐλεφάντων οἱ πλείστα ἔτεα ζῶοντες ἐς διηκόσια, πολλοὶ δὲ νούσῳ προτελευτέουσιν. [9] καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῖσι τῶν μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν ἵημα βόειον γάλα ἐγχεόμενον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἄλλας νούσους μέλας οἶνος πινόμενος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσιν ἔλκεσι ὕεια κρέα ὀπτέυμενα καὶ καταπλασσόμενα.

[15] τοῦ δὲ ἐλεφάντος τὴν τίγριν πολλόν τι ἀλκιμωτέραν Ἴνδοι ἄγουσι. τίγριος δὲ δορὴν μὲν ἰδεῖν λέγει Νέαρχος, αὐτὴν δὲ τίγριν οὐκ ἰδεῖν· ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ἴνδους γὰρ ἀπηγέεσθαι, τίγριν εἶναι μέγαθος μὲν ἡλικὸν τὸν μέγιστον ἵππον, τὴν δὲ ὠκύτητα καὶ ἀλκὴν οἶν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ εἰκάσαι· [2] ἐπεὰν γὰρ ὁμοῦ ἔλθῃ ἐλέφαντι, ἐπιτηδᾶν τε ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἐλεφάντος καὶ ἄγχειν εὐπετέως. [3] ταύτας δέ, ἅστινας καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀρέομεν καὶ τίγριας καλέομεν, θῶας εἶναι αἰόλους καὶ μέζονας ἤπερ τοὺς ἄλλους θῶας. [4] ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μυρμῆκων λέγει Νέαρχος μύρμηκα μὲν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἰδέειν, ὁκοῖον δὲ τινα μετεξέτεροι διέγραψαν γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ, δορὰς δὲ καὶ τούτων ἰδεῖν πολλὰς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατακομισθείσας τὸ Μακεδονικόν. [5] Μεγασθένης δὲ ἀτρεκέα εἶναι ὑπὲρ τῶν μυρμῆκων τὸν λόγον ἱστορεῖ, τούτους εἶναι τοὺς τὸν χρυσὸν ὀρύσσοντας, οὐκ αὐτοῦ τοῦ χρυσοῦ εἶνεκα, ἀλλὰ φύσι γὰρ κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὀρύσσουσιν, ἵνα φωλεύωσι, κατάπερ οἱ ἡμέτεροι οἱ σμικροὶ μύρμηκες [p. 20] ὀλίγον τῆς γῆς ὀρύσσουσιν. [6] ἐκείνους δέ — εἶναι γὰρ ἀλωπέκων μέζονας — πρὸς λόγον τοῦ μεγάλθεος σφῶν καὶ τὴν γῆν ὀρύσσειν· τὴν δὲ γῆν χρυσίτιν εἶναι, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης γίνεσθαι Ἰνδοῖσι τὸν χρυσόν. [7] ἀλλὰ Μεγασθένης τε ἀκοὴν ἀπηγέεται, καὶ ἐγὼ ὅτι οὐδὲν τούτου ἀτρεκέστερον ἀναγράψαι ἔχω, ἀπὴμι ἐκὼν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μυρμῆκων λόγον. [8] σιττακοὺς δὲ Νέαρχος μὲν ὡς δὴ τι θῶμα ἀπηγέεται ὅτι γίνονται ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν τῇ, καὶ ὁκοῖος

ὄρνις ἐστὶν ὁ σιττακός, καὶ ὅκως φωνὴν ἵει ἀνθρωπίνην. [9] ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι αὐτός τε πολλοὺς ὁπώπεα καὶ ἄλλους ἐπισταμένους ἤδεα τὸν ὄρνιθα, οὐδὲν ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀτόπου δῆθεν ἀπηγγέσομαι· οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν πιθήκων τοῦ μεγάλθεος, ἢ ὅτι καλοὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖσι πίθηκοί εἰσιν, οὐδὲ ὅκως θηρέονται ἐρέω. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα γνῶριμα ἐρέω, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι καλοὶ κου πίθηκοί εἰσι. [10] καὶ ὄφιας δὲ λέγει Νέαρχος θηρευθῆναι αἰόλους μὲν καὶ ταχέας, μέγαθος δέ, ὃν μὲν λέγει ἐλεῖν Πείθωνα τὸν Ἀντιγένεος, πῆχων ὡς ἐκκαίδεκα· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς πολὺ μέζοντας τούτων λέγειν εἶναι τοὺς μεγίστους ὄφιας. [11] ὅσοι δὲ ἰητροὶ Ἑλλήνες, τούτοισιν οὐδὲν ἄκος ἐξεύρητο ὅστις ὑπὸ ὄφιος δηχθεὶς Ἰνδικοῦ· ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἰῶντο τοὺς πληγέντας. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Νέαρχος λέγει ὅτι συλλελεγμένους ἅμφ' ἑαυτὸν εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰνδῶν ὅσοι ἰητρικὴν σοφώτατοι, καὶ ἐκεκήρυκτο ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅστις δηχθείη, ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν φοιτᾶν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως. [12] οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νούσων τε καὶ παθέων ἰητροὶ ἦσαν. οὐ πολλὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰνδοῖσι πάθηα γίνεται, ὅτι αἱ ὥραι σύμμετροί εἰσιν αὐτόθι· εἰ δέ τι μέζον καταλαμβάνοι, τοῖσι σοφιστῆσιν ἀνεκοινοῦντο· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ ἐδόκεον ἰῆσθαι ὃ τι περ ἰήσιμον.

ἐσθῆτι δὲ Ἰνδοὶ λινὴν χρέονται, κατάπερ λέγει Νέαρχος, λίνου τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν δενδρέων, ὑπὲρ ὅτων μοι ἤδη [p. 21] λέλεκται. τὸ δὲ λίνον τοῦτο ἢ λαμπρότερον τὴν χροίην ἐστὶν ἄλλου λίνου παντός, ἢ μέλανες αὐτοὶ ἐόντες λαμπρότερον τὸ λίνον φαίνεσθαι ποιέουσιν. [2] ἔστι δὲ κιθῶν λίνεος αὐτοῖσιν ἔστε ἐπὶ μέσην τὴν κνήμην, νῆμα δὲ τὸ μὲν τοῖσιν ὥμοις περιβεβλημένον, τὸ δὲ περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσιν εἰλιγμένον. [3] καὶ ἐνώτια Ἰνδοὶ φορέουσιν ἐλέφαντος, ὅσοι κάρτα εὐδαίμονες· οὐ γὰρ πάντες Ἰνδοὶ φορέουσι. [4] τοὺς δὲ πώγωνας λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι βάπτονται Ἰνδοὶ χροίην ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην, οἱ μὲν, ὡς λευκοὺς φαίνεσθαι οἶους λευκοτάτους, οἱ δὲ κυανέους· τοῖσι δὲ φοινικέους εἶναι, τοῖσι δὲ καὶ πορφυρέους, ἄλλοις πρᾶσοειδέας· [5] καὶ σκιάδια ὅτι προβάλλονται τοῦ θέρους ὅσοι οὐκ ἡμελημένοι Ἰνδῶν. ὑποδήματα δὲ λευκοῦ δέρματος φορέουσι, περισσῶς καὶ ταῦτα ἡσκημένα· καὶ τὰ ἔχνεα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῖσι ποικίλα καὶ ὑψηλά, τοῦ μέζοντας φαίνεσθαι. [6] ὀπλίστιος δὲ τῆς Ἰνδῶν οὐκ ὡυτὸς εἷς τρόπος, ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ αὐτοῖσι τόξον τε ἔχουσιν, ἰσόμεκες τῷ φορέοντι τὸ τόξον, καὶ τοῦτο κάτω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θέντες καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάντες, οὕτως ἐκτοξεύουσι, τὴν νευρὴν ἐπὶ μέγα ὀπίσω ἀπαγαγόντες· [7] ὁ γὰρ οἰστὸς αὐτοῖσιν ὀλίγον ἀποδέων τριπλήχεος, οὐδέ τι ἀντέχει τοξευθὲν πρὸς Ἰνδοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοξικοῦ, οὔτε ἀσπίς οὔτε θώρηξ οὔτε εἴ τι καρτερώτερον ἐγένετο. [8] ἐν δὲ τῇσιν ἀριστερῇσι πέλται εἰσὶν αὐτοῖσιν ὠμοβόιναι, στεινότεραι μὲν ἢ κατὰ τοὺς φορέοντας, μήκει δὲ οὐ πολλὸν ἀποδέουσαι. τοῖσι δὲ ἄκοντες ἀντὶ τόξων εἰσὶ. [9] μάχαιραν δὲ πάντες φορέουσι, πλατέαν δὲ καὶ τὸ μῆκος οὐ μέζω τριπλήχεος· καὶ ταύτην, ἐπεὰν συστάδην καταστῇ αὐτοῖσιν ἡ μάχη — τὸ δὲ οὐκ εὐμαρέως Ἰνδοῖσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους γίνεται — ἅμφοιν τοῖν χεροῖν καταφέρουσιν, τοῦ καρτερὴν τὴν πληγὴν γενέσθαι. [10] οἱ δὲ ἱππέες [p. 22] αὐτοῖσιν ἀκόντια δύο ἔχουσιν, οἷα τὰ σαύνια ἀκόντια, καὶ πέλτην σμικροτέρην τῶν πεζῶν. οἱ δὲ ἵπποι αὐτοῖσιν οὐ σεσαγμένοι εἰσὶν, οὐδὲ χαλινοῦνται τοῖσιν Ἑλληνικοῖσι χαλινοῖσιν ἢ τοῖσι Κελτικοῖσιν ἐμπερέως, [11] ἀλλὰ περὶ ἄκρῳ τῷ στόματι ἐν κύκλῳ ἔχουσι δέρμα

ὁμοβόειον ῥαπτὸν περιηρημένον, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χάλκεα κέντρα ἢ σιδήρεα, οὐ
κάρτα ὀξέα, ἔσω ἐστραμμένα: τοῖσι δὲ πλουσίοισιν ἐλεφάντινα κέντρα ἐστίν.
ἐν δὲ τῷ στόματι σιδήρον αὐτοῖσιν οἱ ἵπποι ἔχουσιν, οἷόν περ ὀβελόν, ἔνθεν
ἐξηρημένοι εἰσὶν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ ῥυτῆρες: [12] ἐπεὰν ὧν ἐπαγάγῃσι τὸν ῥυτῆρα, ὃ
τε ὀβελὸς κρατεῖ τὸν ἵππον, καὶ τὰ κέντρα, οἷα δὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἡρημένα,
κεντέοντα οὐκ ἔῃ ἄλλο τι ἢ πείθεσθαι τῷ ῥυτῇρι.

τὰ δὲ σώματα ἰσχυροὶ τέ εἰσιν Ἴνδοι καὶ εὐμήκεες, καὶ κοῦφοι πολλόν τι
ὕπερ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους. ὀχήματα δὲ τοῖσι μὲν πολλοῖσιν Ἰνδῶν κάμηλοί
εἰσι καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι, τοῖσι δὲ εὐδαίμοσιν ἐλέφαντες. [2] βασιλικὸν γὰρ ὄχημα
ὁ ἐλέφας παρ' Ἰνδοῖσιν ἐστὶ, δευτέρον δὲ τιμῇ τὰ τέθριππα, τρίτον δὲ αἱ
κάμηλοι. τὸ δὲ ἐπ' ἐνὸς ἵππου ὀχεσθαι ἄτιμον. [3] αἱ γυναῖκες δὲ αὐτοῖσιν,
ὅσαι κάρτα σώφρονες, ἐπὶ μὲν ἄλλῳ μισθῷ οὐκ ἂν τι διαμάρτοιεν, ἐλέφαντα
δὲ λαβοῦσα γυνὴ μίσγεται τῷ δόντι: οὐδὲ αἰσχρὸν Ἰνδοὶ ἄγουσι τὸ ἐπὶ
ἐλέφαντι μιγῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνὸν δοκέει τῇσι γυναιξὶν ἀξίην τὸ κάλλος
φανῆναι ἐλέφαντος. [4] γαμέουσι δὲ οὔτε τι διδόντες οὔτε τι λαμβάνοντες,
ἀλλὰ ὅσαι ἤδη ὥραϊα γάμου, ταύτας δὲ οἱ πατέρες προάγοντες ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς
κατιστᾶσιν ἐκλέξασθαι τῷ νικήσαντι πάλιν ἢ πύξ ἢ δρόμον ἢ κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ
ἀνδρήϊν προκριθέντι. [5] σιτοφάγοι δὲ καὶ ἀροτῆρες Ἰνδοὶ εἰσιν, ὅσοι γε μὴ
ὄρειοι αὐτῶν: οὗτοι δὲ θηρήϊα κρέα σιτέονται. [p. 23] [6] ταυτὰ μοι ἀπόχρη
δεδηλῶσθαι ὕπερ Ἰνδῶν, ὅσα γνωριμώτατα Νέαρχός τε καὶ Μεγασθένης,
δοκίμω ἄνδρε, ἀνεγραψάτην: [7] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ ὑπόθεσίς μοι τῆσδε τῆς
συγγραφῆς τὰ Ἰνδῶν νόμιμα ἀναγράψαι ἦν, ἀλλὰ ὅκως γὰρ περιεκομίσθη
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς Πέρσας ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ὁ στόλος, ταῦτα δέ μοι ἐκβολὴ ἔστω τοῦ
λόγου.

Ἀλέξανδρος γάρ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ παρεσκεύαστο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπεω
τῆσιν ὀχθησιν, ἐπιλεγόμενος ὅσοι τε Φοίνικες καὶ ὅσοι Κύπριοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι
εἶποντο ἐν τῇ ἄνω στρατηλασίῃ, ἐκ τούτων ἐπλήρου τὰς νέας, ὑπηρεσίας τε
αὐτῇσι καὶ ἐρέτας ἐπιλεγόμενος ὅσοι τῶν θαλασσίων ἔργων δαήμονες. [2]
ἦσαν δὲ καὶ νησιῶται ἄνδρες οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐν τῇ στρατιῇ, οἷσι ταῦτα ἔμελε, καὶ
Ἰῶνες καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι. [3] τριήραρχοι δὲ αὐτοῖσιν ἐπεστάθησαν ἐκ
Μακεδόνων μὲν Ἡφαιστίων τε ὁ Ἀμύντορος, καὶ Λεόννατος ὁ Ἀντέου, καὶ
Λυσίμαχος ὁ Ἀγαθοκλέος, καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου, καὶ Ἀρχων ὁ
Κλεινίεω, καὶ Δημόνικος ὁ Ἀθηναίου, καὶ Ἀρχίης ὁ Ἀναξιδότεω, καὶ Ὀφέλας
ὁ Σεληνοῦ, καὶ Τιμάνθης ὁ Παντιάδεω. οὗτοι μὲν Πελλαῖοι: ἐκ δὲ
Ἀμφιπόλιος ἦγον οἶδε: [4] Νέαρχος ὁ Ἀνδροτίμου, ὃς τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ παραπλόῳ
ἀνέγραψε: καὶ Λαομέδων ὁ Λαρίχου, καὶ Ἀνδροσθένης ὁ Καλλιστράτου: [5] ἐκ
δὲ τῆς Ὀρεστίδος Κράτερός τε ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ Περδίκκας ὁ Ὀρόντεω:
Ἑορδαῖοι δὲ Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ Λάγου καὶ Ἀριστόνοος ὁ Πισαίου. ἐκ Πύδνης δὲ
Μήτρων τε ὁ Ἐπιχάρμου καὶ Νικαρχίδης ὁ Σίμου. [6] ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀτταλός τε ὁ
Ἀνδρομένεος Τυμφαῖος, καὶ Πευκέστας ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Μιξεύς, καὶ Πείθων
ὁ Κρατεῦα, Ἀλκομενεύς, καὶ Λεόννατος ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου Αἰγαῖος, καὶ
Πάνταυχος ὁ Νικολάου Ἀλωρίτης, καὶ Μυλλέας ὁ Ζωΐλου Βεροιαῖος. οὗτοι
μὲν οἱ σύμπαντες Μακεδόνες: [7] Ἑλλήνων δὲ Μήδιος μὲν ὁ Ὄξυθέμιδος
Λαρισαῖος, Εὐμένης δὲ [p. 24] ὁ Ἰερωνύμου ἐκ Καρδίας, Κριτόβουλος δὲ δ

Πλάτωνος Κῶος καὶ Θόας ὁ Μηνοδώρου καὶ Μαϊάνδρος ὁ Μανδρογένεος Μάγνητες. [8] Ἄνδρων δὲ ὁ Καβήλεω Τήιος, Κυπρίων δὲ Νικοκλέης ὁ Πασικράτεος Σόλιος, καὶ Νιθάφων ὁ Πνυταγόρεω Σαλαμίνιος. ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ Πέρσης αὐτῷ τριήραρχος, Βαγώας ὁ Φαρνούχεω. [9] τῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου νεὸς κυβερνήτης ἦν Ὀνησίκριτος Ἀστυपालαεὺς, γραμματεὺς δὲ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς Εὐαγόρας ὁ Εὐκλέωνος Κορίνθιος. [10] ναύαρχος δὲ αὐτοῖσιν ἐπεστάθη Νέαρχος ὁ Ἀνδροτίμου, τὸ γένος μὲν Κρῆς ὁ Νέαρχος, ὥκεε δὲ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει τῇ ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι. [11] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεκόσμητο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἔθνε τοῖσι θεοῖσιν ὅσοι γε πάτριοι ἢ μανευτοὶ αὐτῷ, καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτῃ καὶ Νηρηΐσι καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ὠκεανῷ, καὶ τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ ποταμῷ, ἀπ' οὗτο ὠρμᾶτο, καὶ τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ, ἐς ὅντινα ἐκδίδοι Ὑδάσπης, καὶ τῷ Ἰνδῷ, ἐς ὅντινα ἄμφω ἐκδίδουσιν. [12] ἀγῶνές τε αὐτῷ μουσικοὶ τε καὶ γυμνικοὶ ἐποιεῦντο, καὶ ἱερῆϊα τῇ στρατιῇ πάσῃ κατὰ τέλεα ἐδίδοδο.

[20] ὥς δὲ πάντα ἐξήρτυτο αὐτῷ ἐς ἀναγωγὴν, Κράτερον μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Ὑδάσπεω ἐπίνειαι σὺν στρατιῇ ἐκέλευσε πεζικῇ τε καὶ ἵππικῃ: ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ προεπορεύετο, σὺν ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ πλείονι ἔτι τῆς Κρατέρῳ συντεταγμένης. καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ ἤγεν, ὄντας ἐς διηκοσίους. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καλεομένους ἅμα οἱ ἤγε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας πάντας καὶ τῶν ἱπέων τοὺς ἐταίρους καλεομένους, τοὺς πάντας ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους. [3] τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κράτερον καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα ἐτέτακτο ἵνα προπορευθέντες ὑπομένοινεν τὸν στόλον. [4] Φίλιππον δέ, ὅς αὐτῷ σατράπης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ τὰς ὄχθας πέμπει, ἅμα στρατιῇ πολλῇ [p. 25] καὶ τοῦτον: [5] ἥδη γάρ καὶ δώδεκα μυριάδες αὐτῷ μαχίμοι εἶποντο σὺν οἷσιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τε αὐτὸς ἀνήγαγε καὶ αὖθις οἱ ἐπὶ συλλογῇ αὐτῷ στρατιῆς πεμφθέντες ἦκον ἔχοντες, παντοῖα ἔθνεα βαρβαρικά ἅμα οἱ ἄγοντι καὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέην ὥπλισμένα. [6] αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρας τῇσι νηυσὶ κατέπλωε κατὰ τὸν Ὑδάσπεα ἔστε ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου τε καὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπεω τὰς συμβολάς. [7] νέες δὲ αἱ σύμπασαι αὐτῷ ὀκτακόσiai ἦσαν, αἱ τε μακραι καὶ ὅσα στρογγύλα πλοῖα καὶ ἄλλαι ἱππαγωγοὶ καὶ σιτία ἅμα τῇ στρατιῇ ἄγουσαι. [8] ὅκως μὲν δὴ κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς κατέπλωσεν αὐτῷ ὁ στόλος, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῷ παραπλόῳ ἔθνεα κατεστρέψατο, καὶ ὅκως διὰ κινδύνου αὐτὸς ἐν Μαλλοῖσιν ἦκε, καὶ τὸ τρῶμα ὃ ἐτρώθη ἐν Μαλλοῖσι, καὶ Πευκέστας τε καὶ Λεόννατος ὅκως ὑπερήσπισαν αὐτὸν πεσόντα, πάντα ταῦτα λέλεκται μοι ἥδη ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ τῇ Ἀττικῇ συγγραφῇ. [9] ὁ δὲ λόγος ὅδε τοῦ παραπλόου μοι ἀπήγησός ἐστιν, ὃν Νέαρχος σὺν τῷ στόλῳ παρέπλωσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τῶν ἐκβολέων ὀρμηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν μεγάλην ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικόν, ἦν δὴ Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι.

Νεάρχῳ δὲ λέλεκται ὑπὲρ τούτων ὅδε ὁ λόγος: πόθον μὲν εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκπεριπλῶσαι τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν Περσικὴν, [2] ὁκνέειν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ τε πλόου τὸ μῆκος καὶ μή τι νι ἄρα χώρα ἐρήμη ἐγκύρσας ἢ ὄρμων ἀπόρῳ ἢ οὐ συμμέτρως ἐχούσῃ τῶν ὠρέων, οὕτω δὲ διαφθαρή αὐτῷ ὁ στόλος, καὶ οὐ φαύλη κηλὶς αὕτη τοῖσιν ἔργοισιν αὐτοῦ τοῖσι μέγαλοισιν ἐπιγενομένη τὴν πᾶσαν εὐτυχίην αὐτῷ ἀφανίσῃ: ἀλλὰ ἐκνικῆσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιθυμίην τοῦ καινόν τι αἰεὶ καὶ ἄτοπον ἐργάζεσθαι. [3] ἀπόρως δὲ ἔχειν

ὄντινα οὐκ ἀδύνατόν τε ἐς τὰ ἐπινοεῦμενα ἐπιλέξαιτο, καὶ ἅμα [p. 26] τῶν ἐν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὅπως τῶν τοιοῦτον στόλον στελλομένων ἀφελεῖ τὸ δεῖμα τοῦ δῆθεν ἡμελημένως αὐτοὺς ἐς προὔπτον κίνδυνον ἐκπέμπεσθαι. [4] λέγει δὲ Νέαρχος ἐωυτῷ ξυνοῦσθαι Ἀλέξανδρον ὄντινα προχειρίσῃται ἐξηγέσθαι τοῦ στόλου. ὥς δὲ ἄλλου καὶ ἄλλου ἐς μνήμην ἰόντα τοὺς μὲν ὥς οὐκ ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ οὗ ἀπολέγειν, τοὺς δὲ ὥς μαλθακοὺς τὸν θυμόν, τοὺς δὲ ὥς πόθῳ τῆς οἰκῆς κατεχομένους, τοῖσι δὲ [5] ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ἐπικαλέοντα, τότε δὴ αὐτὸν ὑποστάντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι ‘ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ τοι ὑποδέκομαι ἐξηγήσεσθαι τοῦ στόλου, καὶ εἰ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου συνεπιλαμβάνοιτο, περιάζω τοι σῶας τὰς νέας καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα, εἰ δὴ πλωτὸς τέ ἐστιν ὁ ταύτη πόντος καὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἄπορον γνώμη ἀνθρωπίνη.’ [6] Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ φάναι ἐθέλειν ἐς τοσὴνδε ταλαιπωρίην καὶ τοσόνδε κίνδυνον τῶν τινα ἐωυτοῦ φίλων ἐμβάλλειν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταύτη δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον οὐκ ἀνιέναι ἀλλὰ λιπαρέειν. [7] οὕτω δὴ ἀγαπήσαι τε Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦ Νεάρχου τὴν προθυμίην, καὶ ἐπιστῆσαι αὐτὸν ἄρχειν τοῦ στόλου παντός. [8] καὶ τότε δὴ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς στρατιῆς ὅ τι περ ἐπὶ τῷ παραπλόῳ τῷδε ἐτάσσετο καὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἴλεω ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην, ὅτι δὴ Νεάρχον γε οὐποτε ἂν Ἀλέξανδρος προήκατο ἐς κίνδυνον καταφανέα, εἰ μὴ σφι σωθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. [9] λαμπρότης τε πολλὴ τῇ παρασκευῇ ἐπεοῦσα καὶ κόσμος τῶν νεῶν, καὶ σπουδαὶ τῶν τριηράρχων ἀμφὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τε καὶ τὰ πληρώματα ἐκπρεπέες καὶ τοὺς πάντη δὴ κατοκνέοντας ἐς ὁρμὴν ἅμα καὶ ἐλπίδας χρηστοτέρας ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντός ἔργου ἐπηρκότα ἦν. [10] πολλὸν δὲ δὴ συνεπιλαβέσθαι ἐς εὐθυμίην τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ δὴ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁρμηθέντα κατὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰ στόματα ἀμφοτέρα ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὸν πόντον, σφάγιά τε Ποσειδῶνι [p. 27] ἐντεμεῖν καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι θεοὶ θαλάσσιοι, καὶ δῶρα μεγαλοπρεπέα τῇ θαλάσσει χαρίσασθαι. [11] τῇ τε ἄλλῃ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου παραλόγῳ εὐτυχίῃ πεποιθότας οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ τολμητόν τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐπικτὸν ἡγέεσθαι.

[5] ὥς δὲ τὰ ἐτήσια πνεύματα ἐκοιμήθη, ἃ δὴ τοῦ θέρους 2τὴν ὥρην πᾶσαν κατέχει ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος ἐπιπνέοντα ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ταύτη ἄπορον τὸν πλόον ποιέοντα, τότε δὴ ὥρμητο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Κηφισοδώρου, εἰκάδι τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος μηνός, κατ’ ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι ἄγουσιν: ὥς δὲ Μακεδόνες τε καὶ Ἀσιανοὶ ἦγον, %2%2 τὸ ἐνδέκατον βασιλεύοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. [2] θύει δὲ καὶ Νέαρχος πρὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς Διὶ Σωτῆρι, καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ καὶ οὗτος γυμνικόν. ἄραντες δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυστάθμου τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρῃ κατὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὁρμίζονται ποταμὸν πρὸς διώρυχιν μεγάλῃ, καὶ μένουσιν αὐτοῦ δύο ἡμέρας: Στοῦρα δὲ οὖνομα ἦν τῷ χώρῳ: στάδιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυστάθμου ἐς ἑκατόν. [3] τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ἄραντες ἔπλων ἔστε ἐπὶ διώρυχα ἄλλην σταδίους τριήκοντα, ἀλμυρὴν ἤδη ταύτην τὴν διώρυχα: ἀνῆει γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα ἐς αὐτήν, μάλιστα μὲν ἐν τῇσι πλημμύρῃσιν, ὑπέμενε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇσιν ἀμπώτεσι τὸ ὕδωρ μεμιγμένον τῷ ποταμῷ: Καύμαρα δὲ οὖνομα ἦν τῷ χώρῳ. [4] ἐνθένδε εἴκοσι σταδίους καταπλώσαντες ἐς Κορέεστιν ὁρμίζονται ἔτι κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν. ἐνθένδε ὁρμηθέντες ἔπλων οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλόν: [5] ἔρμα γὰρ ἐφάνη αὐτοῖσι κατὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τὴν ταύτη τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ τὰ κύματα ἐρρόχθεε πρὸς τῇ ἡϊόνι, καὶ ἡ ἡϊὼν αὕτη τρηχέα ἦν. [6] ἀλλὰ ἵναπερ μαλθακὸν ἦν τοῦ ἔρματος, ταύτη

διώρυχα ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ σταδίους πέντε, διήγον τὰς νέας, ἐπειδὴ ἡ πλήμυρα ἐπῆλθεν ἡ ἐκ τοῦ πόντου. [7] ἐκπεριπλώσαντες δὲ σταδίους πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὁρμίζονται ἐς Κρώκαλα νῆσον ψαμμώδεα, καὶ μένουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄλλην ἡμέρην. [p. 28] [8] προσοικέει δὲ ταύτῃ ἔθνος Ἰνδικόν, οἱ Ἀράβιες καλούμενοι, ὧν καὶ ἐν τῇ μέζονι συγγραφῇ μνήμην ἔσχον, καὶ ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐπώνυμοι ποταμοῦ Ἀράβιος, ὃς διὰ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ῥέων ἐκδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν, ὀρίζων τούτων τε τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν Ὠρειτέων, [9] ἐκ δὲ Κρωκάλων ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες οὗρος τὸ καλούμενον Εἶτρον, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ νῆσον ἀλιτενέα ἔπλων: ἡ δὲ νῆσος παρατεταμένη τῇ ἡϊόνι κόλπον στεινὸν ποιεῖ. [10] διεκπλώσαντες δὲ ταύτην ὁρμίζονται ἐν λιμένι εὐόρμῳ. ὅτι δὲ μέγας τε καὶ καλὸς ὁ λιμὴν Νεάρχῳ ἔδοξεν, ἐπονομάζει αὐτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου λιμένα. [11] νῆσος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ὅσον σταδίους δύο ἀπέχουσα: Βίβακτα οὖνομα τῇ νήσῳ, ὁ δὲ χῶρος ἅπας Σάγγαδα ἐκαλέετο. ἡ δὲ νῆσος καὶ τὸν λιμένα, προκειμένη πρὸ τοῦ πελάγους, αὐτῇ ἐποίειν. [12] ἐνθαῦτα πνεύματα μεγάλα ἐκ τοῦ πόντου ἔπνεε καὶ συνεχέα, καὶ Νεάρχος δείσας τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ τινες συνταχθέντες ἐπ' ἀρπαγὴν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τραποῖατο, ἐκτειχίζει τὸν χῶρον λιθίνῳ τειχεῖ. [13] τέσσαρες δὲ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραι τῇ μονῇ ἐγένοντο. καὶ λέγει ὅτι μύας τε ἐθήρων τοὺς θαλασσίους οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ ὄστρεα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σωλήνας καλεομένους, ἄτοπα τὸ μέγαθος, ὥς τοῖσιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμετέρῃ θαλάσῃ συμβαλέειν: καὶ ὕδωρ ὅτι ἄλμυρόν ἐπίνετο.

ἅμα τε ὁ ἄνεμος ἐπαύσατο καὶ οἱ ἀνήγοντο. καὶ περαιωθέντες σταδίους ἐς ἐξήκοντα ὁρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ ψαμμώδεϊ: νῆσος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ ἐρήμη. ταύτην δὲ πρόβλημα ποιησάμενοι ὠρμίσθησαν: [2] Δόμαι οὖνομα τῇ νήσῳ. ὕδωρ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ, ἀλλὰ προελθόντες ἐς τὴν μεσογαίην ὅσον: εἴκοσι σταδίους ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν ὕδατι καλῷ. [3] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς νύκτα αὐτοῖσιν ὁ πλόος ἐγένετο ἐς Σάραγγα σταδίους τριηκοσίους, καὶ ὁρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ, καὶ ὕδωρ ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ [p. 29] αἰγιαλοῦ ὅσον ὀκτὼ σταδίους. [4] ἐνθένδε πλώσαντες ὁρμίζονται ἐν Σακάλοισι, τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ. καὶ διεκπλώσαντες σκοπέλους δύο, οὕτω τι ἀλλήλοισι πελάζοντας, ὥστε τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν νεῶν ἅπτεσθαι ἑνθεν καὶ ἑνθεν τῶν πετρέων, κατορμίζονται ἐν Μοροντοβάροισι, σταδίους διελθόντες ἐς τριηκοσίους, [5] ὁ δὲ λιμὴν μέγας καὶ εὐκυκλος καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ἄκλυστος, ὁ δὲ ἔσπλοος ἐς αὐτὸν στεινός. τοῦτον τῇ γλώσῃ τῇ ἐπιχωρίῃ Γυναικῶν λιμένα ἐκάλεον, ὅτι γυνὴ τοῦ χώρου τούτου πρώτη ἐπῆρξεν. [6] ὥς δὲ διὰ τῶν σκοπέλων διεξέπλων, κύμασί τε μέγαλοισιν ἐνέκυρσαν καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ῥοώδεϊ. ἀλλὰ ἐκπεριπλῶσαι γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοὺς σκοπέλους μέγα ἔργον ἐφαίνετο. [7] ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίην ἔπλων νῆσον ἐν ἀριστερῇ ἔχοντες πρὸ τοῦ πελάγους οὕτω τι τῷ αἰγιαλῷ συναφέα ὥστε εἰκάσαι ἂν διώρυχα εἶναι τὸ μέσον τοῦ τε αἰγιαλοῦ καὶ τῆς νήσου: στάδιοι οἱ πάντες ἐβδομήκοντα τοῦ διεκπλόου. καὶ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ δένδρεα ἦν πολλὰ καὶ δασέα, καὶ ἡ νῆσος ὕλη παντοίῃ σύσκιος. [8] ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑὼ ἔπλων ἔξω τῆς νήσου κατὰ ῥήχιν στεινήν: ἔτι γὰρ ἀνάπωτις κατεῖχε. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ὁρμίζονται ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀράβιος ποταμοῦ: καὶ λιμὴν μέγας καὶ καλὸς πρὸς τῷ στόματι: ὕδωρ δὲ οὐκ ἦν πότιμον: τοῦ γὰρ Ἀράβιος αἱ ἐκβολαὶ ἀναμεμιγμέναι τῷ πόντῳ ἦσαν. [9] ἀλλὰ

τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἐς τὸ ἄνω προχωρήσαντες λάκκῳ ἐπιτυγχάνουσι, καὶ ἔνθεν ὑδρευσάμενοι ὀπίσω ἀπενόστησαν. νῆσος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι ὑψηλὴ καὶ ἐρήμη, καὶ περὶ ταύτην ὀστρέων τε καὶ ἰχθύων παντοδαπῶν θήρη. μέχρι μὲν τοῦδε Ἀράβιες, ἔσχατοι Ἰνδῶν ταύτῃ ὀκισμένοι, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Ὠρεῖται ἐπεῖχον.

ὀρμηθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐκβολέων τοῦ Ἀράβιος παρέπλων τῶν Ὠρειτέων τὴν χώραν. καὶ ὀρμίζονται ἐν Παγάλοισι, [p. 30] πλώσαντες σταδίους ἐς διηκοσίους, πρὸς ῥήγῃ. ἀλλὰ ἀγκύρησι γὰρ ἐπίβολος ἦν ὁ χῶρος. τὰ μὲν ὦν πληρώματα ἀπεσάλευον ἐν τῇσι νηυσίν, οἱ δὲ ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἐκβάντες ὑδρεύοντο. [2] τῇ δ' ὕστεραίῃ ἀναχθέντες ἅμα ἡμέρῃ καὶ πλώσαντες σταδίους ἐς τετρακοσίους κατάγονται ἐσπέραιοι ἐς Κάβανα, καὶ ὀρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ ἐρήμῳ. ἐνθαῦτα ῥήγῃ τρηχέα ἦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε μετεώρους τὰς νέας ὠρμίσαντο. [3] κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν πλόον πνεῦμα ὑπολαμβάνει τὰς νέας μέγα ἐκ πόντου, καὶ νέες δύο μακραὶ διαφθείρονται ἐν τῷ πλόῳ, καὶ κέρκυρος: οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι σφύζονται ἀπονηξάμενοι, ὅτι οὐ πόρρω τῆς γῆς ὁ πλόος ἐγένετο. [4] ἀμφὶ δὲ μέσας νύκτας ἀναχθέντες πλώουσιν ἔστε ἐπὶ Κώκαλα, ἃ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ, ἔνθεν ὠρμήθησαν, ἀπεῖχε σταδίους διηκοσίους: καὶ αἱ μὲν νέες σαλεύουσαι ὥρμεον, τὰ πληρώματα δὲ ἐκβιβάσας Νέαρχος πρὸς τῇ γῇ ηὐλίσθη, ὅτι ἐπὶ πολλὸν τεταλαιπωρηκότες ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀναπαύσασθαι ἐπόθεον. στρατόπεδον δὲ περιβάλετο τῶν βαρβάρων τῆς φυλακῆς εἵνεκα. [5] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ Λεόννατος, ὅτῳ τὰ Ὠρειτέων ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπετέτραπτο, μάχῃ μεγάλη νικᾷ Ὠρεῖτας τε καὶ ὅσοι Ὠρεῖταισι συνεπελάβοντο τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ κτείνει αὐτῶν ἐξακισχιλίους, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας πάντας: τῶν δὲ σὺν Λεοννάτῳ ἱππεὲς μὲν ἀποθνήσκουσι πεντεκαίδεκα, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἄλλοι τε οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνης ὁ Γαδρωσίων σατράπης. [6] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ συγγραφῇ ἀναγράφεται, καὶ ὅκως Λεόννατος ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐστεφανώθη πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ. [7] ἐνθαῦτα σῖτος ἦν νενημένος κατὰ πρόσταγμα Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς ἐπισιτισμὸν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ ἐμβάλλονται σιτία ἡμερέων δέκα ἐς τὰς νέας. [8] καὶ τῶν νεῶν ὅσαι ἐπεπονήκεσαν κατὰ τὸν πλόον μέχρι τοῦδε ἐπεσκεύασαν, καὶ τῶν ναυτέων ὅσοι ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ βλακεῦσαι [p. 31] ἐφαίνοντο Νέαρχῳ, τούτους μὲν πεζῇ ἄγειν Λεοννάτῳ ἔδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Λεοννάτῳ στρατιωτέων συμπληροῖ τὸ ναυτικόν.

ἐνδένδε ὀρμηθέντες ἔπλων ἀκραί, καὶ διελθόντες 5 σταδίους ἐς πεντακοσίους ὠρμίζοντο πρὸς ποταμῷ χειμαρρῷ: Τόμηρος οὖνομα ἦν τῷ ποταμῷ. [2] καὶ λίμνη ἦν ἐπὶ τῇσιν ἐκβολῇσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ βραχέα τὰ πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ ἐπόκειον ἄνθρωποι ἐν καλύβῃσι πνιγῆρῃσι. καὶ οὗτοι ὡς προσπλώνοντας εἶδον, ἐθάμβησάν τε καὶ παρατείναντες σφᾶς παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐτάχθησαν ὡς ἀπομαχεόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκβαίνοντας. [3] λόγχας δὲ ἐφόρεον παχέας, μέγαθος ὡς ἐξαπῆχας: ἀκωκὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶν σιδηρῇ, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὀξὺ αὐτοῖσι πεπυρακτωμένον τωὐτὸ ἐποίεε. πλῆθος δὲ ἦσαν ὡς ἐξακόσιοι. [4] καὶ τούτους Νέαρχος ὡς ὑπομένοντάς τε καὶ παρατεταγμένους κατείδε, τὰς μὲν νέας ἀνακωχεύειν κελεύει ἐντὸς βέλεος, ὡς τὰ τοξεύματα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπ' αὐτέων ἐξικνέεσθαι: αἱ γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων λόγχαι ἀγχέμαχοι μὲν ἄφοβοι δὲ ἐς

τὸ ἐσακοντίζεσθαι ἦσαν. [5] αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτέων ὅσοι αὐτοὶ τε κουφότατοι καὶ κουφότατα ὦπλισμένοι τοῦ τε νέειν δαημονέστατοι, τούτους δὲ ἐκνήξασθαι κελεύει ἀπὸ συνθήματος. [6] πρόσταγμα δὲ σφισιν ἦν, ὅπως τις ἐκνηξάμενος σταίῃ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, προσμένειν τὸν παραστάτην οἱ ἐσόμενον, μηδὲ ἐμβάλλειν πρόσθε ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, πρὶν ἐπὶ τριῶν ἐς βάθος ταχθῆναι τὴν φάλαγγα: τότε δὲ δρόμῳ ἐπιέναι ἀλαλάζοντας. [7] ἅμα δὲ ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ τῷδε τεταγμένοι ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐς τὸν πόντον, καὶ ἐνήχοντο ὀξέως, καὶ ἴσταντο ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ φάλαγγα ἐκ σφῶν ποιησάμενοι δρόμῳ ἐπήεσαν αὐτοὶ τε ἀλαλάζοντας τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν συνεπήχεον, τοξεύματά τε καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανέων βέλεα ἐφέρετο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους. [p. 32] [8] οἱ δὲ τὴν τε λαμπρότητα τῶν ὄπλων ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ τῆς ἐφόδου τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ πρὸς τῶν τοξευμάτων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βελέων βαλλόμενοι, οἷα δὴ ἡμίγυμνοι ἄνθρωποι, οὐδὲ ὀλίγον ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπέντες ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ φεύγοντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀλίσκονται: ἔστι δὲ οἱ καὶ διέφυγον ἐς τὰ οὖρεα. [9] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ ἀλόντες τὰ τε ἄλλα δασέες καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς, καὶ τοὺς ὄνυχας θηριώδεις: τοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὄνυξιν ὅσα σιδήρῳ διαχρᾶσθαι ἐλέγοντο καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας τούτοις παρασχίζοντες κατεργάζεσθαι καὶ τῶν ξύλων ἄσασμαλθακώτερα. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοῖαι λίθοις τοῖσιν ὀξέσιν ἔκοπτον: σίδηρος γὰρ αὐτοῖσιν οὐκ ἦν. ἐσθῆτα δὲ ἐφόρεον δέρματα θηρία, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰχθύων τῶν μεγάλων τὰ παχέα.

ἐνθαῦτα νεωλκέουσι τὰς νέας, καὶ ὅσαι πεπονηκυῖαι αὐτέων ἐπισκευάζουσι. τῇ δὲ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐστέλλοντο, καὶ πλώσαντες σταδίους ἐς τριηκοσίους ἀπικνέονται ἐς χῶρον, ὃς δὴ ἔσχατος ἦν τῆς Ὠρειτέων γῆς: Μάλανα τῷ χώρῳ οὖνομα. [2] Ὠρεῖται δὲ ὅσοι ἄνω ἀπὸ θαλάσσης οἰκεύουσιν, ἐσταλμένοι μὲν κατάπερ Ἰνδοὶ εἰσι, καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ὡσαύτως παραρτέονται: γλῶσσα δὲ ἄλλη αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι καὶ ἄλλα νόμια. [3] μήκος τοῦ παραπλόου παρὰ μὲν χώρην τὴν Ἀραβίων ἐς χιλίους μάλιστα σταδίους, ἐνθενπερ ὠρμήθησαν, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ὠρειτέων γῆν ἐξακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι. [4] παραπλώνοντων δὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ οὐκέτι Ἰνδοὶ εἰσι λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι αἱ σκιαὶ αὐτοῖσιν οὐ τωὐτὸ ἐποίεον: [5] ἀλλὰ ὁκότε μὲν ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοῦ πόντου ὡς πρὸς μεσαμβρίην προχωρήσειαν, αἱ δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τετραμμένοι ἐμαίνοντο: ὁκότε δὲ τὸ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρης ἐπέχει ὁ ἥλιος, ἤδη καὶ ἔρημα σκιῆς πάντα ὤφθη αὐτοῖσι. [6] τῶν τε ἀστέρων ὅσους πρόσθε μετεώρους κατεώρων: οἱ μὲν ἀφανέες πάντῃ ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ γῇ ἐφαίνοντο, [p. 33] καταδύνοντές τε καὶ αὐτίκα ἀνατέλλοντες οἱ πάλαι ἀειφανέες ἑόντες. [7] καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀποικότα δοκεῖ μοι ἀναγράψαι Νέαρχος: ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Σύνῃ τῇ Αἰγυπτίῃ, ἐπεὰν τροπὰς ἄγῃ θέρεος ὥρῃ ὁ ἥλιος, φρέαρ ἀποδεδειγμένον ἐστί, καὶ τοῦτο ἄσκιον ἐν μεσαμβρίῃ φαίνεται: ἐν Μερῷ δὲ πάντα ἄσκια τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρῃ. [8] οἶκος ὢν καὶ ἐν Ἰνδοῖσιν, ἅτε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην ὥκισμένοι, τωὐτὰ δὴ πάθρα ἐπέχειν, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ τὸν πόντον τὸν Ἰνδικόν, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖσιν ἢ θάλασσα πρὸς μεσαμβρίην κέκλιται. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδε ἐχέτω.

ἐπὶ δὲ Ὠρεῖτῃσι κατὰ μὲν μεσογαίην Γαδρώσιοι ἐπεῖχον, ὧν τὴν χώρην χαλεπῶς διεξῆλθεν ἅμα τῇ στρατιῇ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ κακὰ τοσαῦτα ἔπαθεν,

ὅσα οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα τῆς συμπάσης στρατηλασίης. ταῦτά μοι ἐν τῇ μέζονι συγγραφῇ ἀναγέγραπται. κάτω δὲ Γαδρωσίων. [2] παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν αὐτὴν οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι καλεόμενοι οἰκέουσι. παρὰ τούτων τὴν γῆν ἔπλωον. τῇ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἡμέρῃ περὶ δευτέρην φυλακὴν ἀναθέντες καταίρουσιν ἐς Βαγίσαρα: στάδιοι τοῦ παραπλόου ἑξακόσιοι. [3] λιμὴν τε ἐνὶ αὐτόθι εὐορμος, καὶ κώμη Πάσιρα, ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἑξήκοντα σταδίου, καὶ οἱ πρόσοικοι αὐτῆς Πασιρέες. [4] ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίην πρωιαίτερον τῆς ὥρης ἀναθέντες περιπλῶουσιν ἄκρην ἐπὶ πολλόν τε ἀνέχουσιν ἐς τὸν πόντον καὶ ταύτην ὑψηλὴν καὶ κρημνώδεα. [5] φρέατα δὲ ὀρύξαντες, ὕδωρ ὀλίγον καὶ πονηρὸν ἀρυσάμενοι ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ ἀγκυρέων ὤρμεον, ὅτι ῥηχὴ κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἀνείχεν: [6] ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίην καταίρουσιν ἐς Κόλτα, σταδίου ἐλθόντες διηκοσίους. ἐνθὲνδε ἔωθεν πλώσαντες σταδίου ἑξακοσίους ἐν Καλάμοισιν ὁρμίζονται. κώμη πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ φοίνικες δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν ὀλίγοι ἐπεφύκεσαν, καὶ βάλανοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι χλωραὶ ἐπῆσαν. καὶ νῆσος ὡς ἑκατὸν σταδίου [p. 34] ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀπέχουσα, Καρνίνη οὖνομα. [7] ἐνθαῦτα ξείνια Νεάρχῳ προσφέρουσιν οἱ κωμηταὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἰχθύας: καὶ τῶν προβάτων τὰ κρέα λέγει ὅτι ἦν ἰχθυώδεα, ἴσα τοῖαι τῶν ὀρνίθων τῶν πελαγίων, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἰχθύας σιτέεται: ποιή γὰρ οὐκ ἐνὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. [8] ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ πλώσαντες ἐς σταδίου διηκοσίους ὁρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ καὶ κώμη ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς σταδίου τριήκοντα ἀπέχουσι: ἡ μὲν κώμη Κίσσα ἐκαλέετο, Καρβὶς δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ οὖνομα ἦν. [9] ἐνθαῦτα πλοίοισιν ἐπιτυγχάνουσι σμικροῖσιν, οἷα ἀλιέων πλοῖα οὐκ εὐδαιμόνων: αὐτοὺς δὲ οὐ καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον γὰρ κατορμιζόμενας κατιδόντες τὰς νέας. σιτός τε αὐτόθι οὐκ ἐνῆν, καὶ ἐπελελοίπει τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ πολλός: ἀλλὰ αἶγας ἐμβαλόμενοι ἐς τὰς νέας, οὕτω δὴ ἀπέπλωον. καὶ περιπλώσαντες ἄκρην ὑψηλὴν ὅσον πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίου ἀνέχουσιν ἐς τὸν πόντον, κατάγονται ἐν λιμένι ἀκλύστῳ. καὶ ὕδωρ αὐτόθι ἦν, καὶ ἀλιεὺς ὥκεον: Μοσαρνὰ οὖνομα ἦν τῷ λιμένι.

ἐνθὲνδε κατηγεμὼν τοῦ πλόου λέγει Νεάρχος ὅτι συνέπλωσεν αὐτοῖσιν Ὑδράκης οὖνομα, Γαδρώσιος: ὑπέστη δὲ Ὑδράκης καταστήσειν αὐτοὺς μέχρι Καρμανίης. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐκέτι χαλεπὰ ἦν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τι εὐορμα, ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικόν. [2] ἐκ δὲ Μοσαρνῶν νυκτὸς ἄραντες πλώουσι σταδίου ἑπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα ἐς Βάλωμον αἰγιαλόν: ἐνθὲνθε ἐς Βάρνα κώμην σταδίου τετρακοσίους, ἵνα φοίνικες τε πολλοὶ ἐνῆσαν καὶ κήπος, καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μύρσιναι ἐπεφύκεσαν καὶ ἄλλα ἄνθη, ἀπ' ὧν στεφανώματα τοῖσι κωμήτησιν ἐπλέκετο: ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον δένδρεα τε εἶδον ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ πάντῃ θηριώδεας ἐποικέοντας [3] ἐνθὲνδε ἐς διηκοσίους σταδίου περιπλῶσαντες καταίρουσιν ἐς Δενδρόβοσα, καὶ αἱ νέες ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων [p. 35] ἐσάλευσαν. [4] ἐνθὲνδε ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄραντες ἐς Κώφαντα λιμένα ἀπίκοντο, τετρακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίου διεκπλώσαντες: [5] ἐνθαῦτα ἀλιεὺς τε ὥκεον, καὶ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσιν ἦν σμικρὰ καὶ πονηρά: καὶ τῆσι κώπησιν οὐ κατὰ σκαλμὸν ἤρεσσον ὡς ὁ Ἑλλήνων νόμος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀναβάλλοντες ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν, κατάπερ οἱ σκάπτοντες τὴν γῆν. ὕδωρ δὲ πολλόν τε ἦν ἐν τῷ λιμένι καὶ καθαρόν. [6] περὶ δὲ πρώτην φυλακὴν ἄραντες

καταίρουσιν ἐς Κύζα, ἐς ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους δίεκπλώσαντες, ἵνα αἰγιαλὸς τε ἔρημος ᾗν καὶ ῥήγι. αὐτόθι ὦν ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων ὥρμεον, κατὰ νέας τε ἐδαιτυνοιοῦντο. [7] ἐνθὲνδε διεκπλώσαντες σταδίους πεντακοσίους ἀπίκοντο ἐς τινα πόλιν σμικρὴν, οἰκομένην ἐπὶ γηλόφου οὐ πόρρω τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ. [8] καὶ Νέαρχος ἐπιφρασθεὶς ὅτι σπεῖρεσθαι τὴν χώραν οἶκος, λέγει πρὸς Ἀρχίν — συνέπλωε δὲ Νεάρχῳ, τῶν ἐν αἴνῃ ἐὼν Μακεδόνων — πρὸς τοῦτον λέγει ὅτι καταληπτέον σφίσι εἴη τὸ χωρίον: [9] ἐκόντας τε γὰρ οὐκ ἂν οἶεσθαι δοῦναι τῇ στρατιῇ σιτία, βίη τε οὐκ οἶόν τε εἶναι ἐξαιρέειν, πολιορκίης δὲ καὶ τριβῆς δεήσειν, σφᾶς δὲ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὰ σιτία. ὅτι δὲ ἡ γῆ σιτοφόρος, τῇ καλάμῃ τεκμηριοῦσθαι, ἦντινα οὐ πόρρω τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀπεώρων βαθέαν. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ σφισιν ἐδόκεε, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας νέας κελεύει παραρτέεσθαι ὥς ἐς πλόον, καὶ Ἀρχίης αὐτῷ ἐξήρτυε τὰ ἐς τὸν πλόον: αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπολειφθεὶς μετὰ μιῆς νεὸς ἐπὶ θεάν δῆθεν τῆς πόλιος ἦει.

προσάγοντι δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ τείχεα φιλίως ξεινία ἔφερον ἐκ τῆς πόλιος θύννους τε ἐν κριβάνοισιν ὀπτούς — οὗτοι γὰρ ἔσχατοι τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων οἰκέοντες πρῶτοι αὐτοῖσιν ὤφθησαν οὐκ ὠμοφαγέοντες — καὶ πέμματα ὀλίγα καὶ βαλάνους φοινίκων. [2] ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἄσμενος δέκεσθαι [p. 36] ἔφη, ἐθέλειν δὲ θεήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν: οἱ δὲ εἶων παρελθεῖν. [3] ὥς δὲ ἔσω πυλέων παρῆλθε, δύο μὲν τῶν τοξοτέων κατέχειν κελεύει τὴν πυλίδα, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ δυοῖν ἄλλοιν καὶ τοῦ ἐρμηνέος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ταύτῃ ἀνελθὼν ἐσήμνηε τοῖσιν ἀμφὶ Ἀρχίν ὅπως συνεκέετο. τὸν μὲν ὦν σημῆναι, τὸν δὲ συμβαλόντα ποιέειν τὸ τεταγμένον. [4] ἰδόντες δὲ τὸ σημῆιον οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐπώκελλόν τε κατὰ τάχος τὰς νέας καὶ ἐξεπήδων σπουδῇ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐκπλαγέντες τοῖσι γινομένοισιν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἔθεον. [5] ὁ δὲ ἐρμηνεύς ὁ σὺν Νεάρχῳ ἐκήρυσσε σῖτον δοῦναι τῇ στρατιῇ, εἰ σῶην ἐθέλουσιν ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν: οἱ δὲ ἠρνέοντο εἶναι σφίσι, καὶ ἅμα προσέβαλλον τῷ τείχεϊ. ἀλλὰ ἀνέστελλον αὐτοὺς οἱ τοξόται οἱ ἀμφὶ Νεάρχον, ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τοξεύοντες. [6] ὥς δὲ ἔμαθον ἐχομένην τε ἤδη καὶ ὅσον οὐπω ἀνδραποδισθησομένην σφίσι τὴν πόλιν, τότε δὴ ἐδέοντο τοῦ Νεάρχου, τὸν μὲν σῖτον ὅσπερ ἦν αὐτοῖσι λαβόντα ἀπαγαγεῖν, τὴν πόλιν δὲ μὴ διαφθεῖραι. [7] Νέαρχος δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀρχίν κελεύει καταλαβεῖν τὰς πύλας καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὰς τεῖχος, αὐτὸς δὲ συμπέμπει τοὺς κατοπομένους τὸν σῖτον εἰ ἀδόλως δεικνῦσιν. [8] οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν ὀπτῶν ἀληλεσμένον ἄλευρον πολλὸν ἐδείκνυν, πυρούς δὲ καὶ κριθὰς ὀλίγας: καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγγανον σίτῳ μὲν τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων, τοῖσι δὲ ἄρτοισιν ὅσα ὄψω διαχρεόμενοι. [9] ὥς δὲ τὰ ἐόντα ἐπεδείκνυν, οὕτω δὴ ἐκ τῶν παρεόντων ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἀνήγοντο, καὶ ὁρμίζονται πρὸς ἄκρην, ἦντινα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἱρὴν Ἥλιου ἦγον: οὖνομα τῇ ἄκρῃ Βάγεια.

ἐνθὲνδε ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄραντες διεκπλώουσι σταδίους ἐς χιλίους ἐς Τάλμενα λιμένα εὖορμον. ἐνθὲνδε ἐς Κανασίδα πόλιν ἐρήμην σταδίους ἐς τετρακοσίους, ἵνα τινὶ φρέατι ὀρυκτῷ ἐπιτυγχάνουσι, καὶ φοίνικες [p. 37] ἄγριοι ἐπεφύκεσαν. τούτων τοὺς ἐγκεφάλους κόπτοντες ἐσιτέοντο: σῖτος γὰρ ἐπελελοιπείη τὴν στρατιήν. [2] καὶ κακῶς ἦδη ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἔχοντες ἔπλωον τὴν τε ἡμέρην καὶ τὴν νύκτα, καὶ ὁρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ ἐρήμῳ [3] Νέαρχος δὲ καταδείσας μὴ ἄρα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβάντες ἀπολίποιν τὰς νέας ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας, ἐπὶ

τῷδε μετεώρους ἔσχε τὰς νέας ἐπ' ἄγκυρέων. [4] ἐνθὲνδε ἀναχθέντες ἐς Κανάτην ὀρμίζονται, σταδίους ὡς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα διεκπλώσαντες. ἔστι δὲ καὶ αἰγιαλὸς ἐνθαῦτα καὶ διώρυχες βραχέαι. [5] ἐνθὲνδε σταδίους ὀκτακοσίους πλώσαντες ἐν Τροῖσιν ὀρμίζονται, κῶμαι δὲ σμικραὶ καὶ πονηραὶ ἐπῆσαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνθρωποι ἐκλείπουσι τὰ οἰκία, αὐτοὶ δὲ σίτω τινὶ ὀλίγῳ ἐπιτυγχάνουσι, καὶ βαλάνοισιν ἐκ φοινίκων. καὶ καμήλους ἐπτά ὅσαι ἐγκατελήφθησαν κατακόψαντες, ἀπὸ τούτων ἐσιτέοντο. [6] ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑω ἀναχθέντες σταδίους τριηκοσίους πλώουσι, καὶ κατορμίζονται ἐς Δαγάσειρα: ἐνθα νομάδες τινὲς ἄνθρωποι ᾤκεον. [7] ἐνθὲνδε ἄραντες τὴν τε νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέρην οὐδὲν τι ἐλινύοντες ἔπλων, ἀλλὰ διελθόντες γὰρ σταδίους χιλίους τε καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐξέπλωσαν τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, πολλὰ κακὰ ταύτῃ παθόντες ἀπορίῃ τῶν ἀναγκαίων. [8] ὀρμίζονται δὲ οὐ πρὸς τῇ γῇ — ῥηχίη γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἀνέχουσα — , ἀλλὰ μετέωροι ἐπ' ἄγκυρέων: μῆκος τοῦ παραπλοοῦ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς χώρας στάδιοι ὀλίγῳ πλευνες ἢ μύριοι. [9] οὗτοι οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι σιτέονται, κατ' ὃ τι περ καὶ κληίζονται, ἰχθύας, ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀλιεύοντες τοὺς ἰχθύας — ὀλίγοισι γὰρ καὶ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τῷδε πεποιήται καὶ τέχνη ἐξεύρηται ἐπὶ τῇ θήρῃ τῶν ἰχθύων — , τὸπολλὸν δὲ ἡ ἀνάπτωτις αὐτοῖσι παρέχει. [10] οἱ δὲ καὶ δίκτυα ἐπὶ τῷδε πεποιήνται, μέγαθος καὶ ἐς δύο σταδίους τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν. πλέκουσι δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ φλοιοῦ τῶν φοινίκων, στρέφοντες [p. 38] τὸν φλοιὸν ὥσπερ λίνον. [11] ἐπεὰν δὲ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπονοστήσῃ, ἵνα μὲν ξηρὴ ἡ γῇ ὑπολείπεται, ἐρήμη τὸ πολλὸν ἐστὶν ἰχθύων: ἐνθα δὲ βαθέα ἐστίν, ὑπολείπεται τι τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἐν τῷδε κάρτα πολλοὶ ἰχθύες: οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ σμικροὶ αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μέζονες. τούτοισι περιβάλλοντες τὰ δίκτυα αἰρέουσι. [12] σιτέονται δὲ ὠμοὺς μὲν, ὅκως ἀνειρῶουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος, τοὺς ἀπαλωτάτους αὐτῶν: τοὺς δὲ μέζονάς τε καὶ σκληροτέρους ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ αὐαίνοντες, εὖτ' ἂν ἀπαυανθῶσι, καταλεῦντες ἄλευρα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖνται καὶ ἄρτους: οἱ δὲ μάζας ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἀλεύρων πέσσουσι. [13] καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα αὐτοῖσι τοὺς ἰχθύας ξηροὺς σιτέεται: ἡ γὰρ χώρα ἐρήμη λειμώνων οὐδὲ ποίην φέρει. [14] θηρεύουσι δὲ καὶ καράβους πολλαχῇ καὶ ὄστρεα καὶ κογχύλια. ἄλεις δὲ αὐτόματοι γίνονται ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ... ἀπὸ τούτων ἔλαιον ποιεῖουσιν. [15] οἱ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἐρήμους τόπους οἰκεῖουσιν ἄδενδρόν τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ἄφορον καρπῶν ἡμέρων — καὶ τούτοισιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων ἡ πᾶσα δίαίτα ποιεῖται — , ὀλίγοι δὲ αὐτῶν σπεύρουσιν ὅσον τῆς χώρας, [καὶ τούτῳ κατάπερ ὧψφ χρέονται πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθύας:] ὁ γὰρ σίτος αὐτοῖσιν εἰσιν ἰχθύες. [16] οἰκία δὲ ποιεῖνται οἱ μὲν εὐδαιμονέστατοι αὐτῶν ὅσα κήτεα ἐκβάλλει ἡ θάλασσα, τούτων τὰ ὅστέα ἐπιλεγόμενοι, καὶ τούτοισιν ἀντὶ ξύλων χρεόμενοι. καὶ θύρας τὰ ὅστέα ὅσα πλατέα αὐτῶν ποιεῖνται: τοῖσι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ πενεστέροισιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκανθέων τῶν ἰχθύων τὰ οἰκία ποιεῖται.

κήτεα δὲ μεγάλα ἐν τῇ ἑξω θαλάσῃ βόσκεται, καὶ ἰχθύες πολλῷ μέζονες ἢ ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἑσω. [2] καὶ λέγει Νέαρχος, ὁκότε ἀπὸ Κυτῶν παρέπλων, ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω ὀφθῆναι ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης οἷά περ ἐκ πρηστήρων βίᾳ ἀναφερόμενον, [3] ἐκπλαγέντας δὲ σφᾶς πυνθάνεσθαι [p. 39] τῶν κατηγεομένων τοῦ πλόου ὃ τι εἶη καὶ ἀπ' ὅτου τοῦτο τὸ πάθημα: τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὅτι κήτεα φερόμενα

κατὰ τὸν πόντον ἀναφυσᾷ ἐς τὸ ἄνω τὸ ὕδωρ. καὶ τοῖσι ναύτησιν ἐκπλαγεῖσιν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὰ ἔρετμὰ ἐκπείσειν, [4] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιὼν παρακαλέειν τε καὶ θαρσύνειν, καὶ κατ' οὐστinas παραπλῶων ἐγένετο, ἐς μέτωπόν τε κελεύσαι καταστῆσαι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίῃ τὰς νέας, καὶ ἐπαλαλάζοντας ὁμοῦ τῷ ὀρθίῳ πυκνὴν τε καὶ σὺν κτύπῳ πολλῷ τὴν εἰρεσίην ποιέεσθαι. οὕτως ἀναθαρσῆσαντας ὁμοῦ δὴ πλώειν ἀπὸ συνθήματος. [5] ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἤδη τοῖσι θηρίοισιν, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτοὺς μὲν ὅσον αἱ κεφαλαὶ αὐτοῖσιν ἐχώρειν ἐπαλαλάζειν, τὰς δὲ σάλπιγγας σημῆναι, καὶ τὸν κτύπον τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρεσίης ὡς ἐπὶ μήκιστον κατασχεῖν. [6] οὕτω δὴ ὀρεύμενα ἤδη κατὰ τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν τὰ κήτεα ἐς βυσσὸν δύναι ἐκπλαγέντα, καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον κατὰ τὰς πρύμνας [7] ἀναδύντα ἀνασχεῖν καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης αὔθις ἀναφυσῆσαι ἐπὶ μέγα. ἐνθεν κρότους τε ἐπὶ τῇ παραλόγῳ σωτηρίῃ γενέσθαι τῶν ναυτέων, καὶ αἶνον ἐς τὸν Νέαρχον τε τόλμης καὶ τῆς σοφίης. [8] τούτων μετεξέτερα τῶν κητέων ἐποκέλλειν πολλαχοῦ τῆς χώρας, ἐπειδὴν ἀνάπωτις κατάσχη, ἐν τοῖσι βραχέσιν ἐχόμενα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ χειμώνων σκληρῶν ἐς τὴν χέρσον ἐξωθέεσθαι, καὶ οὕτω δὴ κατασηπόμενα ἀπόλλυσθαι τε καὶ τὰς σάρκας αὐτοῖσι περιρρεούσας ὑπολείπειν τὰ ὅστέα χρᾶσθαι τοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία. [9] εἶναι ὦν τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇσι πλευρῇσιν αὐτῶν ὅστέα δοκοὺς τοῖσιν οἰκήμασιν ὅσα μεγάλα, τὰ δὲ σμικρότερα στρωτῆρας· τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇσι σιαγόσι, ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι τὰ θύρετρα, οἷα δὴ πολλῶν καὶ ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ὀργυιάς ἀνηκόντων τὸ μέγαθος.

εὐτε δὲ παρέπλων τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἰχθυοφάγων, λόγον ἀκούουσι περὶ νήσου τινός ἥ κέεται μὲν ἀπέχουσα [p. 40] τῆς ταύτης ἡπείρου σταδίους ἐς ἑκατόν, ἐρήμη δὲ ἐστὶν οἰκητόρων. [2] ταύτην ἱρὴν Ἥλιου ἔλεγον εἶναι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ Νόσαλα καλέεσθαι, οὐδέ τινα ἀνθρώπων καταίρειν ἐθέλειν ἐς αὐτήν· ὅστις δὲ ἂν ἀπειρήνῃ προσσχῇ, γίνεσθαι ἀφανέα. [3] ἀλλὰ λέγει Νέαρχος κέρκουρόν σφιν ἓνα πλήρωμα ἔχοντα Αἰγυπτίων οὐ πόρρω τῆς νήσου ταύτης γενέσθαι ἀφανέα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ πλόου ἰσχυρίζεσθαι ὅτι ἄρα κατάραντες ὑπ' ἀγνοίης ἐς τὴν νῆσον γένοιτο ἀφανέες. [4] Νέαρχος δὲ πέμπει κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν νῆσον τριηκόντορον, κελεύσας μὴ κατασχεῖν μὲν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, ἐμβοᾶν δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς μάλιστα ἐν χρῷ παραπλῶοντας, καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην οὐνομάζοντας καὶ ὅτου ἄλλου οὐκ ἀφανὲς τὸ οὖνομα. [5] ὡς δὲ οὐδένα ὑπακούειν, τότε δὴ αὐτὸς λέγει πλῶσαι ἐς τὴν νῆσον, καὶ κατασχεῖν προσαναγκάσαι τοὺς ναύτας οὐκ ἐθέλοντας, καὶ ἐκβῆναι αὐτὸς καὶ ἐλέγξει κενὸν μῦθον ἔοντα τὸν περὶ τῇ νήσῳ λόγον. [6] ἀκοῦσαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλον λόγον λεγόμενον, οἰκῆσαι τὴν νῆσον ταύτην μίαν τῶν Νηρηίδων· τὸ δὲ οὖνομα οὐ λέγεσθαι τῆς Νηρηίδος. ταύτη δὲ ὅστις πελάσειε, τούτῳ δὲ συγγίνεσθαι μὲν, ἰχθὺν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ποιέουσιν ἐμβάλλειν ἐς τὸν πόντον. [7] ἥλιον δὲ ἀχθεσθέντα τῇ Νηρηίδι κελεύειν μετοικίζεσθαι αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς νήσου· τὴν δὲ ὁμολογέειν μὲν ὅτι ἐξοικισθήσεται, δέεσθαι δὲ οἱ τὸ πάθημα παυθῆναι, καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον ὑποδέξασθαι· [8] τοὺς δὲ σὴ ἀνθρώπους οὐστinas ἰχθύας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐπεποιήκει κατελεήσαντα ἀνθρώπους αὔθις ἐξ ἰχθύων ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὸ γένος καὶ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον κατελθεῖν. [9] καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι ψευδεᾶ ἐξελέγχει Νέαρχος, οὐκ ἐπαινέω αὐτὸν ἔγωγε τῆς σχολῆς τε

καὶ σοφίης, οὔτε κάρτα χαλεπὰ ἐξελεγχθῆναι ἐόντα, ταλαίπωρόν τε ἐὸν γινώσκων [p. 41] τοὺς παλαιοὺς λόγους ἐπιλεγόμενον ἐξελέγχειν ἐόντας ψευδέας.

ὑπὲρ δὲ τοὺς Ἰχθυοφάγους Ραδρώσιοι ἐς τὸ ἄνω οἰκέουσι γῆν πονηρὴν καὶ ψαμμώδεα, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κακὰ ἢ στρατιῇ τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔπαθε καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος, ὥς μοι ἤδη ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἀπήγηται. [2] ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Καρμανίην ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων κατήρεν ὁ στρατός, ἐνθαῦτα ἵνα πρῶτον τῆς Καρμανίης ὠρμίσαντο, ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων ἐσάλευσαν, ὅτι ῥηχίη παρετέτατο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος τριχέα. [3] ἐνθὲνδε οὐκέτι ὡσαύτως πρὸς ἡλίου δυομένου ἔπλωον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μεταξὺ δύσιός τε ἡλίου καὶ τῆς ἄρκτου μᾶλλον τι αἰ πρῶραι αὐτοῖσιν ἐπεῖχον. [4] καὶ ἡ Καρμανίη τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν Ὠρειτέων εὐδενδροτέρη τε καὶ εὐκαρποτέρη ἐστί, καὶ ποιώδης μᾶλλον τι καὶ εὐυδρος. [5] ὀρμίζονται δὲ ἐν Βάδει χώρῃ τῆς Καρμανίης οἰκεομένῳ, δένδρεά τε πολλὰ ἡμερα ἔχοντι πλὴν ἐλαίης, καὶ ἀμπέλους ἀγαθάς, καὶ σιτοφόρῳ. [6] ἐνθὲνδε ὀρμηθέντες καὶ διεκπλώσαντες σταδίους ὀκτακοσίους, πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ ὀρμίζονται ἐρήμῳ, καὶ κατορέουσιν ἄκρην μακρὴν ἀνέχουσιν ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος: ἀπέχειν δὲ ἐφαίνετο ἡ ἄκρη πλόον ὥς ἡμέρης. [7] καὶ οἱ τῶν χώρων ἐκείνων δαήμονες Ἀραβίης ἔλεγον τὴν ἀνέχουσιν ταύτην ἄκρην, καλέεσθαι δὲ Μάκετα: ἐνθεν τὰ κιννάμωμά τε καὶ ἄλλα τοιοῦτότροπα ἐς Ἀσσυρίους ἀγινέεσθαι. [8] καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τούτου, ἵναπερ ὁ στόλος ἐσάλευε, καὶ τῆς ἄρκης, ἦντινα καταντικρὺ ἀπεώρων ἀνέχουσιν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ὁ κόλπος — ἐμοὶ τε δοκέει καὶ Νεάρχῳ ὡσαύτως ἐδόκεεν — ἐς τὸ ἔσω ἀναχέεται, ὅπερ οἶκος ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα. [9] ταύτην τὴν ἄκρην ὥς κατεῖδον, Ὀνησίκριτος μὲν ἐπέχοντας ἐπ' αὐτὴν πλώειν ἐκέλευεν, ὥς μὴ κατὰ τὸν κόλπον ἐλαστρεῦντας ταλαιπωρέεσθαι. [10] Νεάρχος δὲ ὑποκρίνεται νήπιον [p. 42] εἶναι Ὀνησίκριτον, εἰ ἀγνοεῖ ἐπ' ὅτῳ ἐστάλη πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁ στόλος. [11] οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἀπορίη ἦν περὶ διασωθῆναι πάντα αὐτῷ τὸν στρατόν, ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄρα ἐκπέμψαι τὰς νέας, ἀλλὰ ἐθέλοντα αἰγιαλοὺς τε τοὺς κατὰ τὸν παράπλοον κατασκέψασθαι καὶ ὄρμους καὶ νησίδας, καὶ ὅστις κόλπος ἐσέχοι, ἐκπεριπλῶσαι τοῦτον, καὶ πόλιας ὅσαι ἐπιθαλάσσαι, καὶ εἴ τις ἔγκαρπος γῆ καὶ εἴ τις ἐρήμη. [12] σφᾶς ὦν οὐ χρῆναι ἀφανίσαι τὸ ἔργον, πρὸς τέρματι ἤδη ἐόντας τῶν πόνων, ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ ἀπόρως ἔτι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐν τῷ παραπλόῳ ἔχοντας. δεδιέναι τε, ἐπεὶ ἡ ἄκρη ἐς μεσαμβρίην ἀνέχοι, μὴ ἐρήμη τε τῇ ταύτῃ γῇ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ καὶ φλογώδεϊ ἐγκύρσειαν. [13] ταῦτα ἐνίκα, καὶ μοι δοκέει περιφανέως σῶσαι τὴν στρατιὴν τῇδε τῇ βουλῇ Νεάρχος: τὴν γὰρ δὴ ἄκρην ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτῇ χώρην πᾶσαν ἐρήμην τε εἶναι λόγος κατέχει καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορίη ἔχεσθαι.

ἀλλὰ ἔπλωον γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἄραντες τῇ γῇ προσεχέες, καὶ πλώσαντες σταδίους ὥς ἐπτακοσίους ἐν ἄλλῳ αἰγιαλῷ ὠρμίσαντο: Νεόπτανα οὖνομα τῷ αἰγιαλῷ. [2] καὶ αὐθις ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ἀνήγοντο, καὶ πλώσαντες σταδίους ἑκατὸν ὀρμίζονται κατὰ ποταμὸν Ἀναμιν: ὁ δὲ χῶρος Ἀρμόξεια ἐκαλέετο. δαφυλέα δὲ ἤδη καὶ πάμφορα τὰ ταύτῃ ἦν, πλὴν ἐλαίαι οὐκ ἐπεφύκεσαν. [3] ἐνθαῦτα ἐκβαίνουσί τε ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν πόνων ἄσμενοι ἀνεπαύοντο, μεμνημένοι ὅσα κακὰ κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν

πεπονθότες ἦσαν καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἰχθυοφάγων, τὴν τε ἐρημίην τῆς χώρας, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅκως θηριώδεες, καὶ τὰς σφῶν ἀπορίας ἐπιλεγόμενοι. [4] καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἀνῆλθον, ἀποσκεδασθέντες τῆς στρατιῆς κατὰ ζήτησιν ἄλλος ἄλλου. [5] ἐνθαῦτα ἄνθρωπός σφισιν ὥφθη χλαμύδα τε φορέων Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡς Ἑλλήνων ἐσκευασμένους, καὶ [p. 43] φωνὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐφώνεε. τοῦτον οἱ πρῶτοι ἰδόντες δακρῦσαι ἔλεγον· οὕτω τι παράλογόν σφισι φανῆναι ἐκ τῶν τοσῶνδε κακῶν Ἑλλήνων μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἰδεῖν, Ἑλλάδος δὲ φωνῆς ἀκοῦσαι. [6] ἐπηρώτων τε ὁκόθεν ἦκοι καὶ ὅστις ἐών· ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποσκεδασθῆναι ἔλεγε, καὶ εἶναι οὐ πόρρω τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. [7] τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον βοῶντές τε καὶ κροτέοντες ἀνάγουσι παρὰ τὸν Νέαρχον· καὶ Νεάρχῳ πάντα ἔφρασε, καὶ ὅτι πέντε ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπέχει τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης. [8] τὸν τε ὕπαρχον τῆς χώρας ταύτης δεῖξιν ἔφη Νεάρχῳ, καὶ ἔδειξε· καὶ μετὰ τούτου Νεάρχος γνώμην ποιεῖται, ὅκως ἀναβήσεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. [9] τότε μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας ἀπῆλθεν· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑὴν τὰς νέας ἐνεώλκεεν, ἐπισκευῆς τε εἵνεκα, ὅσαι αὐτέων κατὰ τὸν πλόον ἐπεπονήκεσαν, καὶ ἅμα ὅτι ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ ὑπολείπεσθαι οἱ ἐδόκεε τὸν πολλὸν στρατόν. χάρακά τε ὧν περιβάλλεται διπλόον τῷ ναυστάθμῳ, καὶ τεῖχος γήινον καὶ τάφρον βαθέαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς ὄχθης ἀρξάμενος ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἵνα αἱ νέες αὐτῷ ἀνειρυσμέναι ἦσαν.

ἐν ᾧ δὲ Νεάρχος ταῦτα ἐκόσμεε, τῆς χώρας ὁ ὕπαρχος πεπυσμένος ὅκως ἐν μεγάλῃ φροντίδι ἔχοι Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν στόλον τοῦτον, μέγα δὴ τι ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀγαθὸν ἔγνω πείσεσθαι, εἰ πρῶτός οἱ ἀπαγγεῖλει τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν σωτηρίην καὶ τὸν Νέαρχον ὅτι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀπίξεται ἐς ὄψιν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως. [2] οὕτω δὴ τὴν βραχυτάτην ἐλάσας ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι Νεάρχος οὗτος προσάγει ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. τότε μὲν δὴ καίπερ ἀπιστέων τῷ λόγῳ Ἀλεξάνδρος, ἀλλὰ ἐχάρη γε κατὰ τὸ οἶκος τῇ ἀγγελίῃ· [3] ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τε ἄλλη ἐξ ἄλλης ἐγίνετο, καὶ συντιθέντι αὐτῷ τῆς ἀγγελίης τὸν χρόνον οὐκέτι [p. 44] [4] πιστὰ τὰ ἀπηγγελμένα ἐφαίνετο, πεμπόμενοι τε ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοισιν ὡς ἐπὶ κοιμίδῃ τοῦ Νεάρχου οἱ μὲν τινες ὀλίγον τῆς ὁδοῦ προελθόντες καὶ οὐδενὶ ἐγκύρσαντες κενοὶ ἐπανήσαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πορρωτέρω ἐλθόντες καὶ διαμαρτόντες τῶν ἀμφὶ Νέαρχον, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ [5] ἐπανήσαν, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον, ὡς κενά τε ἀγγεῖλαντα καὶ λυπηρότερα οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ποιήσαντα τῇ ματαίῃ εὐφροσύνῃ, συλλαβεῖν κελεύει Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ τε ὄψι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ δηλὸς ἦν μεγάλῳ ἄχεϊ βεβλημένος. [6] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν τινες κατὰ ζήτησιν τοῦ Νεάρχου ἐσταλμένων ἵππους τε ἐπὶ κοιμίδῃ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπήνας δὲ ἄγοντες ἐντυγχάνουσι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῷ τε Νεάρχῳ καὶ Ἀρχίῃ, καὶ κέντε ἢ ἐξ ἅμα αὐτοῖσι. [7] καὶ ἐντυχόντες οὔτε αὐτὸν ἐγνώρισαν οὔτε Ἀρχίην — οὕτω τι κάρτα ἄλλοιοι ἐφάνησαν, κομώοντές τε καὶ ῥυπόωντες καὶ μεστοὶ ἄλμης καὶ ῥικνοὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ ὠχροὶ ὑπὸ ἀγρυπνίης [8] τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ταλαιπωρίας — ἀλλὰ ἐρομένοισι γὰρ αὐτοῖσιν ἵνα περ εἴη Ἀλέξανδρος, ὑποκρινάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ δὲ παρήλυνον. [9] Ἀρχίης δὲ ἐπιφρασθεὶς λέγει πρὸς Νέαρχον· ὦ Νεάρχε, τούτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δι' ἐρημίας ἐλαύνειν τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ὁδὸν οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινί

συντίθημι ὅτι μὴ κατὰ ζήτησιν τὴν ἡμετέρην ἀπεσταλμένους. [10] ὅτι δὲ οὐ γινώσκουσιν ἡμέας, οὐκ ἐν θώματι ποιέομαι: οὕτω γάρ τι ἔχομεν κακῶς, ὥστε ἄγνωστοι εἶναι. φράσωμεν αὐτοῖσιν οἵτινες εἰμεν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐρώμεθα κατ' ὅτι ταύτην ἐλαύνουσιν. [11] ' ἔδοξε Νεάρχῳ ἐναίσιμα λέγειν: καὶ ἤροντο ὅκοι ἐλαύνουσιν: οἱ δὲ ὑποκρίνονται ὅτι κατὰ ζήτησιν Νεάρχου τε καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ. [12] δ δὲ 'οὔτος' ἔφη 'ἐγὼ εἰμι Νεάρχος, καὶ Ἀρχίης οὗτος. ἀλλὰ ἄγετε ἡμέας: ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιῆς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀπηγγεσόμεθα.' [p. 45]

ἀναλαβόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπήνας ὀπίσω ἤλαυνον. καὶ τινες αὐτῶν τούτων ὑποφθάσαι ἐθέλησαντες τὴν ἀγγελίην, προδραμόντες λέγουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι 'οὔτός τοι Νεάρχος, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἀρχίης καὶ πέντε ἄλλοι κομίζονται παρὰ σέ,' ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς οὐδὲν εἶχον ὑποκρίνασθαι. [2] τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο συνθεῖς Ἀλέξανδρος, τοὺς μὲν παραλόγως ἀποσωθῆναι, τὴν στρατιὴν δὲ πᾶσαν διεφθάρθαι αὐτῷ, οὐ τοσόνδε Νεάρχου τε καὶ Ἀρχίεω τῇ σωτηρίῃ ἔχαιρεν, ὅσον ἐλύπεεν αὐτὸν ἀπολομένη ἡ στρατιὴ πᾶσα. [3] οὕτω πάντα εἶρητο, καὶ Νεάρχός τε καὶ Ἀρχίης προσήγον. τοὺς δὲ μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐπέγνων Ἀλέξανδρος: ὅτι τε κομόωντας καὶ κακῶς ἐσταλμένους κατεώρα, ταύτη μᾶλλον τι βεβαιότερον αὐτῷ τὸ ἄχος ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐγίνετο. [4] ὁ δὲ τὴν δεξιὴν Νεάρχῳ ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν μῦθον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστέων, πολλὸν χρόνον ἐδάκρυεν: [5] ὃς δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν 'ἀλλὰ σύγε ἡμῖν ὅτι ἐπανάγκεις σῶς' ἔφη 'καὶ Ἀρχίης οὗτος, ἔχοι ἂν ἔμοιγε ὥς ἐπὶ συμφορῇ τῇ ἀπάσῃ μετρίως: αἱ δέ τοι νέες καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ κοίῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ διεφθάρησαν;' [6] ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν 'ὦ βασιλεῦ,' ἔφη 'καὶ αἱ νέες τοι σῶαί εἰσι καὶ ὁ στρατός: ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτάγγελοι τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν ἦκομεν. [7] ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐδάκρυεν Ἀλέξανδρος, κατ' ὅτι ἀνέλπιστός οἱ ἡ σωτηρίῃ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐφαίνετο: καὶ ὅκου ὀρμέουσιν αἱ νέες ἀνηρώτα. ὁ δὲ 'αὐταί' ἔφη 'ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀνάμιδος ποταμοῦ ἀνειρυσμένα ἐπισκευάζονται. [8] ' Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὸν τε Δία τὸν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὸν Ἀμμωνα τὸν Λιβύων ἐπόμνυσιν, ἧ μὲν μεζόνως ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ ἀγγελίῃ χαίρειν ἢ ὅτι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐκτημένος ἔχει. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἄχος οἱ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείῃ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀντίρροπον γενέσθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ πάσῃ εὐτυχίῃ. [p. 46]

ὁ δὲ ὑπαρχος τῆς χώρας, ὄντινα συνειλήφει Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγγελίης τῇ ματαιότητι, παρεόντα κατιδὼν τὸν Νεάρχον, πίπτει τε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ γούνατα, [2] καὶ 'οὔτός τοι' ἔφη 'ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὃς ἀπηγγεῖλα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι σῶοι ἤκετε: ὁρᾷς ὅκως διάκειμαι.' οὕτω δὲ δέεται Ἀλεξάνδρου Νεάρχος ἀπεινᾶν τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἀπίεται. [3] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σωτήρια τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔθυε Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ Ἡρακλεί καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀλεξικάκῳ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι θαλάσσιοι θεοὶ, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίεε γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν, καὶ πομπὴν ἔπεμπε: καὶ Νεάρχος ἐν πρώτοισιν ἐπόμπευε, ταινίησί τε καὶ ἄνθεσι πρὸς τῆς στρατιῆς βαλλόμενος. [4] ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ τέλος εἶχε, λέγει πρὸς Νεάρχον 'ἐγὼ σε, ὦ Νεαρχε, οὐκέτι ἐθέλω τὸ πρῖσω οὔτ' ὧν κινδυνεύειν οὔτε τλαιπωρέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος γὰρ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐξηγήσεται τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, ἔστε καταστῆσαι αὐτὸ ἐς Σοῦσα. [5] ' Νεάρχος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν λέγει 'ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ μὲν τοι πάντα πείθεσθαι ἐθέλω τε καὶ ἀναγκαίη μοί ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ εἰ δὴ τι καὶ σὺ

ἐμοὶ χαρίζεσθαι ἐθέλεις, μὴ ποιήσης ὧδε, ἀλλὰ με ἕασον ἐξηγήσασθαι ἐς ἅπαν τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἔστ' ἂν σοι σφᾶς καταστήσω ἐς Σοῦσα τὰς νέας. [6] μὴ δὲ τὰ μὲν χαλεπά τε καὶ ἄπορα ἐμοὶ ἐπιτετραμμένα ἐκ σοῦ ἔστω, τὰ δὲ εὐπετέα τε καὶ κλέεος ἤδη ἐχόμενα ἐτοίμου, ταῦτα δὲ ἀπαιρεθέντα ἄλλω ἐς χεῖρας διδόσθω. [7] ἔτι λέγοντα παύει Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ χάριν προσωμολόγεεν εἰδέναι. οὕτω δὴ καταπέμπει αὐτόν, στρατιὴν δούς ἐς παραπομπὴν ὡς διὰ φιλῆς ἰόντι ὀλίγην. [8] τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἔξω πόνου ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ συλλελεγμένοι γὰρ οἱ κύκλῳ βάρβαροι τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς Καρμανίης κατεῖχον, ὅτι ὁ σατράπης αὐτοῖσι ἐτετελευτήκει κατὰ πρόσταξιν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὁ δὲ νεωστὶ κατεστηκὼς Τληπόλεμος οὕπῳ βέβαιον [p. 47] τὸ κράτος εἶχε. [9] δις ὦν καὶ τρίς τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρῃ ἄλλοισι καὶ ἄλλοισι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιφαινομένοισιν ἐς χεῖρας ἦεσαν, καὶ οὕτως οὐδὲν τι ἐλινύσαντες μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀπεσώθησαν. ἐνθαῦτα θύει Νέαρχος Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν.

ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ θεῖα ἐν κόσμῳ ἐπεποιήτο, οὕτω δὴ ἀνήγοντο. παραπλώσαντες δὲ νῆσον ἐρήμην τε καὶ τρηχέαν ἐν ἄλλῃ νήσῳ ὀρμίζονται, μεγάλη ταύτη καὶ οἰκεομένη, πλώσαντες σταδίους τριηκοσίους ἐνθενπερ ὀρμήθησαν. [2] καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐρήμη νῆσος Ὅργανα ἐκαλέετο, ἐς ἣν δὲ ὀρμίσθησαν Ὁάρακτα. ἄμπελοί τε ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεφύκεσαν καὶ φοῖνικες, καὶ σιτοφόρος ἦν: τὸ δὲ μῆκος τῆς νήσου στάδιοι ὀκτακόσιοι. καὶ ὁ ὑπαρχος τῆς νήσου Μαζήνης συνέπλωνεν αὐτοῖσι μέχρι Σούσων, ἐθελοντῆς ἡγεμὼν τοῦ πλόου. [3] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῦ πρώτου δυναστεύσαντος τῆς χώρας ταύτης δείκνυσθαι τὸν τάφον: οὖνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Ἐρύθρην εἶναι. ἀπ' οὗτο καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην τῇ θαλάσῃ ταύτῃ εἶναι. [4] ἐνθένδε ἄραντες ἔπλων: καὶ τῆς νήσου παραπλώσαντες ὅσον διηκοσίους σταδίους ὀρμίζονται ἐν αὐτῇ αὐθις, καὶ κατορέουσιν ἄλλην νῆσον, ἀπέχουσαν τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα σταδίους. Ποσειδῶνος ἰρὴ ἐλέγετο εἶναι καὶ ἄβατος. [5] ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἔω ἀνήγοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνει αὐτοὺς ἀνάπωτις οὕτω τι καρτερή, ὥστε τρεῖς τῶν νεῶν ἐποκείλασαι ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ ἐσχέθησαν, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι χαλεπῶς διεκπλώουσαι τὰς ῥηχίας ἐς τὰ βάθη ἀπεσώθησαν. [6] αἱ δὲ ἐποκείλασαι τῆς πλημμυρίδος ἐπιγενομένης αὐθις ἐξέπλωσάν τε καὶ δευτεραῖα κατήγοντο ἵνα περ ὁ πᾶς στόλος. [7] ὀρμίζονται δὲ ἐς νῆσον ἄλλην, διέχουσαν τῆς ἡπείρου ὅσον τριηκοσίους σταδίους, πλώσαντες τετρακοσίους. [8] ἐνθεῦτεν ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω ἔπλων, νῆσον ἐρήμην ἐν ἀριστερῇ [p. 48] παραμείβοντες: οὖνομα δὲ τῇ νήσῳ Πύλωρα. καὶ ὀρμίζονται πρὸς Σισιδῶνῃ, πολυχνίῳ σμικρῷ καὶ πάντων ἀπόρῳ, ὅτι μὴ ὕδατος καὶ ἰχθύων: ἰχθυοφάγοι γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἦσαν, ὅτι πονηρὴν γῆν νέμονται. [9] ἐνθένδε ὑδρευσάμενοι καταίρουσιν ἐς Ταρσίην ἄκρην ἀνατεινούσαν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, πλώσαντες σταδίους τριηκοσίους. ἐνθένδε ἐς Καταίνην, νῆσον ἐρήμης, ἀλιτενέα: [10] αὕτη ἰρὴ Ἑρμέω καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐλέγετο: στάδιοι τοῦ πλόου τριηκοσίοι. [11] ἐς ταύτην ὅσα ἔτι ἀπίεται ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων πρόβατα καὶ αἶγες ἰρὰ τῷ Ἑρμῇ καὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπηγριωμένα ἦν ὁρᾶν ὑπὸ χρόνου τε καὶ ἐρημίας.

μέχρι τοῦδε Καρμανίη: τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Πέρσαι ἔχουσι. μῆκος τοῦ πλόου

παρὰ τὴν Καρμανίων χώραν στάδιοι τρισχίλιοι καὶ ἑπτακόσιοι. ζῶνσι δὲ κατάπερ Πέρσαι, ὅτι καὶ ὁμουροὶ εἰσι Πέρσῃσι· καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὠσαύτως κοσμέονται. [2] ἐνθὲνδε ἄραντες παρὰ τὴν Περσίδα ἤδη ἔπλων, καὶ κατάγονται ἐς Ἴλαν χῶρον, ἵνα λιμὴν πρὸς νήσου σμικρῆς καὶ ἐρήμης γίνεται· οὖνομα τῇ νήσῳ Καϊκανδρος, ὁ δὲ πλόος στάδιοι τετρακόσιοι. [3] ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἔω ἐς ἄλλην νήσον πλώσαντες ὁρμίζονται οἰκεομένην, ἵνα καὶ μαργαρίτην θηρᾶσθαι λέγει Νέαρχος κατάπερ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν θαλάσῃ. ταύτης τῆς νήσου τὴν ἄκρην παραπλώσαντες σταδίους ὡς τεσσαράκοντα, ἐνθαῦτα ὠρμίσθησαν. [4] ἐνθὲνδε πρὸς οὐρεὶ ὁρμίζονται ὑψηλῷ — Ὠχος οὖνομα τῷ οὐρεὶ — ἐν λιμένι εὐόρμῳ, καὶ ἀλίεες αὐτόθι ᾤκεον. [5] καὶ ἐνθεν πλώσαντες σταδίους τετρακοσίους τε καὶ πεντήκοντα, ὁρμίζονται ἐν Ἀποστάνοισι· καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ αὐτόθι ὥρμεε, κώμη τε ἐπὶν ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης σταδίους ἐξήκοντα. [6] νυκτὸς δὲ ἄραντες ἐνθευτεν ἐσπλώουσιν ἐς κόλπον συνοικεόμενον πολλῇσι κώμησι. στάδιοι τοῦ [p. 49] πλόου τετρακόσιοι· ὁρμίζονται δὲ πρὸς ὑπαρείῃ. ταύτῃ φοινικές τε πολλοὶ ἐπεφύκεσαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀκρόδρυα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι φύεται. [7] ἐνθὲνδε ἄραντες ἐς Γώγανα παραπλώουσι σταδίους μάλιστα ἐς ἑξακοσίους ἐς χώραν οἰκεομένην· ὁρμίζονται δὲ ποταμοῦ χειμαρρόου — οὖνομα δὲ οἱ Ἀρεῶν — ἐν τῇσιν ἐκβολῇσιν. ἐνθαῦτα χαλεπῶς ὁρμίζονται· στεῖνός γάρ ἦν ὁ ἔσπλος κατὰ τὸ στόμα, ὅτι βραχέα τὰ κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀνάπωτις ἐποίεε. [8] καὶ ἐνθεν αὖ ἐν στόματι ἄλλου ποταμοῦ ὁρμίζονται, διεκπλώσαντες σταδίους ἐς ὀκτακοσίους· Σιτακὸς οὖνομα τῷ ποταμῷ ἦν. ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ ἐν τούτῳ εὐμαρέως ὁρμίζονται, καὶ ὁ πλόος ἅπας οὗτος ὁ παρὰ τὴν Περσίδα βραχέα τε ἦν καὶ ῥηχὴ καὶ τενάγεια. [9] ἐνθαῦτα σῖτον καταλαμβάνουσι πολλὸν συγκεκομισμένον κατὰ πρόσταξιν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς σφίσιν εἶναι ἐπισιτίσασθαι· ἐνθαῦτα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τὰς πάσας μίαν καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ τὰς νέας ἀνειρυσάμενοι, ὅσαι μὲν ἐπεπονήκεσαν ἐπεσκεύαζον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐθεράπευον.

ἐνθὲνδε ὁρμηθέντες ἐς Ἰέρατιν πόλιν ἀπίκοντο, ἐς χῶρον οἰκεόμενον. ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ πεντήκοντα στάδιοι ὁ πλόος· ὠρμίσθησαν δὲ ἐν διώρυγι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐμβεβλημένη ἐς θάλασσαν, ἥ οὖνομα ἦν Ἡράτεμις. [2] ἅμα δὲ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι παραπλώουσιν ἐς ποταμὸν χειμάρρον, οὖνομα Πάδαργον, ὁ δὲ χῶρος χερσόνησος ἅπας. καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κῆποι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἀκρόδρυα παντοῖα ἐφύετο· οὖνομα τῷ χώρῳ Μεσαμβρίη. [3] ἐκ Μεσαμβρίας δὲ ὁρμηθέντες καὶ διεκπλώσαντες σταδίους μάλιστα ἐς διηκοσίους ἐς Ταόκην ὁρμίζονται ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Γράνιδι. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐς τὸ ἄνω τὰ Περσέων βασιλῆα ἦν, ἀπέχοντα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν ἐκβολέων σταδίους ἐς διηκοσίους. [4] κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν παράπλοον λέγει Νέαρχος ὀφθῆναι κῆτος ἐκβεβλημένον ἐς τὴν ἡίονα, καὶ τοῦτο προσπλώσαντάς [p. 50] τινας τῶν ναυτέων ἐκμετρήσαι καὶ φάναι εἶναι πήχεων πεντήκοντα· [5] δέρμα δὲ αὐτῷ εἶναι φολιδωτόν, οὕτω τι ἐς βάθος ἦκον, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν ἐπέχειν· ὄστρεά τε καὶ λοπάδας καὶ φυκία πολλὰ ἔχειν ἐπιτεφυκότα. καὶ δελφῖνας λέγει ὅτι κατορᾶν ἦν πολλοὺς ἀμφὶ τῷ κῆτεϊ, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἔσῳ θαλάσῃ μέζονας τοῦ δελφῖνας. [6] ἐνθὲνδε ὁρμηθέντες κατάγονται ἐς Ῥόγονιν ποταμὸν χειμάρρον ἐν λιμένι εὐόρμῳ· μῆκος τοῦ παραπλόου στάδιοι διηκοσίοι. [7] ἐνθὲνδε τετρακοσίους σταδίους

διεκπλώσαντες αὐλίζονται ἐν ποταμῷ χειμαρρῷ: Βρίξανα τῷ ποταμῷ οὖνομα. ἐνθαῦτα χαλεπῶς ὠρμίσαντο, ὅτι ῥήχῃ ἦν καὶ βραχέα, καὶ χοιράδες ἐκ τοῦ πόντου ἀνεῖχον. ἀλλὰ ὅτε ἡ πλήμμυρα ἐπήει, τότε ὠρμίσαντο: [8] ὑπονοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐπὶ ξηροῦ ὑπελείφθησαν αἱ νέες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ πλημμυρίς ἐν τάξιν ἀμείβουσα ἐπανῆλθε, τότε δὴ ἐκπλώσαντες ὀρμίζονται ἐπὶ ποταμῷ: [9] οὖνομα σὲ τῷ ποταμῷ Ὅροάτις. μέγιστος δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν, ὡς λέγει Νέαρχος, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ παραπλῶ τῷδε ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὸν ἔξω πόντον.

[20] μέχρι τοῦδε Πέρσαι οἰκέουσι, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Σουσίοι. Σουσίων δὲ ἄλλο ἔθνος αὐτόνομον κατύπερθε προσοικεῖ: Οὐξιοὶ καλέονται, ὑπὲρ ὧν λέλεκται μοι ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ συγγραφῇ ὅτι ληστὰι εἰσι. μήκος τοῦ παραπλῶος τῆς Περσίδος χώρας στάδιοι τετρακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι. [2] τὴν δὲ Περσίδα γῆν τριχῇ νενεμήσθαι τῶν ὥρέων λόγος κατέχει. τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς πρὸς τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ οἰκούμενον ψαμμῶδες τε εἶναι καὶ ἄκαρπον ὑπὸ [3] καύματος, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὡς πρὸς ἄρκτον τε καὶ βορέην ἄνεμον ἰόντων καλῶς κεκρᾶσθαι τῶν ὥρέων, καὶ τὴν χώραν ποιῶδᾶ τε εἶναι καὶ λειμῶνας ὑδρηλοὺς καὶ ἄμπελον πολλὴν φέρειν καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι καρποὶ, πλὴν ἐλαΐης: [4] παραδείσοισι τε παντοίοισι τεθιγῆναι, καὶ ποταμοῖσι [p. 51] καθαροῖσι διαρρέεσθαι καὶ λίμνῃσι, καὶ ὄρνισιν ὀκόσοισιν ἀμφὶ ποταμούς τε καὶ λίμνας ἐστὶ τὰ ἥθεα ἵπποισι τε ἀγαθὴν εἶναι, καὶ τοῖσιν ἄλλοισιν ὑποζυγίοισι νέμεσθαι, καὶ ὑλῶδᾶ τε πολλὰ καὶ πολὺ θηρον. [5] τὴν δὲ πρόσω ἔτι ἐπ' ἄρκτον ἰόντων χειμερίην τε καὶ νιφετώδεα, ὥστε πρέσβεας τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου λέγει Νέαρχος κάρτα ὀλίγην ὁδὸν διελθόντας ἐντυχεῖν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἰόντι τῆς Περσίδος καὶ θῶμα γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ εἰπεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὴν βραχύτητα. [6] Σουσίοισι δὲ πρόσοικοι ὅτι εἰσὶν Οὐξιοὶ λέλεκται μοι, κατὰ περ Μάρδοι μὲν Πέρσῃσι προσεχέες οἰκέουσι, ληστὰι καὶ οὗτοι, Κοσσαῖοι δὲ Μήδοισι. [7] καὶ πάντα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα ἡμέρῳσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, χειμῶνος ὥρῃ ἐπιπεσὼν αὐτοῖσιν, ὅτε ἄβατον σφῶν τὴν χώραν ἦγον. [8] καὶ πόλιας ἐπέκτισε τοῦ μὴ νομάδας ἔτι εἶναι ἀλλὰ ἀροτῆρας καὶ γῆς ἐργάτας, καὶ ἔχειν ὑπὲρ ὧν δειμαίνοντες μὴ κακὰ ἀλλήλους ἐργάσσονται. ἐνθένδε τὴν Σουσίων γῆν παρήμειβεν ὁ στρατός. [9] καὶ ταῦτα οὐκέτι ὡσαύτως ἀτρεκέως λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι ἔστιν οἱ ἐκφράσαι, πλὴν γε δὴ τοὺς ὅρμους τε καὶ τὸ μήκος τοῦ πλῶος: [10] τὴν χώραν γὰρ τεναγώδᾶ τε εἶναι τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ῥήχῃσιν ἐπὶ μέγα εἰς τὸν πόντον ἐπέχουσιν, καὶ ταύτη σφαλερὴν ἐγκατορμίζεσθαι. πελαγίοισιν ὧν σφίσι τὴν κομιδὴν τὸ πολλὸν γενέσθαι. [11] ὀρμηθῆναι μὲν δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν ἐκβολέων, ἵνα περ ὑπὸ λίσθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖσιν οὖροισι τῆς Περσίδος, ὕδωρ δὲ ἐμβαλέσθαι πέντε ἡμερῶν: οὐκ ἔφασκον γὰρ εἶναι ὕδωρ οἱ κατηγεμόνες τοῦ πλῶος.

σταδίους δὲ πεντακοσίους κομισθέντες ὀρμίζονται ἐπὶ στόματι λίμνης ἰχθυώδεος, ἣ οὖνομα Κατάδερβις: καὶ νησὶς ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι: Μαργάστανα τῇ νησίδι οὖνομα. [2] ἐνθένδε δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἑὴν ἐκπλώσαντες κατὰ βραχέα [p. 52] ἐκομίζοντο ἐπὶ μιῆς νεός: πασσάλοισι δὲ ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν πεπηγόσιν ἀπεδηλοῦτο τὰ βραχέα, κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ μεσσηγνὺς Λευκάδος τε νήσου ἰσθμῷ καὶ Ἀκαρνανίης ἀποδέδεικται σημήμια τοῖσι ναυτιλλομένοισι τοῦ μὴ ἐποκέλλειν ἐν τοῖσι βραχέσι τὰς νέας. [3] ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Λευκάδα

ψαμμώδεα ἔοντα τοῖσιν ἐποκείλασι ταχέαν τὴν ὑπονόστησιν ἐνδιδοῖ· κείθι δὲ πηλὸς ἐστὶν ἐπ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ πλεομένου βαθὺς καὶ ἰλυώδης, ὥστε οὐδεμιῇ μηχανῇ ἐποκείλασιν ἦν ἀποσωθῆναι. [4] οὕτε γὰρ κοντοὶ κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ δύνοντες αὐτοῖς οὐδέν τι ἐπωφέλεον, ἀνθρώποις τε ἐκβῆναι τοῦ ἀπῶσαι τὰς νέας ἐς τὰ πλεόμενα ἄπορον ἐγίνετο· ἔδυνον γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ ἔστε ἐπὶ τὰ στήθεα. [5] οὕτω δὴ χαλεπῶς διεκπλώσαντες ἐς σταδίους ἑξακοσίους κατὰ νέα ἕκαστοι ὀρμισθέντες, ἐνθαῦτα δείνουν ἐμνήσθησαν. [6] τὴν νύκτα δὲ ἤδη κατὰ βάθρα ἔπλων καὶ τὴν ἐπεξῆς ἡμέρην ἔστε ἐπὶ βουλυτόν· καὶ ἦλθον σταδίους ἑνακοσίους, καὶ κατωρμίσθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Εὐφράτεω πρὸς κώμη τινὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίης χώρας — οὖνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Διριδωτις — , [7] ἵνα λιβανωτόν τε ἀπὸ τῆς πέριξ γῆς οἱ ἔμποροι ἀγινέουσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα θυμῆματα ἡ Ἀράβων γῆ φέρει. [8] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Εὐφράτεω ἔστε ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα λέγει Νέαρχος σταδίους εἶναι ἐς τρισχίλιους καὶ τριηκοσίους.

ἐνθαῦτα ἀγγέλλεται Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ Σούσων στέλλεσθαι. ἔνθεν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ ὀπίσω ἔπλων, ὡς κατὰ τὸν Πασιτίγριν ποταμὸν ἀναπλώσαντες συμμιῖξαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [2] ἔπλων δὴ τὸ ἔμπαιν ἐν ἀριστερῇ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σουσίδα ἔχοντες, καὶ παραπλώουσι λίμνην, ἐς ἣν ὁ Τίγρης ἐρβάλλει ποταμός, [3] ὃς ῥέων ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ταρὰ πόλιν Νῖνον, πάλαι ποτὲ μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τὴν μέσην ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτεω ποταμοῦ — ἦν Μεσοποταμίην [p. 53] ἐπὶ τῷδε κληῖζεσθαι — ἀπείργει. [4] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς λίμνης ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι, ἵνα καὶ κώμη τῆς Σουσίδος, ἣν καλέουσιν Ἀγινιν· αὕτη δὲ ἀπέχει Σούσων σταδίους ἐς πεντακοσίους. μῆκος τοῦ παραπλόου τῆς Σουσίων γῆς ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πασιτίγριδος ποταμοῦ στάδιοι δισχίλιοι. [5] ἐνθένδε κατὰ τὸν Πασιτίγριν ἀνέπλων διὰ χώρας οἰκεομένης καὶ εὐδαίμονος. ἀναπλώσαντες δὲ σταδίους ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀρμίζονται, προσμένοντες οὐστinas ἐστάλκει Νέαρχος σκεψομένους ἵνα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἴη. [6] αὐτὸς δὲ ἔθυε θεοῖσι τοῖσι σωτήρσι, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίεε, καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ ἡ ναυτικὴ πᾶσα ἐν εὐθυμίῃσιν ἦν. [7] ὡς δὲ προσάγων ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος ἠγγέλλετο, ἔπλων αὐθις ἐς τὸ ἄνω κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν· καὶ πρὸς τῇ σχεδίῃ ὀρμίζονται, ἐπ' ἧς τὸ στράτευμα διαβιβάσειν ἔμελλεν Ἀλεξάνδρος ἐς Σούσα. [8] ἐνθαῦτα ἀνεμίγη ὁ στρατός, καὶ θυσίαι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐθύοντο ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῇ σωτηρίῃ, καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐποιέοντο· καὶ Νέαρχος ὅκου παραφανείη τῆς στρατιῆς, ἄνθεσί τε καὶ ταινίησιν ἐβάλλετο. [9] ἐνθα καὶ χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ στεφανοῦνται ται ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου Νέαρχός τε καὶ Λεόννατος, Νέαρχος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τῇ σωτηρίῃ, Λεόννατος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, ἣν Ὠρεΐτας τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τοὺς Ὠρεΐτησι προσοικέοντας βαρβάρους. οὕτω μὲν ἀπεσώθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τῶν ἐκβολέων ὀρμηθεὶς ὁ στρατός.

τὰ δὲ ἐν δεξιῇ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ὑπὲρ τὴν Βαβυλωνίην Ἀραβίη ἡ πολλή ἐστι, καὶ ταύτης τὰ μὲν κατήκει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ Φοινίκην τε καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην Συρίην, πρὸς δυομένου δὲ ἡλίου ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσω θάλασσαν Αἰγύπτιοι τῇ Ἀραβίῃ ὁμοιρεύουσι. [2] κατὰ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης κόλπος δηλὸν ποιεῖε ὅτι εἵνεκά γε τοῦ σύρροον εἶναι τὴν [p. 54] ἔξω θάλασσαν περίπλους ἂν ἦν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐς τὸν κόλπον

τοῦτον ἐσέχοντα ὡς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. [3] ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τις παρέπλωσε ταύτη οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ καύματος καὶ ἐρημίας, εἰ μὴ τινές γε πελάγιοι κοιμιζόμενοι. [4] ἀλλὰ οἱ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα ἀποσσωθέντες τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Καμβύσεω καὶ οἱ παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου παρὰ Σέλευκον τὸν Νικάτορα σταλέντες ἐς Βαβυλῶνα [5] διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρας ἰσθμὸν τινα διαπορευθέντες ἐν ἡμέρησιν ὅκτῳ τῆσι πάσῃσιν ἄνυδρον καὶ ἐρήμην χώραν ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ καμῆλων σπουδῇ ἐλαύνοντες ὕδωρ τέ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῶν καμῆλων φέροντες καὶ νυκτοπορέοντες· τὰς γὰρ ἡμέρας ὑπαίθριοι ἀνέχεσθαι διὰ καῦμα ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν. [6] τοσούτου δέει τὰ γε ἐπέκεινα ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ἦντινα ἰσθμὸν ἀπεφαίνομεν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἀραβίου κατήκοντα ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν οἰκεόμενα εἶναι, ὅκοτε τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἀνέχοντα ἔρημά τέ ἐστι καὶ ψαμμώδεα. [7] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τοῦ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὀρμηθέντες ἄνθρωποι, ἐκπεριπλώσαντες τὴν πολλὴν Ἀραβίην τοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὴν κατὰ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Πέρσας θάλασσαν, ἐς τοσόνδε ἄρα παραπλώσαντες τῆς Ἀραβίης, ἐς ὅσον σφίσι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπῆρκεσε τὸ ἐμβληθὲν ἐς τὰς νέας, ἔπειτα ὀπίσω ἀπενόστησαν. [8] ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος δὲ οὐστinas ἐστείλεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς ἐπὶ μήκιστον πλώοντας ἐν δεξιῇ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης τοῦ γινῶναι τοὺς ταύτη χώρας, οὗτοι νήσους μὲν τινὰς κατεσκέψαντο ἐν τῇ παραπλώῳ κειμένας, [9] καὶ κου καὶ τῇ ἡπίρῳ τῆς Ἀραβίης προσέσχον, τὴν δὲ ἄκρην, ἦντινα καταντικρὺ τῆς ἔστιν ὅστις ὑπερβαλὼν ἐπικάμψαι ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα δυνατός ἐγένετο. [10] δοκέω δὲ ὡς εἴπερ πλωτά τε ἦν καὶ βαδιστὰ ταύτη, ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἂν τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης ἐξελέλεγκτο πλωτά [p. 55] τε καὶ βαδιστὰ ἑόντα. [11] Ἄνων δὲ ὁ Λίβυς ἐκ Καρχηδόνης ὀρμηθεὶς ὑπὲρ μὲν Ἡρακλείας στήλας ἐξέπλωσεν ἐς τὸν ἔξω πόντον, ἐν ἀριστερῇ τὴν Λιβύην ἔχων· καὶ ἔστε μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ὁ πλόος αὐτῷ ἐγένετο τὰς πάσας πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα ἡμέρας· [12] ὡς δὲ δὴ ἐς μεσαμβρίην ἐξετράπετο, πολλῇσιν ἀμηχανίῃσιν ἐνετύγχανεν ὕδατός τε ἀπορίῃ καὶ καύματι ἐπιφλέγοντι καὶ ρύαξι πυρὸς ἐς τὸν πόντον ἐμβάλλουσιν. [13] ἀλλὰ ἡ Κυρήνη γὰρ τῆς Λιβύης ἐν τοῖσι ἐρημοτέροισι πεπολισμένη ποιῶδης τέ ἐστι καὶ εὐδρος καὶ καρπῶν παντοίων καὶ κτηνέων ἀάμορος ἔστε ἐπὶ τοῦ σιλφίου τὰς ἐκφύσιας· ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ σίλφιον τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς ἔρημα καὶ ψαμμώδεα.

οὗτός μοι ὁ λόγος ἀναγεγράφθω, φέρων καὶ αὐτὸς [14] ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, τὸν Μακεδόνα.

THE DIATRIBES

Arriani epistula ad Lucium Gellium

Ἀρριανὸς Λουκίῳ Γελλίῳ χαίρειν.

οὔτε συνέγραψα ἐγὼ τοὺς Ἐπικτήτου λόγους οὕτως ὅπως ἂν τις συγγράψει τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε ἐξήνεγκα εἰς ἀνθρώπους αὐτός, ὅς γε οὐδὲ συγγράψαι φημί. [2] ὅσα δὲ ἤκουον αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, ταῦτα αὐτὰ ἐπειράθην αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ὥς οἶόν τε ἦν γραψάμενος ὑπομνήματα εἰς ὕστερον ἑμαυτῷ διαφυλάξαι τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίας καὶ παρρησίας. [3] ἔστι δὴ τοιαῦτα ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ὅποια ἂν τις αὐτόθεν ὀρμηθεὶς εἴποι πρὸς ἕτερον, οὐχ ὅποια ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ ὕστερον ἐντυγχάνειν τινὰς αὐτοῖς συγγράφοι. [4] τοιαῦτα δ' ὄντα οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως οὔτε ἐκόντος ἐμοῦ οὔτε εἰδότος ἐξέπεσεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους. [5] ἀλλ' ἐμοί γε οὐ πολὺς λόγος, εἰ οὐχ ἱκανὸς φανοῦμαι συγγράφειν, Ἐπικτήτῳ τε οὐδ' ὀλίγος, εἰ καταφρονήσει τις αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων, ἐπεὶ καὶ λέγων αὐτοὺς οὐδενὸς ἄλλου δῆλος ἦν ἐφιέμενος ὅτι μὴ κινήσαι τὰς γνώμας τῶν ἀκουόντων πρὸς τὰ βέλτιστα. εἰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε αὐτὸ διαπράττοντο οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι, [6] ἔχοιεν ἂν οἶμαι ὅπερ χρή ἔχειν τοὺς τῶν φιλοσόφων λόγους: [7] εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἴστωσαν οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες ὅτι, αὐτὸς ὅποτε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῦς, ἀνάγκη ἦν τοῦτο πάσχειν τὸν ἀκροώμενον αὐτῶν ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸν παθεῖν ἠβούλετο. [8] εἰ δ' οἱ λόγοι αὐτοὶ ἐφ' αὐτῶν τοῦτο οὐ διαπράττονται, τυχὸν μὲν ἐγὼ αἴτιος, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἀνάγκη οὕτως ἔχειν. ἔρρωσο.

BOOK I.

περὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν.

τῶν ἄλλων δυνάμεων οὐδεμίαν εὐρήσετε αὐτὴν αὐτῆς θεωρητικὴν, οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ δοκιμαστικὴν ἢ ἀποδοκιμαστικὴν. [2] ἡ γραμματικὴ μέχρι τίνος κέκτηται τὸ θεωρητικόν; μέχρι τοῦ διαγνῶναι τὰ γράμματα. ἡ μουσικὴ; μέχρι τοῦ διαγνῶναι τὸ μέλος. [3] αὐτὴ οὖν αὐτὴν θεωρεῖ τις αὐτῶν; οὐδαμῶς. ἀλλ' ὅτε μὲν, ἂν τι γράφῃς τῷ ἐταίρῳ, δεῖ τούτων τῶν γραπτέων, ἡ γραμματικὴ ἐρεῖ: πότερον δὲ γραπτέον τῷ ἐταίρῳ ἢ οὐ γραπτέον, ἡ γραμματικὴ οὐκ ἐρεῖ. καὶ περὶ τῶν μελῶν ὡσαύτως ἡ μουσικὴ: πότερον δ' ἄστέον νῦν καὶ κιθαριστέον ἢ οὔτε ἄστέον οὔτε κιθαριστέον οὐκ ἐρεῖ. [4] τίς οὖν ἐρεῖ; ἡ καὶ αὐτὴν θεωροῦσα καὶ ἄλλα πάντα. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ τίς; ἡ δύναμις ἡ λογικὴ: μόνη γὰρ αὕτη καὶ αὐτὴν κατανοήσουσα παρεῖληπται, τίς τέ ἐστι καὶ τί δύναται καὶ πόσου ἀξία οὔσα ἐλήλυθεν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας. [5] τί γάρ ἐστιν ἄλλο τὸ λέγον ὅτι χρυσίον καλόν ἐστιν; αὐτὸ γὰρ οὐ λέγει. δῆλον ὅτι ἡ χρηστικὴ δύναμις ταῖς φαντασίαις. τί ἄλλο τὸ μουσικὴν, [6] γραμματικὴν, τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις διακρίνον, δοκιμάζον τὰς χρήσεις αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς παραδεικνύον; οὐδὲν ἄλλο.

[7] ὥσπερ οὖν ἦν ἄξιον, τὸ κράτιστον ἀπάντων καὶ κυριεῦον οἱ θεοὶ μόνον ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐποίησαν, τὴν χρῆσιν τὴν ὀρθὴν ταῖς φαντασίαις, τὰ δ' ἄλλα οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. ἄρα γε ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελον; [8] ἐγὼ μὲν δοκῶ ὅτι, εἰ ἡδύναντο, κάκεῖνα ἂν ἡμῖν ἐπέτρεψαν: ἀλλὰ πάντως οὐκ ἡδύναντο. [9] ἐπὶ γῆς γὰρ ὄντας καὶ σώματι συνδεδεμένους τοιοῦτῳ καὶ κοινωνοῖς τοιούτοις πῶς οἶόν τ' ἦν εἰς ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς μὴ ἐμποδίζεσθαι;

ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ὁ Ζεὺς; [10] 'Ἐπὶκτῃτε, εἰ οἶόν τε ἦν, καὶ τὸ σῶμάτιον ἄν σου καὶ τὸ κτησίδιον ἐποίησα ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἀπαραπόδιστον. [11] νῦν δέ, μὴ σε λανθανέτω, τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν σόν, ἀλλὰ πηλὸς κομψῶς πεφυραμένος. [12] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἡδυνάμην, ἐδώκαμέν σοι μέρος τι ἡμέτερον, τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην τὴν ὀρμητικὴν τε καὶ ἀφορμητικὴν καὶ ὀρεκτικὴν τε καὶ ἐκκλιτικὴν καὶ ἀπλῶς τὴν χρηστικὴν ταῖς φαντασίαις, ἧς ἐπιμελούμενος καὶ ἐν ἧ τὰ σαυτοῦ τιθέμενος οὐδέποτε κωλυθήσῃ, οὐδέποτε ἐμποδισθήσῃ, οὐ στενάζεις, οὐ μέμνη, οὐ κολακεύσεις οὐδένα. [13] τί οὖν; μὴ τι μικρά σοι φαίνεται ταῦτα;' 'μὴ γένοιτο.' 'ἀρκῇ οὖν αὐτοῖς;' 'εὐχομαι † δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς.' [14]

νῦν δ' ἐνὸς δυνάμενοι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ ἐνὶ προσηρητέκναι ἑαυτοὺς μᾶλλον θέλομεν πολλῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ πολλοῖς προσδεδέσθαι καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ κτήσει καὶ ἀδελφῷ καὶ φίλῳ καὶ τέκνῳ καὶ δούλῳ. [15] ἅτε οὖν πολλοῖς προσδεδεμένοι βαρούμεθα ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ καθελκόμεθα. [16] διὰ τοῦτο, ἂν ἅπλοια ἦ, καθήμεθα σπώμενοι καὶ παρακύπτομεν συνεχῶς: 'τίς ἄνεμος πνεῖ; βορέας.' τί ἡμῖν καὶ αὐτῷ; 'πότε ὁ ζέφυρος πνεύσει;' ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ, ὦ βέλτιστε, ἢ τῷ Αἰόλῳ. σὲ γὰρ οὐκ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ταμίαν τῶν ἀνέμων, ἀλλὰ τὸν Αἰόλον. [17] τί οὖν; δεῖ τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν βέλτιστα κατασκευάζειν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις χρῆσθαι ὡς πέφυκεν. 'πῶς οὖν πέφυκεν;' ὡς ἂν ὁ θεὸς θέλῃ.

[18] ‘ἐμὲ οὖν νῦν τραχηλοκοπεῖσθαι μόνον;’ τί οὖν; ἤθελες πάντα τραχηλοκοπηθῆναι, ἵνα σὺ παραμυθίαν ἔχῃς; οὐ θέλεις οὕτως ἐκτεῖναι τὸν τράχηλον, [19] ὥς Λατερανός τις ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κελευσθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀποκεφαλισθῆναι; ἐκτεῖνας γὰρ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ πληγείς καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πληγὴν ἀσθενῇ γενομένην ἐπ’ ὀλίγον συνελκυσθεὶς πάλιν ἐξέτεινεν. [20] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον προσελθόντι τις Ἐπαφροδίτῳ τῷ † κυρίῳ τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ ἀνακρίνοντι αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ συγκρουσθῆναι ‘ἂν τί θέλω,’ φησίν, ‘ἐρῶ σου τῷ κυρίῳ.’

[21] ‘τί οὖν δεῖ πρόχειρον ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις;’ τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ τί ἐμὸν καὶ τί οὐκ ἐμὸν καὶ τί μοι ἔξεστιν καὶ τί μοι οὐκ ἔξεστιν; [22] ἀποθανεῖν με δεῖ: μή τι οὖν καὶ στένοντα; δεθῆναι: μή τι καὶ θρηνοῦντα; φυγαδευθῆναι: μή τις οὖν κωλύει γελῶντα καὶ εὐθυμοῦντα καὶ εὐροοῦντα; [23] ‘εἰπέ τὰ ἀπόρρητα.’ οὐ λέγω: τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐμοί ἐστιν. ‘ἀλλὰ δῆσω σε.’ ἄνθρωπε. τί λέγεις; ἐμέ; τὸ σκέλος μου δῆσεις, τὴν προαίρεσιν δὲ οὐδ’ ὁ Ζεὺς νι [24] κῆσαι δύνатаι. ‘εἰς φυλακὴν σε βαλῶ.’ τὸ σωμάτιον. ‘ἀποκεφαλίσω σε.’ πότε οὖν σοὶ εἶπον, ὅτι μόνου ἐμοῦ ὁ τράχηλος ἀναπότμητός ἐστιν; [25] ταῦτα ἔδει μελετᾶν τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας, ταῦτα καθ’ ἡμέραν γράφειν, ἐν τούτοις γυμνάζεσθαι.

Θρασέας εἰώθει λέγειν [26] ‘σήμερον ἀναιρεθῆναι θέλω μᾶλλον ἢ αὐριον φυγαδευθῆναι’ [27] τί οὖν αὐτῷ Ροῦφος εἶπεν; ‘εἰ μὲν ὥς βαρύτερον ἐκλέγῃ, τίς ἢ μωρία τῆς ἐκλογῆς; εἰ δ’ ὥς κουφότερον, τίς σοι δέδωκεν; οὐ θέλεις μελετᾶν ἀρκεῖσθαι τῷ δεδομένῳ;’

[28] διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ Ἀγριππῖνος τί ἔλεγεν; ὅτι ‘ἐγὼ ἐμαυτῷ ἐμπόδιος οὐ γίνομαι.’ ἀπηγγέλη αὐτῷ ὅτι [29] ‘κρίνη ἐν συγκλήτῳ.’—‘ἀγαθὴ τύχη. ἀλλὰ ἦλθεν ἡ πέμπτη’ (ταύτῃ δ’ εἰώθει γυμνασάμενος ψυχρολουτρεῖν) : [30] ‘ἀπέλθωμεν καὶ γυμνασθῶμεν.’ γυμνασασάμενος λέγει τις, αὐτῷ ἐλθὼν ὅτι ‘Κατακέκρισαι.’—‘φυγῇ,’ φησίν, ‘ἢ θανάτῳ;’—‘φυγῇ.’—‘τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τί;’—‘οὐκ ἀφηρέθῃ.’—‘εἰς Ἀρίκειαν οὖν ἀπελθόντες ἀριστήσωμεν. [31] — τοῦτ’ ἔστι μεμελετηκέναι ἃ δεῖ μελετᾶν, ὅρεξιν ἐκκλισιν ἀκόλута ἀπερίπτωτα παρεσκευακέναι. ἀποθανεῖν με δεῖ. [32] εἰ ἤδη, ἀποθνήσκω: κἂν μετ’ ὀλίγον, νῦν ἀριστῶ τῆς ὥρας ἐλθούσης, εἶτα τότε τεθνήξομαι. πῶς; ὥς προσήκει τὸν τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀποδιδόντα.

Πῶς ἂν τις σφῶζοι τὸ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐν παντί.

Τῷ λογικῷ ζῳῳ μόνον ἀφόρητόν ἐστι τὸ ἄλογον, τὸ δ’ εὐλογον φορητόν. [2] πληγαὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀφόρητοι τῇ φύσει. — τίνα τρόπον; — ὅρα πῶς: Λακεδαιμόνιοι μαστιγοῦνται μαθόντες ὅτι εὐλογόν ἐστιν. [3] — τὸ δ’ ἀπάγξασθαι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀφόρητον; — ὅταν γοῦν πάθῃ τις ὅτι εὖ [4] λογον, ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγξατο. ἀπλῶς ἐὰν προσέχωμεν, ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς οὕτως εὐρήσομεν τὸ ζῶον θλιβόμενον ὥς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλόγου καὶ πάλιν ἐπ’ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐλκόμενον ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ εὐλογον.

[5] ἄλλω δ’ ἄλλο προσπίπτει τὸ εὐλογον καὶ ἄλογον, καθάπερ καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο ἄλλω καὶ συμφέρον καὶ ἀσύμφορον. [6] διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα παιδείας δεόμεθα, ὥστε μαθεῖν τοῦ εὐλόγου καὶ ἀλόγου πρόληψιν ταῖς ἐπὶ μέρους οὐσίαις ἐφαρμόζειν συμφώνως τῇ φύσει. [7] εἰς δὲ τὴν τοῦ εὐλόγου καὶ ἀλόγου κρίσιν οὐ μόνον ταῖς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀξίαις συγχρώμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν

κατὰ τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος. [8] τῷ γάρ τινι εὐλογον τὸ ἀμίδα παρακρατεῖν αὐτὸ μόνον βλέποντι, ὅτι μὴ παρακρατήσας μὲν πληγὰς λήγεται καὶ τροφὰς οὐ λήγεται, παρακρατήσας δ' οὐ πείσεται τι τραχὺ ἢ ἀνιάρον· [9] ἄλλω δέ τινι οὐ μόνον τὸ αὐτὸν παρακρατῆσαι ἀφόρητον δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἄλλου παρακρατοῦντος ἀνασχέσθαι. [10] ἂν οὖν μου πυνθάνῃ 'παρακρατήσω τὴν ἀμίδα ἢ μή;', ἐρῶ σοι ὅτι μείζονα ἀξίαν ἔχει τὸ λαβεῖν τροφὰς τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν καὶ μείζονα ἀπαξίαν τὸ δαρῆναι τοῦ μὴ δαρῆναι: ὥστ' εἰ τοῦτοις παραμετρεῖς τὰ σαυτοῦ, ἀπελθὼν παρακράτει. [11] 'ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν κατ' ἐμέ.' τοῦτο σὲ δεῖ συνεισφέρειν εἰς τὴν σκέψιν, οὐκ ἐμέ. σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ σαυτὸν εἰδώς, πόσου ἄξιος εἶ σεαυτῷ καὶ πόσου σεαυτὸν πιπράσκεις: ἄλλοι γὰρ ἄλλων πιπράσκουσιν.

[12] διὰ τοῦτο Ἀγριππῖνος Φλώρω σκεπτομένῳ, εἰ καταβατέον αὐτῷ ἐστιν εἰς Νέρωνος θεωρίας, ὥστε καὶ αὐτόν τι λειτουργῆσαι, ἔφη [13] 'κατάβηθι.' πυθομένου δ' αὐτοῦ 'διὰ τί σὺ οὐ καταβαίνεις;' ἔφη ὅτι 'ἐγὼ οὐδὲ βουλεύομαι.' [14] ὁ γὰρ ἄπαξ εἰς τὴν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων σκέψιν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀξίας συγκαθεῖς καὶ ψηφίζων ἐγγύς ἐστι τῶν ἐπιλελησμένων τοῦ ἰδίου προσώπου. [15] τί γὰρ μου πυνθάνῃ; 'θάνατος αἰρετώτερόν ἐστιν ἢ ζωή;' λέγω ζωή. [16] 'πόνος ἢ ἡδονή;' λέγω ἡδονή. 'ἀλλὰ, ἂν μὴ τραγωδήσω, τραχηλοκοπηθήσομαι.' ἀπελθε τοίνυν καὶ τραγῶδει, ἐγὼ δ' οὐ τραγωδήσω. [17] 'διὰ τί;' ὅτι σὺ σεαυτὸν ἡγῇ μίαν τινὰ εἶναι κρόκην τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χιτῶνος. τί οὖν; σὲ ἔδει φροντίζειν πῶς ἀνόμοιος ἦς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἡ κρόκη πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας κρόκας θέλει τι ἔχειν ἐξαίρετον. [18] ἐγὼ δὲ πορφύρα εἶναι βούλομαι, τὸ ὀλίγον ἐκεῖνο καὶ στιλπνὸν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἴτιον τοῦ εὐπρεπῆ φαίνεσθαι καὶ καλὰ. τί οὖν μοι λέγεις ὅτι 'ἐξομοιώθητι τοῖς πολλοῖς;' καὶ πῶς ἔτι πορφύρα ἔσομαι;

[19] ταῦτα εἶδεν καὶ Πρίσκος Ἐλουίδιος καὶ ἰδὼν ἐποίησε. προσπέμψαντος αὐτῷ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ, ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀπεκρίνατο 'ἐπὶ σοί ἐστι μὴ εἶσαί με εἶναι συγκλητικόν: μέχρι δὲ ἂν ᾧ, δεῖ με εἰσερχεσθαι.' [20] 'ἄγε ἀλλ' εἰσελθών,' φησίν, 'σιώπησον.' 'μή μ' ἐξέταζε καὶ σιωπήσω.' 'ἀλλὰ δεῖ με ἐξετάσαι.' 'κάμῃ εἰπεῖν τὸ φαινόμενον δίκαιον.' 'ἀλλ' εἰπεῖς, ἀποκτενῶ σε.' [21] 'πότε οὖν σοι εἶπον, ὅτι ἀθάνατός εἰμι; καὶ σὺ τὸ σὸν ποιήσεις κἀγὼ τὸ ἐμόν. σὸν ἐστιν ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐμόν ἀποθανεῖν μὴ τρέμοντα: σὸν φυγαδεῦσαι, ἐμόν ἐξελθεῖν μὴ λυπούμενον.' [22] τί οὖν ὠφέλησε Πρίσκος εἷς ὢν; τί δ' ὠφελεῖ ἡ πορφύρα τὸ ἱμάτιον; τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ διαπρέπει ἐν αὐτῷ ὡς πορφύρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ καλὸν παράδειγμα ἔκκειται; [23] ἄλλος δ' ἂν εἰπόντος αὐτῷ Καίσαρος ἐν τοιαύτῃ περὶ στάσει μὴ ἔλθῃ εἰς σύγκλητον εἶπεν [24] 'ἔχω χάριν, ὅτι μου φείδῃ.' τὸν τοιοῦτον οὐδ' ἂν ἐκώλυνεν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἦδει, ὅτι ἡ καθεδεῖται ὡς κεράμιον ἢ λέγων ἐρεῖ, ἃ οἶδεν ὅτι ὁ Καίσαρ θέλει, καὶ προσεπισωρεύσει ἔτι πλείονα. [25]

τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ ἀθλητῆς τις κινδυνεύων ἀποθανεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἀπεκόπη τὸ αἰδοῖον, ἐπελθόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ (ἦν δ' ἐκεῖνος φιλόσοφος) καὶ εἰπόντος 'ἄγε, ἀδελφέ, τί μέλλεις ποιεῖν; ἀποκόπτομεν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος καὶ ἔτι εἰς γυμνάσιον προερχόμεθα;' οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐγκαρτερήσας ἀπέθανεν. [26] πυθομένου δὲ τινος: πῶς τοῦτο ἐποίησεν; ὡς ἀθλητῆς ἢ ὡς φιλόσοφος; ὡς

ἀνὴρ, ἔφη, ἀνὴρ δ' Ὀλύμπια κεκηρυγμένος καὶ ἡγωνισμένος, ἐν τοιαύτῃ τινὶ χώρᾳ ἀνεστραμμένος, οὐχὶ παρὰ τῷ Βάτῳ [27] νι ἀλειφόμενος. ἄλλος δὲ κἂν τὸν τράχηλον ἀπετμήθη, εἰ ζῆν ἡδύνατο δίχα τοῦ τραχήλου. [28] τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ κατὰ πρόσωπον· οὕτως ἰσχυρὸν παρὰ τοῖς εἰθισμένοις αὐτὸ συνεισφέρειν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς σκέψεσιν. [29] 'ἄγε οὖν, Ἐπὶκτητε, διαζύρησαι.' ἂν ὦ φιλόσοφος, λέγω 'οὐ διαζυρῶμαι.' 'ἀλλ' ἀφελῶ σου τὸν τράχηλον.' εἰ σοὶ ἄμεινον, ἄφελε.

[30] ἐπύθετό τις· πόθεν οὖν αἰσθησόμεθα τοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἕκαστος; — πόθεν δ' ὁ ταῦρος, ἔφη, λέοντος ἐπελθόντος μόνος αἰσθάνεται τῆς αὐτοῦ παρασκευῆς καὶ προβέβληκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγέλης πάσης; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι εὐθύς ἅμα τῷ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἔχειν ἀπαντᾷ καὶ συναίσθησις αὐτῆς; [31] καὶ ἡμῶν τοίνυν ὅστις ἂν ἔχη τοιαύτην παρασκευὴν, οὐκ ἀγνοήσει αὐτήν. [32] ἄφνω δὲ ταῦρος οὐ γίνεται οὐδὲ γενναῖος ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ δεῖ χειμασκήσαι, παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ μὴ εἰκῆ προσπηδᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ μηδὲν προσήκοντα.

[33] μόνον σκέψαι, πόσου πωλεῖς τὴν σεαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν. ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, μὴ ὀλίγου αὐτὴν πωλήσης. τὸ δὲ μέγα καὶ ἐξαιρετὸν ἄλλοις τάχα προσήκει, Σωκράτει καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις. [34] — διὰ τί οὖν, εἰ πρὸς τοῦτο πεφύκαμεν, οὐ πάντες ἢ πολλοὶ γίνονται τοιοῦτοι; — ἵπποι γὰρ ὥκεις ἅπαντες γίνονται, κύνες γὰρ ἰχθυευτικοὶ πάντες; [35] τί οὖν; ἐπειδὴ ἀφυῆς εἰμι, ἀποστῶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τούτου ἔνεκα; [36] μὴ γένοιτο. Ἐπὶκτητος κρείσσων Σωκράτους οὐκ ἔσται· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ χεῖρων, τοῦτό μοι ἰκανόν ἐστιν. [37] οὐδὲ γὰρ Μίλων ἔσομαι καὶ ὅμως οὐκ ἀμελῶ τοῦ σώματος· οὐδὲ Κροῖσος καὶ ὅμως οὐκ ἀμελῶ τῆς κτήσεως· οὐδ' ἀπλῶς ἄλλου τινὸς τῆς ἐπιμελείας διὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῶν ἄκρων ἀφιστάμεθα.

Πῶς ἂν τις ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν πατέρα εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἐπέλθοι.

Εἴ τις τῷ δόγματι τούτῳ συμπαθῆσαι κατ' ἀξίαν δύναιτο, ὅτι γεγόναμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντες προηγουμένως καὶ ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ ἐστὶ τῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν θεῶν, οἶμαι ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀγεννὲς οὐδὲ ταπεινὸν ἐνθυμηθήσεται περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. [2] ἀλλ' ἂν μὲν Καῖσαρ εἰσποιήσῃται σε, οὐδεὶς σου τὴν ὀφρὺν βαστάσει· ἂν δὲ γνῶς, ὅτι τοῦ Διὸς υἱὸς εἶ, οὐκ ἐπαρθήσῃ; [3] νῦν δ' οὐ ποιοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ δύο ταῦτα ἐν τῇ γενέσει ἡμῶν ἐγκαταμέμικται, τὸ σῶμα μὲν κοινὸν πρὸς τὰ ζῷα, ὁ λόγος δὲ καὶ ἡ γνώμη κοινὸν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἄλλοι μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀποκλίνουν τὴν συγγένειαν τὴν ἀτυχή καὶ νεκράν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν καὶ μακαρίαν. [4] ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἀνάγκη πάνθ' ὄντινούν οὕτως ἐκάστῳ χρῆσθαι ὥς ἂν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπολάβῃ, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οἱ ὀλίγοι, ὅσοι πρὸς πίστιν οἴονται γεγονέναι καὶ πρὸς αἰδῶ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῆς χρήσεως τῶν φαντασιῶν, οὐδὲν ταπεινὸν οὐδ' ἀγεννὲς ἐνθυμοῦνται περὶ αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τάναντία. [5] 'τί γὰρ εἰμί; ταλαίπωρον ἀνθρωπάριον' καὶ [6] 'τὰ δύστηνά μου σαρκίδια.' τῷ μὲν ὄντι δύστηνα, ἀλλὰ ἔχεις τι καὶ κρεῖσσον τῶν σαρκιδίων. τί οὖν ἀφείς ἐκεῖνο τούτοις προστέτῃ; [7]

Διὰ ταύτην τὴν συγγένειαν οἱ μὲν ἀποκλίναντες λύκοις ὅμοιοι γινόμεθα, ἄπιστοι καὶ ἐπίβουλοι καὶ βλαβεροί, οἱ δὲ λέουσιν, ἄγριοι καὶ θηριώδεις καὶ

ἀνήμεροι, οἱ πλείους δ' ἡμῶν ἀλώπεκες καὶ ὥς ἐν ζώοις ἀτυχήματα. [8] τί γάρ ἐστιν ἄλλο λοιδορος καὶ κακοήθης ἄνθρωπος ἢ ἀλώπηξ ἢ τί ἄλλο ἀτυχέστερον καὶ ταπεινότερον; [9] ὁρᾶτε οὖν καὶ προσέχετε, μὴ τι τούτων ἀποβῇτε τῶν ἀτυχημάτων.

ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΟΚΟΠΗΣ.

ὁ προκόπτων μεμαθηκὼς παρὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὅτι ἡ μὲν ὄρεξις ἀγαθῶν ἐστίν, ἡ δ' ἔκκλισις πρὸς κακά, μεμαθηκὼς δὲ καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλως τὸ εὖρουν καὶ ἀπαθὲς περιγίνεται τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἢ ἐν ὀρέξει μὲν μὴ ἀποτυγχάνοντι, ἐν ἔκκλισει δὲ μὴ περιπίπτοντι, τὴν μὲν ὄρεξιν ἤρκεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἰσάπαν καὶ ὑπερτέθεται, τῇ ἔκκλισει δὲ πρὸς μόνῃ χρῆται τὰ προαιρετικά. [2] τῶν γὰρ ἀπροαιρέτων ἂν τι ἐκκλίνη, οἶδεν ὅτι περιπεσεῖται ποτέ τινι παρὰ τὴν ἔκκλισιν τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ δυστυχήσει. [3] εἰ δ' ἡ ἀρετὴ ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν εὐδαιμονίαν ποιῆσαι καὶ ἀπάθειαν καὶ εὖροιν, πάντως καὶ ἡ προκοπὴ ἢ πρὸς αὐτὴν πρὸς ἕκαστον τούτων ἐστὶ προκοπὴ. [4] αἰ γὰρ πρὸς ὃ ἂν ἡ τελειότης τινὸς καθάπαξ ἄγῃ, πρὸς αὐτὸ ἡ προκοπὴ συνεγγισμός ἐστίν.

Πῶς οὖν τὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν τοιοῦτόν τι ὁμολογοῦμεν, [5] τὴν προκοπὴν δ' ἐν ἄλλοις ζητοῦμεν καὶ ἐπιδείκνυμεν; τί ἔργον ἀρετῆς; [6] εὖροια. τίς οὖν προκόπτει; ὁ πολλὰς Χρυσίππου συντάξεις ἀνεγνωκώς; [7] μὴ γὰρ ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ Χρυσίππον νενοηκέναι; εἰ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὁμολογουμένως ἡ προκοπὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστίν ἢ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν Χρυσίππου νοεῖν. [8] νῦν δ' ἄλλο μὲν τι τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιφέρειν ὁμολογοῦμεν, ἄλλον δὲ τὸν συνεγγισμὸν, τὴν προκοπὴν ἀποφαίνομεν. [9] 'οὗτος,' φησὶν, 'ἤδη καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ δύναται Χρυσίππον ἀναγινώσκειν.' εὖ, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, προκόπτεις, ἄνθρωπε: ποίαν προκοπὴν. [10] 'τί ἐμπαίζεις αὐτῷ;' τί δ' ἀπάγεις αὐτὸν τῆς συναισθήσεως τῶν αὐτοῦ κακῶν; οὐ θέλεις δεῖξαι αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἵνα μάθῃ ποῦ τὴν προκοπὴν ζητῇ; [11] ἐκεῖ ζητήσον αὐτήν, ταλαίπωρε, ὅπου σου τὸ ἔργον. ποῦ δέ σου τὸ ἔργον; ἐν ὀρέξει καὶ ἐκκλίσει, ἴν' ἀναπτόεукτος ᾗ καὶ ἀπερίπτωτος, ἐν ὀρμαῖς καὶ ἀφορμαῖς, ἴν' ἀναμάρτητος, ἐν προσθέσει καὶ ἐποχῇ, ἴν' ἀνεξαπάτητος. [12] πρῶτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ πρῶτοι τόποι καὶ ἀναγκαιότατοι. ἂν δὲ τρέμων καὶ πένθων ζητῇς ἀπερίπτωτος εἶναι, ἄρα πῶς προκόπτεις;

[13] σὺ οὖν ἐνταῦθά μοι δεῖξόν σου τὴν προκοπὴν. καθάπερ εἰ ἀθλητὴ διελεγόμεν 'δεῖξόν μοι τοὺς ὤμους,' εἶτα ἔλεγεν ἐκεῖνος 'ἴδε μου τοὺς ἀλτήρας.' ὅψει σὺ καὶ οἱ ἀλτήρες, ἐγὼ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα τῶν ἀλτήρων ιδεῖν βούλομαι. [14] 'λάβε τὴν περὶ ὀρμῆς σύνταξιν καὶ γνῶθι πῶς αὐτὴν ἀνέγνωκα.' ἀνδράποδον, οὐ τοῦτο ζητῶ, ἀλλὰ πῶς ὀρμᾶς καὶ ἀφορμᾶς, πῶς ὀρέγῃ καὶ ἐκκλίνεις, πῶς ἐπιβάλλῃ καὶ προστίθεσαι καὶ παρασκευάζῃ, πότερα συμφώνως τῇ φύσει ἢ ἀσυμφώνως. [15] εἰ γὰρ συμφώνως, τοῦτό μοι δείκνυε καὶ ἐρῶ σοι ὅτι προκόπτεις; εἰ δ' ἀσυμφώνως, ἄπελθε καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐξηγοῦ τὰ βιβλία, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράφε αὐτὸς τοιαῦτα. [16] καὶ τί σοι ὄφελος; οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι ὅλον τὸ βιβλίον πέντε δηναρίων ἐστίν; ὁ οὖν ἐξηγούμενος αὐτὸ δοκεῖ ὅτι πλείονος ἄξιός ἐστιν ἢ πέντε δηναρίων; [17] μηδέποτε οὖν ἀλλαχοῦ τὸ ἔργον ζητεῖτε, ἀλλαχοῦ τὴν προκοπὴν.

[18] ποῦ οὖν προκοπὴ; εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἀποστάς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν

ἐπέστραπται τὴν αὐτοῦ, ταύτην ἐξεργάζεσθαι καὶ ἐκπνεῖν, ὥστε σύμφωνον ἀποτελέσαι τῇ φύσει, ὑψηλὴν ἐλευθέραν ἀκώλυτον ἀνεμπόδιστον πιστὴν αἰδήμονα: [19] μεμάθηκέν τε, ὅτι ὁ τὰ μὴ ἐφ' αὐτῷ ποθὼν ἢ φεύγων οὔτε πιστὸς εἶναι δύναται οὔτ' ἐλεύθερος, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη μεταπίπτειν καὶ μεταρριπίζεσθαι ἅμα ἐκείνοις καὶ αὐτόν, ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ ὑποτεταχένοι ἄλλοις ἑαυτόν, τοῖς ἐκεῖνα περιποιεῖν ἢ κωλύειν δυναμένοις: [20] καὶ λοιπὸν ἔωθεν ἀνιστάμενος ταῦτα τηρεῖ καὶ φυλάσσει, λούεται ὡς πιστὸς, ὡς αἰδήμων ἐσθίει, ὡσαύτως ἐπὶ τῆς αἰ ἀπαρριπτοῦσης ὕλης τὰ προηγούμενα ἐκπονῶν, ὡς ὁ δρομεὺς δρομικῶς καὶ ὁ φώναςκος φωνασκικῶς: [21] οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ προκόπτων ταῖς ἀληθείαις καὶ ὁ μὴ εἰκῇ ἀποδεδημηκὼς οὗτός ἐστιν. [22] εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις ἔξιν τέταται καὶ ταύτην ἐκπνεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐκδεδήμηκε, λέγω αὐτῷ αὐτόθεν πορεύεσθαι εἰς οἶκον καὶ μὴ ἀμελεῖν τῶν ἐκεῖ: [23] τοῦτο γὰρ ἐφ' ὃ ἀποδεδήμηκεν οὐδέν ἐστιν: ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο, μελετᾶν ἐξελεῖν τοῦ αὐτοῦ βίου πένθη καὶ οἰμωγὰς καὶ τὸ 'οἴμοι' καὶ τὸ 'τάλας ἐγὼ' καὶ δυστυχίαν καὶ ἀτυχίαν καὶ μαθεῖν, [24] τί ἐστι θάνατος, τί φυγή, τί δεσποτήριον, τί νοσκῶνιον, ἵνα δύνῃται λέγειν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ 'ὦ φίλε Κρίτων, εἰ ταύτῃ τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον, ταύτῃ γινέσθω' καὶ μὴ ἐκεῖνα 'τάλας ἐγὼ, γέρων ἄνθρωπος, ἐπὶ ταῦτά μου τὰς πολυὰς ἐτήρησα.' [25] τίς λέγει ταῦτα; δοκεῖτε ὅτι ὑμῖν ἄδοξόν τινα ἐρῶ καὶ ταπεινόν; Πρίαμος αὐτὰ οὐ λέγει; Οἰδίπους οὐ λέγει; ἀλλ' ὅποσοι βασιλεῖς λέγουσιν; [26] τί γὰρ εἰσιν ἄλλο τραγωδία ἢ ἀνθρώπων πάθη θεαυμακότων τὰ ἐκτὸς διὰ μέτρου τοιοῦδ' ἐπιδεικνύμενα; [27] εἰ γὰρ ἐξαπατηθέντα τινὰ ἔδει μαθεῖν, ὅτι τῶν ἐκτὸς καὶ ἀπροαιρέτων οὐδέν ἐστι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐγὼ μὲν ἤθελον τὴν ἀπάτην ταύτην, ἐξ ἧς ἡμελλον εὐρὼς καὶ ἀταράχως βιώσεσθαι, ὑμεῖς δ' ὤψεσθ' αὐτοὶ τί θέλετε.

[28] τί οὖν ἡμῖν παρέχει Χρῦσιππος; ἵνα γνῶς, φησίν, ὅτι οὐ ψευδῇ ταῦτά ἐστιν, ἐξ ὧν ἡ εὐροιά ἐστι καὶ ἀπάθεια ἀπαντᾷ, [29] λάβε μου τὰ βιβλία καὶ γνώση ὡς ... τε καὶ σύμφωνά ἐστι τῇ φύσει τὰ ἀπαθῆ με ποιοῦντα. ὦ μεγάλης εὐτυχίας, ὦ μεγάλου εὐεργέτου τοῦ δεικνύοντος τὴν ὁδόν. [30] εἴτα Τριπτολέμῳ μὲν ἱερὰ καὶ βωμοὺς πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἀνεστάκασιν, [31] ὅτι τὰς ἡμέρους τροφὰς ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν, τῷ δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐρόντι καὶ φωτίσαντι καὶ εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐξενεγκόντι, οὐ τὴν περὶ τὸ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ εὖ ζῆν, τίς ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο ἢ ναὸν ἢ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκεν ἢ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ προσκυνεῖ; [32] ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἄμπελον ἔδωκεν ἢ πυρούς, ἐπιθύομεν τούτου ἕνεκα, ὅτι δὲ τοιοῦτον ἐξήνεγκαν καρπὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ διανοίᾳ, δι' οὗ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὴν περὶ εὐδαιμονίας δεῖξειν ἡμῖν ἡμελλον, τούτου δ' ἕνεκα οὐκ εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ θεῷ;

πρὸς τοὺς Ἀκαδημαίους.

ἂν τις, φησίν, ἐνίστηται πρὸς τὰ ἄγαν ἐκφανῇ, πρὸς τοῦτον οὐ ράδιόν ἐστιν εὐρεῖν λόγον, δι' οὗ μεταπέσει τις αὐτόν. [2] τοῦτο δ' οὔτε παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γίνεται δύναμιν οὔτε παρὰ τὴν τοῦ διδάσκοντος ἀσθένειαν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀπαχθεὶς ἀπολίθωθῃ, πῶς ἔτι χρησθεῖται τις αὐτῷ διὰ λόγου;

[3] Ἀπολίθώσεις δ' εἰσὶ διτταί: ἡ μὲν τοῦ νοητικοῦ ἀπολίθωσις, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἐντρεπτικοῦ, ὅταν τις παρατεταγμένος ἢ μὴ ἐπινεύειν τοῖς ἐναργέσι μὴδ' ἀπὸ τῶν μαχομένων ἀφίστασθαι. [4] οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὴν μὲν σωματικὴν ἀπονέκρωςιν

φοβούμεθα καὶ πάντ' ἂν μηχανησαίμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ περιπεσεῖν τοιούτῳ τινί, τῆς ψυχῆς δ' ἀπονεκρουμένης οὐδὲν ἡμῖν μέλει. [5] καὶ νῆ Δία ἐπὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἂν μὲν ἦ οὕτως διακεείμενος, ὥστε μηδενὶ παρακολουθεῖν μηδὲ συνιέναι μηδέν, καὶ τοῦτον κακῶς ἔχειν οἰόμεθα: ἂν δέ τις τὸ ἐντρεπτικὸν καὶ αἰδῆμον ἀπονεκρωθῇ, τοῦτο ἔτι καὶ δύναμιν καλοῦμεν.

Καταλαμβάνεις ὅτι ἐγρήγορας; [6] 'οὐ,' φησίν: 'οὐδὲ γάρ, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις φαντάζωμαι, ὅτι ἐγρήγορα.' οὐδὲν οὖν διαφέρει αὕτη ἡ φαντασία ἐκείνης; 'οὐδέν.' ἔτι τούτῳ διαλέγομαι; [7] καὶ ποῖον αὐτῷ πῦρ ἢ ποῖον σίδηρον προσάγαγω, ἵν' αἰσθηται ὅτι νενέκρωται; αἰσθανόμενος οὐ προσποιεῖται: ἔτι χείρων ἐστὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ. μάχην οὗτος οὐ συνορᾷ: κακῶς ἔχει. [8] συνορῶν οὗτος οὐ κινεῖται οὐδὲ προκόπτει: ἔτι ἀθλιώτερον ἔχει. [9] ἐκτέμνεται τὸ αἰδῆμον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐντρεπτικὸν καὶ τὸ λογικὸν οὐκ ἀποτεμνεται, ἀλλ' ἀποτεθρίβωται. [10] ταύτην ἐγὼ δύναμιν εἶπω; μὴ γένοιτο, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν κιναιδῶν, καθ' ἣν πᾶν τὸ ἐπελθὼν ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ποιουσι καὶ λέγουσι.

Περὶ προνοίας.

ἅφ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γινομένων ῥάδιόν ἐστιν ἐγκωμιάσαι τὴν πρόνοιαν, ἂν δύο ἔχῃ τις ταῦτα ἐν ἑαυτῷ, δύναμιν τε συνορατικὴν τῶν γεγονότων ἐκάστω καὶ τὸ εὐχάριστον. [2] εἰ δὲ μή, ὁ μὲν οὐκ ὄψεται τὴν εὐχρηστίαν τῶν γεγονότων, ὁ δ' οὐκ εὐχαριστήσῃ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ἂν [3] ἴδῃ. χρώματα ὁ θεὸς εἰ πεποιήκει, δύναμιν δὲ θεατικὴν αὐτῶν μὴ πεποιήκει, τί ἂν ἦν ὄφελος; [4] — οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν. — ἀλλ' ἀνάπαλιν εἰ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν πεποιήκει, τὰ ὄντα δὲ μὴ τοιαῦτα οἶα ὑποπίπτειν τῇ δυνάμει τῇ ὁρατικῇ, καὶ οὕτως τί ὄφελος; [5] — οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν. [6] — τί δ', εἰ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα πεποιήκει, φῶς δὲ μὴ πεποιήκει; — οὐδ' οὕτως τι ὄφελος. — τίς οὖν ὁ ἀρμόσας τοῦτο πρὸς ἐκεῖνο κάκεῖνο πρὸς τοῦτο; τίς δ' ὁ ἀρμόσας τὴν μάχαιραν πρὸς τὸ κολεὸν καὶ τὸ κολεὸν πρὸς τὴν μάχαιραν; [7] οὐδεῖς; καὶ μὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς κατασκευῆς τῶν ἐπιτετελεσμένων ἀποφαίνεσθαι εἰώθαμεν, ὅτι τεχνίτου τινὸς πάντως τὸ ἔργον, οὐχὶ δ' εἰκῇ κατεσκευασμένον. [8] ἄρ' οὖν τούτων μὲν ἕκαστον ἐμφαίνει τὸν τεχνίτην, τὰ δ' ὁρατὰ καὶ ὄρασεις καὶ φῶς οὐκ ἐμφαίνει; [9] τὸ δ' ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ καὶ ἡ προθυμία ἢ πρὸς τὴν συνουσίαν ἐκατέρου καὶ δύνამις ἢ χρηστικὴ τοῖς μορίοις τοῖς κατεσκευασμένοις οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐμφαίνει τὸν τεχνίτην; [10] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν: ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη τῆς διανοίας κατασκευή, καθ' ἣν οὐχ ἀπλῶς ὑποπίπτοντες τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τυπούμεθα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκλαμβάνομεν τι καὶ ἀφαιροῦμεν καὶ προστίθεμεν καὶ συντίθεμεν τάδε τινὰ δι' αὐτῶν καὶ νῆ Δία μεταβαίνομεν ἀπ' ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλα τινὰ οὕτω πως παρακείμενα, οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἱκανὰ κινῆσαί τινος καὶ διατρέψαι πρὸς τὸ ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν τεχνίτην; [11] ἢ ἐξηγησάσθωσαν ἡμῖν τί τὸ ποιοῦν ἐστὶν ἕκαστον τούτων ἢ πῶς οἷόν τε τὰ οὕτω θαυμαστὰ καὶ τεχνικὰ εἰκῇ καὶ ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου γίνεσθαι.

[12] τί οὖν; ἐφ' ἡμῶν μόνων γίνεται ταῦτα; πολλὰ μὲν ἐπὶ μόνων, ὧν ἐξαιρέτως χρειάν εἶχεν τὸ λογικὸν ζῷον, πολλὰ δὲ κοινὰ εὐρήσεις ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα. [13] ἄρ' οὖν καὶ παρακολουθεῖ τοῖς γινομένοις ἐκεῖνα; οὐδαμῶς. ἄλλο γάρ ἐστι χρήσις καὶ ἄλλο παρακολουθήσις. ἐκείνων χρειάν

εἶχεν ὁ θεὸς χρωμένων ταῖς φαντασίαις, ἡμῶν δὲ παρακολουθούντων τῇ χρήσει. [14] διὰ τοῦτο ἐκείνοις μὲν ἄρκει τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν καὶ τὸ ἀναπαύεσθαι καὶ ὀχεύειν καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσα ἐπιτελεῖ τῶν αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, ἡμῖν δ', οἷς καὶ τὴν παρακολουθητικὴν δύναμιν ἔδωκεν, [15] οὐκέτι ταῦτ' ἀπαρκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἂν μὴ κατὰ τρόπον καὶ τεταγμένως καὶ ἀκολουθῶς τῇ ἐκάστου φύσει καὶ κατασκευῇ πράττωμεν, οὐκέτι τοῦ τέλους τευξόμεθα τοῦ ἑαυτῶν. [16] ὦν γὰρ αἱ κατασκευαὶ διάφοροι, τούτων καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰ τέλη. [17] οὗ τοίνυν ἡ κατασκευὴ μόνον χρηστική, τούτῳ χρῆσθαι ὁπωσοῦν ἀπαρκεῖ: οὗ δὲ καὶ παρακολουθητικὴ τῇ χρήσει, τούτῳ τὸ κατὰ τρόπον ἂν μὴ προσῇ οὐδέποτε τεύζεται τοῦ τέλους. [18] τί οὖν; ἐκείνων ἕκαστον κατασκευάζει τὸ μὲν ὥστ' ἐσθίεσθαι, τὸ δ' ὥστε ὑπηρετεῖν εἰς γεωργίαν, τὸ δ' ὥστε τυρὸν φέρειν, τὸ δ' ἄλλο ἐπ' ἄλλῃ χρεῖα παραπλησίῳ, πρὸς ᾧ τίς χρεῖα τοῦ παρακολουθεῖν ταῖς φαντασίαις καὶ ταύτας διακρίνειν δύνασθαι; [19] τὸν δ' ἄνθρωπον θεατὴν εἰσήγαγεν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ μόνον θεατὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξηγητὴν αὐτῶν. [20] διὰ τοῦτο αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ καταλήγειν ὅπου καὶ τὰ ἄλογα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔνθεν μὲν ἄρχεσθαι, καταλήγειν δὲ ἐφ' ὃ κατέληξεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ φύσις. [21] κατέληξεν δ' ἐπὶ θεωρίαν καὶ παρακολουθήσιν καὶ σύμφωνον διεξαγωγὴν τῇ φύσει. ὁρᾶτε οὖν, μὴ ἀθέατοι τούτων ἀποθάνητε. [22]

[23] ἀλλ' εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν μὲν ἀποδημεῖτε, ἴν' εἰδῇτε τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Φειδίου, καὶ ἀτύχημα ἕκαστος ὑμῶν οἶται τὸ ἀνιστόρητος τούτων ἀποθανεῖν: [24] ὅπου δ' οὐδ' ἀποδημῆσαι χρεῖα ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐστὲ ἤδη καὶ πάρεστε τοῖς ἔργοις, ταῦτα δὲ θεάσασθαι καὶ κατανοῆσαι οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσετε; [25] οὐκ αἰσθήσεσθε τοίνυν, οὔτε τίνες ἐστὲ οὐτ' ἐπὶ τί γεγόνατε οὔτε ἐπὶ τί τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν θέαν παρείλφθη; [26] — ἀλλὰ γίνεται τινα ἀηδὴ καὶ χαλεπὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ. — ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δ' οὐ γίνεται; οὐ καυματίζεσθε; οὐ στενοχωρεῖσθε; οὐ κακῶς λούεσθε; οὐ καταβρέχεσθε, ὅταν βρέχη; θορύβου δὲ καὶ βοῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χαλεπῶν οὐκ ἀπολαύετε; [27] ἀλλ' οἶμαι ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἀντιτιθέντες πρὸς τὸ ἀξιόλογον τῆς θέας φέρετε καὶ ἀνέχεσθε. ἄγε δυνάμεις δ' οὐκ εἰλήφατε, [28] καθ' ὅς οἴσετε πᾶν τὸ συμβαῖνον; μεγαλοψυχίαν οὐκ εἰλήφατε; ἀνδρείαν οὐκ εἰλήφατε; [29] καρτερίαν οὐκ εἰλήφατε; καὶ τί ἔτι μοι μέλει μεγαλοψύχῳ ὄντι τῶν ἀποβῆναι δυναμένων; τί μ' ἐκστήσει ἢ ταραξεί ἢ τί ὀδυνηρὸν φανεῖται; οὐ χρήσομαι τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς ᾧ εἰλήφα αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποβαίνουσιν πενήθσω καὶ στενάξω;

[30] 'ναί: ἀλλ' αἱ μύξαι μου ρέουσιν.' τίνος οὖν ἕνεκα χεῖρας ἔχεις, ἀνδράποδον; οὐχ ἵνα καὶ ἀπομύσσης σεαυτόν; [31] — τοῦτο οὖν εὐλογον μύξας γίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ; [32] — καὶ πόσω κρεῖττον ἀπομύξασθαι σε ἢ ἐγκαλεῖν; ἢ τί οἶε ὅτι ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἂν ἀπέβη, εἰ μὴ λέων τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο καὶ ὕδρα καὶ ἔλαφος καὶ σὺς καὶ ἄδικοί τινες ἄνθρωποι καὶ θηριώδεις, οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἐξήλαυνεν καὶ ἐκάθαιρεν; [33] καὶ τί ἂν ἐποίει μηδενὸς τοιούτου γεγονότος; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ἐντετυλιγμένος ἂν ἐκάθευδεν; οὐκοῦν πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο Ἡρακλῆς ἐν τρυφῇ τοιαύτῃ καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ νυστάζων ὅλον τὸν βίον; εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ ἐγένετο, τί ὄφελος αὐτοῦ; [34] τίς δὲ χρήσις τῶν βραχιόνων τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀλκῆς καὶ καρτερίας καὶ γενναιότητος, εἰ μὴ τοιαυταὶ τινες αὐτὸν

περιστάσεις καὶ ὕλαι διέσεισαν καὶ ἐγύμνασαν; [35] τί οὖν; αὐτῷ ταύτας ἔδει κατασκευάζειν καὶ ζητεῖν ποθεν λέοντα εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ σὺν καὶ ὕδραν; [36] μωρία τοῦτο καὶ μανία. γεγόμενα δὲ καὶ εὐρεθέντα εὐχρηστα ἦν πρὸς τὸ δεῖξαι καὶ γυμνάσαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα. [37]

ἄγε οὖν καὶ σὺ τούτων αἰσθόμενος ἀπόβλεψον εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις ἃς ἔχεις καὶ ἀπιδὼν εἰπὲ ‘φέρε νῦν, ὦ Ζεῦ, ἣν θέλεις περίστασιν: ἔχω γὰρ παρασκευὴν ἐκ σοῦ μοι δεδομένην καὶ ἀφορμὰς πρὸς τὸ κοσμήσαι διὰ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων ἐμαυτόν’ [38] οὐ: ἀλλὰ κάθησθε τὰ μὲν μὴ συμβῆῃ τρέμοντες, τῶν δὲ συμβαινόντων ὁδυρόμενοι καὶ πενθοῦντες καὶ στένοντες: εἴτα τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγκαλεῖτε. [39] τί γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄλλο ἀκόλουθον τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀγεννεΐᾳ ἢ καὶ ἀσέβειᾳ; [40] καίτοι ὁ γε θεὸς οὐ μόνον ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν τὰς δυνάμεις ταύτας, καθ’ ἃς οἴσομεν πᾶν τὸ ἀποβαῖνον μὴ ταπεινούμενοι μηδὲ συγκλῶμενοι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ὁ ἦν ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις πατρός, ἀκώλυτον τοῦτο ἔδωκεν, ἀνανάγκαστον, ἀπαραπόδιστον, ὅλον αὐτὸ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ἐποίησεν οὐδ’ αὐτῷ τινα πρὸς τοῦτο ἰσχὺν ἀπολιπών, ὥστε κωλύσαι ἢ ἐμποδίσαι. [41] ταῦτα ἔχοντες ἐλεύθερα καὶ ὑμέτερα μὴ χρῆσθε αὐτοῖς μηδ’ αἰσθάνεσθε τίνα εἰλήφατε καὶ παρὰ τίνος, [42] ἀλλὰ κάθησθε πενθοῦντες καὶ στένοντες οἱ μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν δόντα ἀποτετυφλωμένοι μηδ’ ἐπιγινώσκοντες τὸν εὐεργέτην, οἱ δ’ ὑπ’ ἀγεννεΐας εἰς μέμψεις καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα τῷ θεῷ ἐκτρεπόμενοι. [43] καίτοι πρὸς μεγαλοψυχίαν μὲν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἐγὼ σοὶ δεῖξω ὅτι ἀφορμὰς καὶ παρασκευὴν ἔχεις, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέμφεσθαι καὶ ἐγκαλεῖν ποίας ἀφορμὰς ἔχεις σὺ δ’ ἐμοὶ δείκνυε.

Περὶ τῆς χρεΐας τῶν μεταπιπτόντων καὶ ὑποθετικῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων.

ἡ περὶ τοὺς μεταπίπτοντας καὶ ὑποθετικούς, ἔτι δὲ ἡρωτῆσθαι περαίνοντας καὶ πάντας ἀπλῶς τοὺς τοιοῦτους λόγους πραγματεΐα λανθάνει τοὺς πολλοὺς περὶ καθήκοντος οὕσα. [2] ζητοῦμεν γὰρ ἐπὶ πάσης ὕλης πῶς ἂν εὖροισι ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὴν διέξοδον καὶ ἀναστροφὴν τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ καθήκουσαν. [3] οὐκοῦν ἢ τοῦτο λεγέτωσαν, ὅτι οὐ συγκαθήσει εἰς ἐρώτησιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν ὁ σπουδαῖος ἢ ὅτι συγκαθεῖς οὐκ ἐπιμελήσεται τοῦ μὴ εἰκῇ μηδ’ ὥς ἔτυχεν ἐν ἐρωτήσει καὶ ἀποκρίσει ἀναστρέφεσθαι, [4] μὴ τούτων μηδέτερον προσδεχομένοις ἀναγκαῖον ὁμολογεῖν, ὅτι ἐπίσκεψίν τινα ποιητέον τῶν τόπων τούτων, περὶ οὓς μάλιστα στρέφεται ἐρώτησις καὶ ἀπόκρισις. [5] τί γὰρ ἐπαγγέλλεται ἐν λόγῳ; τάληθῇ τιθεῖν, τὰ ψευδῇ αἰρεῖν, πρὸς τὰ ἀδήλα ἐπέχειν. [6] ἄρ’ οὖν ἄρκεῖ τοῦτο μόνον μαθεῖν; — ἄρκεῖ, φησίν. — οὐκοῦν καὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐν χρήσει νομίσματος μὴ διαπίπτειν ἄρκεῖ τοῦτο ἀκοῦσαι, διὰ τί τὰς μὲν δοκίμους δραχμὰς παραδέχῃ, τὰς δ’ ἀδοκίμους ἀποδοκιμάζεις; [7] — οὐκ ἄρκεῖ. — τί οὖν δεῖ τούτῳ προσλαβεῖν; τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ δύναμιν δοκιμαστικὴν τε καὶ διακριτικὴν τῶν δοκίμων τε καὶ ἀδοκίμων δραχμῶν; οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ λόγου οὐκ ἄρκεῖ τὸ λεχθέν, [8] ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη δοκιμαστικὸν γενέσθαι καὶ διακριτικὸν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς καὶ τοῦ ψεύδους καὶ τοῦ ἀδήλου; [9] — ἀνάγκη. — ἐπὶ τούτοις τί παραγγέλλεται ἐν λόγῳ; τὸ ἀκόλουθον τοῖς δοθεῖσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ καλῶς παραδέχου. [10] ἄγε ἄρκεῖ οὖν κἀνταῦθα γινῶναι τοῦτο; οὐκ ἄρκεῖ, δεῖ δὲ μαθεῖν πῶς τί τισιν ἀκόλουθον γίνεται καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἐν ἐνὶ ἀκολουθεῖ, ποτὲ δὲ πλείοσιν κοινῇ. [11] μὴ ποτε οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἀνάγκη

προσλαβεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ἐν λόγῳ συνετῶς ἀναστραφῆσθαι καὶ αὐτόν τ' ἀποδείξειν ἕκαστα ἀποδόντα καὶ τοῖς ἀποδεικνύουσι παρακολουθήσειν μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιζομένων διαπλανηθῆσθαι ὡς ἀποδεικνύοντων; [12] οὐκοῦν ἐλήλυθεν ἡμῖν περὶ τῶν συναγόντων λόγων καὶ τρόπων πραγματεία καὶ γυμνασία καὶ ἀναγκαῖα πέφηνεν. [13]

ἀλλὰ διὅ ἐστιν ἐφ' ᾧ δεδῶκαμεν ὑγιῶς τὰ λήμματα καὶ συμβαίνει τουτὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν: ψεῦδος δὲ ὃν οὐδὲν ἦττον συμβαίνει. [14] τί οὖν μοι καθήκει ποιεῖν; προσδέχεσθαι τὸ ψεῦδος; [15] καὶ πῶς οἶόν τ'; ἀλλὰ λέγειν ὅτι 'οὐχ ὑγιῶς παρεχώρησα τὰ ὁμολογημένα;' καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο δίδοται. ἀλλ' ὅτι 'οὐ συμβαίνει διὰ τῶν παρακεχωρημένων;' ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο δίδοται. [16] τί οὖν ἐπὶ τούτων ποιητέον; ἢ μὴ ποτε ὡς οὐκ ἄρκει τὸ δανείσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἔτι ὀφείλειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ προσεῖναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιμένειν ἐπὶ τοῦ δανείου καὶ μὴ διαλεύσθαι αὐτό, οὕτως οὐκ ἄρκει πρὸς τὸ δεῖν παραχωρεῖν τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον τὸ δεδωκέναι τὰ λήμματα, δεῖ δ' ἐπιμένειν ἐπὶ τῆς παραχωρήσεως αὐτῶν. [17] καὶ διὅ μενόντων μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τέλος ὅποια παρεχωρήθη πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς παραχωρήσεως ἐπιμένειν καὶ [19] τὸ ἀκόλουθον αὐτοῖς προσδέχεσθαι ... οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔτι οὐδὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς συμβαίνει τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον, ἐπειδὴ τῆς συγχωρήσεως τῶν λημμάτων ἀπέστημεν. [20] δεῖ οὖν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν λημμάτων ἱστορῆσαι καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μεταβολὴν τε καὶ μετάπτωσιν αὐτῶν, καθ' ἣν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐρωτήσῃ ἢ τῇ ἀποκρίσῃ ἢ τῷ συλλελογίσθαι ἢ τινὶ ἄλλῳ τοιοῦτῳ † λαμβάνοντα τὰς μεταπτώσεις ἀφορμὴν παρέχει τοῖς ἀνοήτοις τοῦ ταρασσέσθαι μὴ βλέπουσι τὸ ἀκόλουθον. τίνος ἔνεκα; ἵν' ἐν τῷ τόπῳ [21] τούτῳ μὴ παρὰ τὸ καθήκον μηδ' εἰκῇ μηδὲ συγκεχυμένως ἀναστρεφώμεθα. [22]

καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τε τῶν ὑποθέσεων καὶ τῶν ὑποθετικῶν λόγων. ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτ' αἰτῆσαι τινα ὑπόθεσιν ὥσπερ ἐπιβάθραν τῷ ἐξῆς λόγῳ. [23] πᾶσαν οὖν τὴν δοθεῖσαν παραχωρητέον ἢ οὐ πᾶσαν; καὶ εἰ οὐ πᾶσαν, τίνα; [24] περὶ τίνος ἢ σκέψης; περὶ καθήκοντος. παραχωρήσαντι δὲ μενετέον εἰς ἅπαν ἐπὶ τῆς τηρήσεως ἢ ἔστιν ὅτε ἀποστατέον, τὰ δ' ἀκόλουθα προσδεκτέον καὶ τὰ μαχόμενα οὐ προσδεκτέον; [25] — ναί. — ἀλλὰ λέγει τις ὅτι 'ποιήσω σε δυνατοῦ δεξάμενον ὑπόθεσιν ἐπ' ἀδύνατον ἀπαχθῆναι.' πρὸς τοῦτον οὐ συγκαθῆσει ὁ φρόνιμος, ἀλλὰ φεύζεται ἐξέτασιν καὶ κοινολογίαν; [26] καὶ τίς ἔτι ἄλλος ἐστὶ λόγῳ χρηστικός καὶ δεινὸς ἐρωτήσῃ καὶ ἀποκρίσῃ καὶ νῆ Δία ἀνεξαπάτητός τε καὶ ἀσόφιστος; [27] ἀλλὰ συγκαθῆσει μὲν, οὐκ ἐπιστραφήσεται δὲ τοῦ μὴ εἰκῇ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀναστρέφεσθαι ἐν λόγῳ; καὶ πῶς ἔτι ἔσται τοιοῦτος οἷον αὐτὸν ἐπινοοῦμεν; [28] ἀλλ' ἄνευ τινὸς τοιαύτης γυμνασίας καὶ παρασκευῆς φυλάττειν οἷός τ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἐξῆς; [29] τοῦτο δεικνύτωσαν καὶ παρέλκει τὰ θεωρήματα ταῦτα πάντα, ἅτοπα ἦν καὶ ἀνακόλουθα τῇ προλήψει τοῦ σπουδαίου. [30]

τί ἔτι ἀργοὶ καὶ ῥάθυμοι καὶ νωθοὶ ἐσμεν καὶ προφάσεις ζητοῦμεν, καθ' ἃς οὐ πονήσομεν οὐδ' ἀγρυπνήσομεν ἐξεργαζόμενοι τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον; [31] — ἂν οὖν ἐν τούτοις πλανηθῶ, μὴ τι τὸν πατέρα ἀπέκτεινα; — ἀνδράποδον, ποῦ γὰρ ἐνθάδε πατήρ ἦν, ἵν' αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃς; τί οὖν ἐποίησας; ὁ μόνον ἦν κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἀμάρτημα, τοῦτο ἡμάρτηκας. [32] ἐπεὶ τοι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐγὼ Ρούφῳ εἶπον ἐπιτιμῶντί μοι ὅτι τὸ παραλειπόμενον ἐν ἐν συλλογισμῷ τινι

οὐχ εὕρισκον. 'οὐχ οἷον μὲν,' φημί, 'εἰ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατέκαυσα,' ὁ δ' 'ἀνδράποδον,' ἔφη, [33] 'ἐνθάδε τὸ παραλειπόμενον Καπιτώλιόν ἐστιν.' ἢ ταῦτα μόνον ἀμαρτήματά ἐστι τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐμπρῆσαι καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀποκτείνειν, τὸ δ' εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν χρῆσθαι ταῖς φαντασίαις ταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ παρακολουθεῖν λόγῳ μὴδ' ἀποδείξει μὴδὲ σοφίσματι μὴδ' ἀπλῶς βλέπειν τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐν ἐρωτήσῃ καὶ ἀποκρίσει, τούτων δ' οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἀμάρτημα;

ὅτι αἱ δυνάμεις τοῖς ἀπαιδεύτοις οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς.

καθ' ὅσους τρόπους μεταλαμβάνειν ἔστι τὰ ἰσοδυναμοῦντα ἀλλήλοις, κατὰ τοσοούτους καὶ τὰ εἶδη τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων τε καὶ ἐνθυμημάτων ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐκποιεῖ μεταλαμβάνειν. [2] οἷον φέρε τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον: εἰ ἐδανείσω καὶ μὴ ἀπέδωκας, ὀφείλεις μοι τὸ ἀργύριον: οὐχὶ ἐδανείσω μὲν καὶ οὐκ ἀπέδωκας: οὐ μὴν ὀφείλεις μοι τὸ ἀργύριον. [3] καὶ τοῦτο οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον προσήκει ἢ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ἐμπείρως ποιεῖν. εἴπερ γὰρ ἀτελεῖς συλλογισμός ἐστὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα, δηλὸν ὅτι ὁ περὶ τὸν τέλειον συλλογισμὸν γεγυμνασμένος οὗτος ἂν ἱκανὸς εἴη καὶ περὶ τὸν ἀτελεῖ οὐδὲν ἤττον. [4]

τί ποτ' οὖν οὐ γυμνάζομεν αὐτούς τε καὶ ἀλλήλους τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον; [5] ὅτι νῦν καίτοι μὴ γυμναζόμενοι περὶ ταῦτα μὴδ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τοῦ ἥθους ὑπὸ γε ἐμοῦ περισπώμενοι ὁμῶς οὐδὲν ἐπιδίδομεν εἰς καλοκάγαθίαν. [6] τί οὖν χρὴ προσδοκᾶν, εἰ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀσχολίαν προσλάβοιμεν; καὶ μάλισθ', ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἀσχολία τις ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτέρων αὐτὴ προσγένοιτο' ἄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰήσεως ἀφορμὴ καὶ τύφου οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα. [7] μεγάλη γάρ ἐστι δύναμις ἡ ἐπιχειρητικὴ καὶ πιθανολογικὴ, καὶ μάλιστ' εἰ τύχοι γυμνασίας ἐπιπλέον καὶ τίνα καὶ εὐπρέπειαν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων προσλάβοι. [8] ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ καθόλου πᾶσα δύναμις ἐπισφαλῆς τοῖς ἀπαιδεύτοις καὶ ἀσθενεσί προσγενομένη πρὸς τὸ ἐπᾶραι καὶ χαυνῶσαι ἐπ' αὐτῇ. [9] ποῖα γὰρ ἂν τις ἔτι μηχανῇ πείσαι τὸν νέον τὸν ἐν τούτοις διαφέροντα, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ προσθήκην αὐτὸν ἐκείνων γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα αὐτῷ προσθεῖναι; [10] οὐχὶ δὲ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους καταπατήσας ἐπηρμένος ἡμῖν καὶ πεφουσημένος περιπατεῖ μὴδ' ἀνεχόμενος, ἂν τις ἄπτηται τι αὐτοῦ ὑπομιμνήσκων, τίνος ἀπολελειμμένος ποῦ ἀποκέκλικεν;

[11] τί οὖν; Πλάτων φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἦν; — Ἴπποκράτης γὰρ ἰατρός οὐκ ἦν; ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς πῶς φράζει Ἴπποκράτης. μὴ τι οὖν Ἴπποκράτης οὕτω φράζει, καθὼ ἰατρός ἐστιν; [12] τί οὖν μιγνύεις πράγματα ἄλλως ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων συνδραμόντα; [13] εἰ δὲ καλὸς ἦν Πλάτων καὶ ἰσχυρός, ἔδει κάμει καθήμενον ἐκπονεῖν, ἵνα καλὸς γένωμαι ἢ ἵνα ἰσχυρός, ὡς τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, ἐπεὶ τις φιλόσοφος ἅμα καὶ καλὸς ἦν καὶ φιλόσοφος; [14] οὐ θέλεις αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ διακρίναι κατὰ τί οἱ ἄνθρωποι γίνονται φιλόσοφοι καὶ τίνα ἄλλως αὐτοῖς πάρεστιν; ἄγε εἰ δ' ἐγὼ φιλόσοφος ἦμην, ἔδει ὑμᾶς καὶ χωλοὺς γενέσθαι; τί οὖν; [15] αἶρω τὰς δυνάμεις ταύτας; μὴ γένοιτο: οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ὁρατικὴν. [16] ὁμῶς δ', ἂν μου πυνθάνῃ τί ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, οὐκ ἔχω σοι ἄλλο εἰπεῖν ἢ ὅτι ποῖα προαίρεσις φαντασιῶν.

πῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ συγγενεῖς ἡμᾶς εἶναι τῷ θεῷ ἐπέλθοι ἂν τις ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

εἰ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἀληθῆ τὰ περὶ τῆς συγγενείας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων

λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων, τί ἄλλο ἀπολείπεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἢ τὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους, μηδέποτε πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον ποδαπὸς ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν ὅτι Ἀθηναῖος ἢ Κορίνθιος, ἀλλ' ὅτι κόσμιος; [2] διὰ τί γὰρ λέγεις Ἀθηναῖον εἶναι σεαυτὸν, οὐχὶ δ' ἐξ ἐκείνης μόνον τῆς γωνίας, εἰς ἣν ἐρρίφη γεννηθὲν σου τὸ σωματίον; [3] ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ κυριωτέρου καὶ περιέχοντος οὐ μόνον αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν γωνίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλην σου τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ ἀπλῶς ὅθεν σου τὸ γένος τῶν προγόνων εἰς σὲ κατελήλυθεν ἐντεῦθεν ποθεν καλεῖς σεαυτὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Κορίνθιον; [4] ὁ τοίνυν τῇ διοικήσει τοῦ κόσμου παρηκολουθηκὼς καὶ μεμαθηκὼς, ὅτι 'τὸ μέγιστον καὶ κυριώτατον καὶ περιεκτικώτατον πάντων τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σύστημα τὸ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεοῦ, ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ τὰ σπέρματα καταπέπτωκεν οὐκ εἰς τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑμὸν μόνον οὐδ' εἰς τὸν πάππον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς γεννώμενά τε καὶ φυόμενα, προηγουμένως δ' εἰς τὰ λογικά, [5] ὅτι κοινωνεῖν μόνον ταῦτα πέφυκεν τῷ θεῷ τῆς συναναστροφῆς κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ [6] πεπλεγμένα,' διὰ τί μὴ εἴπῃ τις αὐτὸν κόσμιον; διὰ τί μὴ υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ; διὰ τί δὲ φοβηθήσεται τι τῶν γιγνομένων ἐν ἀνθρώποις; [7] ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τὸν Καίσαρα ἢ συγγένεια ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν μέγα δυναμένων ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἱκανὴ παρέχειν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ διάγοντας καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτους καὶ δεδουκότας μὴδ' ὀτιοῦν, τὸ δὲ τὸν θεὸν ποιητὴν ἔχειν καὶ πατέρα καὶ κηδεμόνα οὐκέτι ἡμᾶς ἐξαίρησεται λυπῶν καὶ φόβων; [8] — καὶ πόθεν φάγω, φησὶν, μὴδὲν ἔχων; — καὶ πῶς οἱ δοῦλοι, πῶς οἱ δραπεταί, τίνι πεποιθότες ἐκείνοι ἀπαλλάττονται τῶν δεσποτῶν; τοῖς ἀγροῖς. ἢ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἢ τοῖς ἀργυρώμασιν; οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς; καὶ ὅμως οὐκ ἐπιλείπουσιν αὐτοὺς τροφαί. [9] τὸν δὲ φιλόσοφον ἡμῖν δεήσει ἄλλοις θαρροῦντα καὶ ἐπαναπαυόμενον ἀποδημεῖν καὶ μὴ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀλόγων εἶναι χεῖρονα καὶ δειλότερον, ὧν ἕκαστον αὐτὸ αὐτῷ ἀρκούμενον οὔτε τροφῆς ἀπορεῖ τῆς οἰκειᾶς οὔτε διεξαγωγῆς τῆς καταλλήλους καὶ κατὰ φύσιν;

[10] ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι, ὅτι ἔδει καθῆσθαι τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐνταῦθα οὐ τοῦτο μηχανώμενον, ὅπως μὴ ταπεινοφρονήσητε μὴδὲ ταπεινοὺς μὴδ' ἀγεννεῖς τινὰς διαλογισμοὺς διαλογιεῖσθε αὐτοῖ περὶ ἑαυτῶν, [11] ἀλλὰ μὴ τινες ἐμπίπτωσιν τοιοῦτοι νέοι, οἱ ἐπιγνόντες τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς συγγένειαν καὶ ὅτι δεσμά τινα ταῦτα προσηρτήμεθα τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἔνεκα ἀναγκαῖα ἡμῖν γίνεται εἰς οἰκονομίαν καὶ ἀναστροφὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ, ὡς βάρη τινὰ καὶ ἀνιὰρὰ καὶ ἄχρηστα ἀπορρῖψαι θέλωσιν καὶ ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς. [12] καὶ τοῦτον ἔδει τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὸν διδάσκαλον ὑμῶν καὶ παιδευτὴν, εἴ τις ἄρα ἦν: ὑμᾶς μὲν ἔρχεσθαι λέγοντας 'Ἐπὶκτητε, οὐκέτι ἀνεχόμεθα μετὰ τοῦ σωματίου τούτου δεδεμένοι καὶ τοῦτο τρέφοντες καὶ ποτίζοντες καὶ ἀναπαύοντες καὶ καθαίροντες, εἴτα δι' αὐτὸ συμπεριφερόμενοι τοῖσδε καὶ τοῖσδε. [13] οὐκ ἀδιάφορα ταῦτα καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ὁ θάνατος οὐ κακόν; καὶ συγγενεῖς τινες τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσμεν κάκεῖθεν ἐληλύθαμεν; [14] ἄφες ἡμᾶς ἀπελθεῖν ὅθεν ἐληλύθαμεν, ἄφες λυθῆναι ποτε τῶν δεσμῶν τούτων τῶν ἐξηρημένων καὶ βαρύντων. [15] ἐνταῦθα λησται καὶ κλέπται καὶ δικαστήρια καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι τύραννοι δοκοῦντες ἔχειν τινὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν διὰ τὸ σωματίον καὶ τὰ τούτου κτήματα. ἄφες δεῖξωμεν αὐτοῖς,

ὅτι οὐδενὸς ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν·’ [16] ἐμὲ δ’ ἐν τῷδε λέγειν ὅτι ‘ἄνθρωποι, ἐκδέξασθε τὸν θεόν. ὅταν ἐκεῖνος σημήνη καὶ ἀπολύσῃ ὑμᾶς ταύτης τῆς ὑπηρεσίας, τότε ἀπολύεσθε πρὸς αὐτόν: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος ἀνάσχεσθε ἐνοικοῦντες ταύτην τὴν χώραν, εἰς ἣν ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς ἔταξεν. [17] ὀλίγος ἄρα χρόνος οὗτος ὁ τῆς οἰκίσεως καὶ ῥάδιος τοῖς οὕτω διακειμένοις. ποῖος γὰρ ἔτι τύραννος ἢ ποῖος κλέπτῃς ἢ ποῖα δικαστήρια φοβερά τοῖς οὕτως παρ’ οὐδὲν πεποιημένοις τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ τούτου κτήματα; μείνατε, μὴ ἀλογίστως ἀπέλθῃτε.’ [18]

ΤΟΙΟΥΤΩΝ ΤΙ ἔδει γίνεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ παιδευτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς εὐφυεῖς τῶν νέων. [19] νῦν δὲ τί γίνεται; νεκρὸς μὲν ὁ παιδευτής, νεκροὶ δ’ ὑμεῖς. ὅταν χορτασθῇτε σήμερον, κάθησθε κλάοντες περὶ τῆς αὔριον, πόθεν φάγητε. [20] ἀνδράποδον, ἂν σχῆς, ἔξεις; ἂν μὴ σχῆς, ἐξελεύσῃ: ἥνοικται ἡ θύρα. τί πενθεῖς; ποῦ ἔτι τόπος δακρύοις; τίς ἔτι κολακείας ἀφορμή; διὰ τί ἄλλος ἄλλω φθονήσῃ; διὰ τί πολλὰ κεκτημένους θαυμάσει ἢ τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει τεταγμένους, μάλιστα ἂν καὶ ἰσχυροὶ ὧσιν καὶ ὀργίλοι; [21] τί γὰρ ἡμῖν ποιήσουσιν; ἃ δύνανται ποιῆσαι, τούτων οὐκ ἐπιστρεψόμεθα: ὧν ἡμῖν μέλει, ταῦτα οὐ δύνανται. τίς οὖν ἔτι ἄρξει τοῦ οὕτως διακειμένου; [22] πῶς Σωκράτης εἶχεν πρὸς ταῦτα; πῶς γὰρ ἄλλως ἢ ὡς ἔδει τὸν πεπεισμένον ὅτι ἐστὶ τῶν θεῶν συγγενής; [23] ‘ἂν μοι λέγητε,’ φησὶν, ‘νῦν ὅτι ‘ἀφίεμέν σε ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὅπως μηκέτι διαλέξῃ τούτους τοὺς λόγους οὐς μέχρι νῦν διελέγου μηδὲ παρενοχλήσεις ἡμῶν τοῖς νέοις μηδὲ τοῖς γέρονσιν’ [24] , ἀποκρινοῦμαι ὅτι γελοῖοι ἐστε, οἵτινες ἀζιοῦτε, εἰ μὲν με ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ ὑμέτερος ἔταξεν εἰς τινὰ τάξιν, ὅτι ἔδει με τηρεῖν αὐτήν καὶ φυλάττειν καὶ μυριάκις πρότερον αἰρεῖσθαι ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτήν, εἰ δ’ ὁ θεὸς ἐν τινὶ χώρᾳ καὶ ἀναστροφῇ κατατέταχεν, ταύτην δ’ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν δεῖ ἡμᾶς.’ τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ταῖς ἀληθείαις συγγενὴς τῶν θεῶν. [25] ἡμεῖς οὖν ὡς κοιλία, [26] ὡς ἔντερα, ὡς αἰδοῖα, οὕτω περὶ αὐτῶν διανοούμεθα, ὅτι φοβούμεθα, ὅτι ἐπιθυμοῦμεν: τοὺς εἰς ταῦτα συνεργεῖν δυναμένους κολακεύομεν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους δεδοίκαμεν. [27]

ἐμὲ τις ἡξίωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράψαι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς ἐδόκει τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡτυχηκῶς καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐπιφανὴς ὧν καὶ πλούσιος, ὕστερον δ’ ἐκπεπωκῶς ἀπάντων καὶ διάγων ἐνταῦθα. [28] κἀγὼ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ταπεινῶς. ὁ δ’ ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέδωκεν μοι αὐτήν καὶ ἔφη ὅτι ‘ἐγὼ βοηθηθῆναι τι ὑπὸ σοῦ ἠθελον, οὐχὶ ἐλεηθῆναι: κακὸν δέ μοι οὐθέν ἐστιν.’ οὕτως καὶ Ῥοῦφος πειράζων μ’ εἰώθει λέγειν [29] ‘συμβήσεται σοι τοῦτο καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότη.’ [30] κάμου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκριναμένου ὅτι ‘ἀνθρώπινα’ ‘τί οὖν ἔτι ἐκεῖνον παρακαλῶ παρὰ σοῦ αὐτὰ λαβεῖν δυνάμενος;’ τῷ γὰρ ὄντι, [31] ὁ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τις ἔχει, περισσὸς καὶ μάταιος παρ’ ἄλλου λαμβάνων. [32] ἐγὼ οὖν ἔχων ἐξ ἑμαυτοῦ λαβεῖν τὸ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ γενναῖον, ἀγρὸν παρὰ σοῦ λάβω καὶ ἀργύριον ἢ ἀρχήν τινα; μὴ γένοιτο. οὐχ οὕτως ἀναίσθητος ἔσομαι τῶν ἐμῶν κτημάτων. [33] ἀλλ’ ὅταν τις ἢ δειλὸς καὶ ταπεινός, ὑπὲρ τούτου τί ἄλλο ἢ ἀνάγκη γράφειν ἐπιστολὰς ὡς ὑπὲρ νεκροῦ ‘τὸ πτῶμα ἡμῖν χάρισαι τοῦ δαίμονος καὶ ξέστην αἱματίου;’ [34] τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πτῶμα ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστι καὶ ξέστης αἱματίου, πλεον δ’ οὐδέν. εἰ δ’ ἦν πλεον τι,

ἡσθάνει· ἄν, ὅτι ἄλλος δι' ἄλλον οὐ δυστυχεῖ.

πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ προαγωγὰς ἐσπουδακότας.

εἰ οὕτως σφοδρῶς συνετετάγμεθα περὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἑαυτῶν ὥς οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ γέροντες περὶ ᾧ ἐσπουδάκασιν, τάχα ἂν τι ἡνύομεν καὶ αὐτοί. [2] οἶδα ἐγὼ πρεσβύτερον ἄνθρωπον ἐμοῦ τὸν νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου ὄντα ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ὅτε ταύτη παρῆγεν ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἀναστρέφων, οἷα εἶπέν μοι, κατατρέχων τοῦ προτέρου ἑαυτοῦ βίου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐξῆς ἐπαγγελλόμενος, ὅτι ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀναβάς σπουδάσει ἢ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἀταραξίᾳ διεξαγαγεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου: 'πόσον γὰρ ἔτι ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ τὸ λοιπόν;' [3] — καὶ γὰρ ἔλεγον αὐτῷ ὅτι 'οὐ ποιήσεις, ἀλλ' ὁσφρανθεὶς μόνον τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπάντων τούτων ἐπιλήσῃ.' ἂν δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐλὴν πάροδος τις δίδωται, ὅτι χαίρων καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶν ὥσεται. [4] — 'ἂν μ' εὔρῃς,' ἔφη, 'Επίκτητε, τὸν ἕτερον πόδα εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τιθέντα, ὃ βούλει ὑπολάβμβανει.' [5] νῦν οὖν τί ἐποίησεν; πρὶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ παρὰ Καίσαρος πινακίδες: ὁ δὲ λαβὼν πάντων ἐκείνων ἐξελάθετο καὶ λοιπὸν ἐν ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐπισεσώρευκεν. [6] ἤθελον αὐτὸν νῦν παραστὰς ὑπομνησαι τῶν λόγων, οὓς ἔλεγεν παρερχόμενος, καὶ εἶπεῖν ὅτι 'πόσῳ σοῦ ἐγὼ κομψότερος μάντις εἰμί.'

[7] τί οὖν; ἐγὼ λέγω, ὅτι ἄπρακτόν ἐστι τὸ ζῶον; μὴ γένοιτο. ἀλλὰ διὰ τί ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμὲν πρακτικοί; εὐθὺς ἐγὼ πρῶτος, [8] ὅταν ἡμέρα γένηται, μικρὰ ὑπομνησκομαι, τίνα ἐπαναγνῶναί με δεῖ. εἶτα εὐθὺς ἐμαυτῷ: 'τί δέ μοι καὶ μέλει πῶς ὁ δεῖνα ἀναγνῶ; πρῶτόν ἐστιν, ἵνα ἐγὼ κοιμηθῶ.' [9] καίτοι τί ὅμοια τὰ ἐκείνων πράγματα τοῖς ἡμετέροις; ἂν ἐπιστῇτε, τί ἐκεῖνοι ποιοῦσιν, αἰσθήσεσθε. τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ψηφίζουσιν, συζητοῦσι, συμβουλευούσι περὶ σιταρίου, περὶ ἀγριδίου, περὶ τινων προκοπῶν τοιούτων; [10] ὅμοιον οὖν ἐστὶν ἐντευξίδιον παρὰ τινος λαβόντα ἀναγινώσκειν 'παρακαλῶ σε ἐπιτρέψαι μοι σιτάριον ἐξαγαγεῖν' ἢ 'παρακαλῶ σε παρὰ Χρυσίππου ἐπισκέψασθαι τίς ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ κόσμου διοίκησις καὶ ποῖαν τινὰ χώραν ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχει τὸ λογικὸν ζῶον: ἐπίσκεψαι δὲ καὶ τίς εἴ σὺ καὶ ποῖόν τι σοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν;' [11] ταῦτα ἐκείνοις ὅμοιά ἐστιν; ἀλλ' ὁμοίας σπουδῆς χρεῖαν ἔχοντα; ἀλλ' ὥσαύτως ἀμελεῖν αἰσχρὸν τούτων καὶ ἐκείνων; [12] τί οὖν; ἡμεῖς μόνοι ῥαθυμοῦμεν καὶ νυστάζομεν; οὐ: ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρότερον ὑμεῖς οἱ νέοι. [13] ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ γέροντες, ὅταν παίζοντας ὀρῶμεν νέους, συμπροθυμούμεθα καὶ αὐτοὶ συμπαίζειν. πολὺ δὲ πλεον, εἰ ἑώρων διεγερμένους καὶ συμπροθυμουμένους, προεθυμούμην ἂν συσπουδάξειν καὶ αὐτός.

περὶ φιλοστοργίας.

ἀφικομένου δὲ τινος πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν ἐν τέλει πυθόμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους ἡρώτησεν, εἰ καὶ τέκνα εἴη αὐτῷ καὶ γυνή. [2] τοῦ δ' ὁμολογήσαντος προσεπύθετο: πῶς τι οὖν χρῆ τῷ πράγματι; — ἀθλίως, ἔφη. [3] — καὶ ὅς: τίνα τρόπον; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτου γ' ἕνεκα γαμοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ παιδοποιοῦνται, ὅπως ἄθλιοι ὦσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅπως εὐδαίμονες. [4] — ἀλλ' ἐγὼ, ἔφη, οὕτως ἀθλίως ἔχω περὶ τὰ παιδάρια, ὥστε πρόην νοσοῦντός μου τοῦ θυγατρίου καὶ δόξαντος κινδυνεύειν οὐχ ὑπέμεινα οὐδὲ παρεῖναι αὐτῷ νοσοῦντι, φυγὰν δ' ὀχόμην, μέχρις οὗ προσήγγειλέ τις μοι ὅτι ἔχει καλῶς. [5] — τί οὖν; ὀρθῶς

φαίνει σαυτῷ ταῦτα πεποιημένα; — φυσικῶς, ἔφη. — ἀλλὰ μὴν τοῦτο με πείσων, ἔφη, σύ, διότι φυσικῶς, καὶ ἐγὼ σε πείσω, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ κατὰ φύσιν γινόμενον ὀρθῶς γίνεται. [6] — τοῦτο, ἔφη, ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ἢ οἱ γε πλεῖστοι πατέρες πάσχομεν. — οὐδ' ἐγὼ σοι ἀντιλέγω, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ γίνεται, τὸ δ' ἀμφισβητούμενον ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνόν ἐστιν, εἰ ὀρθῶς. [7] ἔπει τοῦτου γ' ἔνεκα καὶ τὰ φύματα δεῖ λέγειν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γίνεσθαι τοῦ σώματος, ὅτι γίνεται, καὶ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν, ὅτι πάντες σχεδὸν ἢ οἱ γε πλεῖστοι ἀμαρτάνομεν. [8] δεῖξον οὖν μοι σύ, πῶς κατὰ φύσιν ἐστίν. — οὐ δύναμαι, ἔφη: ἀλλὰ σύ μοι μάλλον δεῖξον, πῶς οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ φύσιν οὐδ' ὀρθῶς γίνεται. [9] — καὶ ὅς: ἀλλ' εἰ ἐζητοῦμεν, ἔφη, περὶ λευκῶν καὶ μελάνων, ποῖον ἂν κριτήριον παρεκαλοῦμεν πρὸς διάγνωσιν αὐτῶν; — τὴν ὄρασιν, ἔφη. — τί δ' εἰ περὶ θερμῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν καὶ σκληρῶν καὶ μαλακῶν, ποῖόν τι; — τὴν ἀφήν. — οὐκοῦν, [10] ἐπειδὴ περὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν καὶ τῶν ὀρθῶς ἢ οὐκ ὀρθῶς γινομένων ἀμφισβητοῦμεν, ποῖον θέλεις κριτήριον παραλάβωμεν; [11] — οὐκ οἶδ', ἔφη. — καὶ μὴν τὸ μὲν τῶν χρωμάτων καὶ ὁσμῶν, ἔτι δὲ χυλῶν κριτήριον ἀγνοεῖν τυχὸν οὐ μεγάλη ζημία, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν καὶ παρὰ φύσιν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δοκεῖ σοι μικρὰ ζημία εἶναι τῷ ἀγνοοῦντι; [12] — ἡ μεγίστη μὲν οὖν. — φέρε, εἰπέ μοι, πάντα ἃ δοκεῖ τισιν εἶναι καλὰ καὶ προσήκοντα, ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ; καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Σύροις καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις οἷόν τε πάντα τὰ δοκοῦντα περὶ τροφῆς ὀρθῶς δοκεῖν; [13] — καὶ πῶς οἶόν τε; — ἀλλ' οἶμαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, εἰ ὀρθὰ ἐστὶ τὰ Αἰγυπτίων, μὴ ὀρθὰ εἶναι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ καλῶς ἔχει τὰ Ἰουδαίων, μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων. [14] — πῶς γὰρ οὐ; — ὅπου δ' ἄγνοια, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἀμαθία καὶ ἢ περὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀπαιδευσία. [15] — συνεχώρει. — σὺ οὖν, ἔφη, τοῦτων αἰσθόμενος οὐδὲν ἄλλο τοῦ λοιποῦ σπουδάσεις οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν γνώμην. ἔξεις ἢ ὅπως τὸ κριτήριον τῶν κατὰ φύσιν καταμαθὼν τοῦτω προσχρῶμενος διακρίνεις τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους ἕκαστον. [16]

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος τὰ τοσαῦτα ἔχω σοι πρὸς ὃ βούλει βοηθῆσαι. [17] τὸ φιλόστοργον δοκεῖ σοι κατὰ φύσιν τ' εἶναι καὶ καλόν; — πῶς γὰρ οὐ; — τί δέ; τὸ μὲν φιλόστοργον κατὰ φύσιν τ' ἐστὶ καὶ καλόν, τὸ δ' εὐλόγιστον οὐ καλόν; [18] — οὐδαμῶς. — μὴ τοίνυν μάχην ἔχει τῷ φιλοστόργῳ τὸ εὐλόγιστον; — οὐ δοκεῖ μοι. — εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν μαχομένων ἀνάγκη θατέρου κατὰ φύσιν ὄντος θάτερον εἶναι παρὰ φύσιν; ἢ γὰρ οὐ; — οὕτως, ἔφη. [19] — οὐκοῦν ὃ τι ἂν εὐρίσκωμεν ὁμοῦ μὲν φιλόστοργον ὁμοῦ δ' εὐλόγιστον, τοῦτο θαρροῦντες ἀποφαινόμεθα ὀρθόν τε εἶναι καὶ καλόν; [20] — ἔστω, ἔφη. — τί οὖν; ἀφεῖναι νοσοῦν τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἀφέντα ἀπελθεῖν ὅτι μὲν οὐκ εὐλόγιστον οὐκ οἶμαι σ' ἀντερεῖν. ὑπολείπεται δ' ἡμᾶς σκοπεῖν εἰ φιλόστοργον. — σκοπῶμεν δὴ. — [21] ἄρ' οὖν σὺ μὲν ἐπειδὴ φιλοστόργως διέκεισο πρὸς τὸ παιδίον, ὀρθῶς ἐποίεις φεύγων καὶ ἀπολείπων αὐτό; ἢ μήτηρ δ' οὐ φιλοστοργεῖ τὸ παιδίον; — Φιλοστοργεῖ μὲν οὖν. [22] — οὐκοῦν ἔδει καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἀφεῖναι αὐτὸ ἢ οὐκ ἔδει; — οὐκ ἔδει. — τί δ' ἢ τιτθῇ; στέργει αὐτό; — στέργει, ἔφη. — ἔδει οὖν κάκεινην ἀφεῖναι αὐτό; — οὐδαμῶς. — τί δ' ὁ παιδαγωγός; οὐ στέργει αὐτό; [23] — στέργει. — ἔδει οὖν κάκεινον ἀφέντα ἀπελθεῖν, εἴθ' οὕτως ἔρημον καὶ ἀβοήθητον ἀπολειφθῆναι τὸ παιδίον διὰ τὴν

πολλήν φιλοστοργίαν τῶν γονέων ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ ἢ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν τῶν οὔτε στεργόντων οὔτε κηδομένων ἀποθανεῖν; — μὴ γένοιτο. [24] — καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνὸ γε ἄνισον καὶ ἄγνωμον, ὃ τις αὐτῷ προσήκον οἶεται διὰ τὸ φιλόστοργος εἶναι, τοῦτο τοῖς ὁμοίως φιλοστοργοῦσιν μὴ ἐφίεναι; [25] — ἄτοπον. — ἄγε, σὺ δ' ἂν νοσῶν ἡβούλου φιλοστόργους οὕτως ἔχειν τοὺς προσήκοντας τοὺς τ' ἄλλους καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ὥστ' ἀφεθῆναι μόνος ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἔρημος; [26] — οὐδαμῶς. — εὖξαιο δ' ἂν οὕτως στεργθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν σαυτοῦ, ὥστε διὰ τὴν ἄγαν αὐτῶν φιλοστοργίαν ἀεὶ μόνος ἀπολείπεσθαι ἐν ταῖς νόσοις, ἢ τούτου γ' ἔνεκα μᾶλλον ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, εἰ δυνατόν ἦν, φιλοστοργεῖσθαι ἡὔχου, ὥστ' ἀπολείπεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν; εἰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολείπεται μηδαμῶς ἔτι φιλόστοργον εἶναι τὸ πραχθέν.

[27] τί οὖν; οὐδὲν ἦν τὸ κινήσαν σε καὶ ἐξορμήσαν πρὸς τὸ ἀφεῖναι τὸ παιδίον; καὶ πῶς οἶόν τε; ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτόν τι ἂν, οἶον καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τινὰ ἦν τὸ κινεῖν, ὥστ' ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι τοῦ ἵππου τρέχοντος ὃ ἐσπουδάκει, εἴτα νικήσαντός ποτε παραλόγως σπύγγων δεῖσαι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι λιποψυχοῦντα. [28] τί οὖν τοῦτο ἐστίν; τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὐ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ τυχόν· ἐκεῖνο δ' ἀπαρκεῖ πεισθῆναι, εἴπερ ὑγιὲς ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων λεγόμενον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔξω που δεῖ ζητεῖν αὐτό, ἀλλ' ἐν καὶ ταυτόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ πάντων τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ ποιεῖν τὴν ἡμᾶς ἢ μὴ ποιεῖν, τοῦ λέγειν τινὰ ἢ μὴ λέγειν, τοῦ ἐπαίρεσθαι ἢ συστέλλεσθαι ἢ φεύγειν τινὰ ἢ διώκειν, [29] τοῦθ' ὅπερ καὶ νῦν ἐμοὶ τε καὶ σοὶ γέγονεν αἴτιον, σοὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ καθῆσθαι νῦν ἀκούοντα, ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦ λέγειν ταῦτα. [30] τί δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο; ἄρα γε ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν; — οὐδέν. — εἰ δ' ἄλλως ἡμῖν ἐφάνη, τί ἂν ἄλλο ἢ τὸ δόξαν ἐπράττομεν; [31] οὐκ οὖν καὶ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ τοῦτο αἴτιον τοῦ πενθεῖν, οὐχ ὁ τοῦ Πατρόκλου θάνατος (ἄλλος γάρ τις οὐ πάσχει ταῦτα τοῦ ἐταίρου ἀποθανόντος) [32], ἀλλ' ὅτι ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ. καὶ σοὶ τότε φεύγειν τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὅτι ἔδοξεν σοι· καὶ πάλιν, ἐὰν μείνης, ὅτι ἔδοξεν σοι. καὶ νῦν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀνέρχῃ, ὅτι δοκεῖ σοι· καὶ μεταδόξῃ, οὐκ ἂν ἀπελεύσῃ. [33] καὶ ἀπλῶς οὔτε θάνατος οὔτε φυγὴ οὔτε πόνος οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων αἰτιόν ἐστὶ τοῦ πράττειν τι ἢ μὴ πράττειν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὑπολήψεις καὶ δόγματα.

τοῦτό σε πείθω ἢ οὐχί; [34] — Πείσθεις, ἔφη. — οἷα δὴ τὰ αἰτία ἐφ' ἐκάστου, τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ ἀποτελούμενα. οὐκοῦν ὅταν μὴ ὀρθῶς τι πράττωμεν, [35] ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας οὐδὲν ἄλλο αἰτιασόμεθα ἢ τὸ δόγμα, ἀφ' οὗ αὐτὸ ἐπράξαμεν, κακεῖνο ἐξαίρειν καὶ ἐκτέμνειν πειρασόμεθα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ φύματα καὶ τὰ ἀποστήματα ἐκ τοῦ σώματος. [36] ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀρθῶς πραττομένων ταυτὸν τοῦτο αἴτιον ἀποφανοῦμεν. [37] καὶ οὐτ' οἰκέτην ἔτι αἰτιασόμεθα οὔτε γείτονα οὔτε γυναῖκα οὔτε τέκνα ὡς αἰτία τινων κακῶν ἡμῖν γινόμενα πεπεισμένοι ὅτι, ἂν μὴ ἡμῖν δόξῃ τοιαῦτά τινα εἶναι, οὐ πράττομεν τὰ ἀκόλουθα· τοῦ δόξαι δὲ ἢ μὴ δόξαι, ἡμεῖς κύριοι καὶ οὐ τὰ ἐκτός. [38] — οὕτως, ἔφη. — ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον τοίνυν ἡμέρας οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐπισκοπήσομεν οὐδ' ἐξετάσομεν, ποιόν τι ἐστὶν ἢ πῶς ἔχει, οὔτε τὸν ἀγρὸν οὔτε τὰ ἀνδράποδα οὔτε τοὺς ἵππους ἢ κύνας, ἀλλὰ τὰ δόγματα. — εὐχομαι, ἔφη. [39] — ὀρᾷς οὖν, ὅτι σχολαστικόν σε δεῖ γενέσθαι, τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον οὗ πάντες καταγελῶσιν, εἴπερ ἄρα θέλεις ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν σαυτοῦ δογμάτων ποιῆσθαι. [40]

τοῦτο δ' ὅτι μιᾷ ὥρας ἢ ἡμέρας οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπινοεῖς καὶ αὐτός.

ΠΕΡΙ ΕΥΑΡΕΣΤΗΣΕΩΣ.

ΠΕΡΙ θεῶν οἱ μὲν τινές εἰσιν οἱ λέγοντες μὴδ' εἶναι τὸ θεῖον, οἱ δ' εἶναι μὲν, ἄργον δὲ καὶ ἄμελές καὶ μὴ προνοεῖν μηδενός; [2] τρίτοι δ' οἱ καὶ εἶναι καὶ προνοεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μεγάλων καὶ οὐρανίων, τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς μηδενός; τέταρτοι δ' οἱ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, εἰς κοινὸν δὲ μόνον καὶ οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστου; [3] πέμπτοι δ', ὧν ἦν καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Σωκράτης, οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι

οὐδέ σε λήθω

κινύμενος.

[4]

ΠΟΛὺ πρότερον οὖν ἀναγκαῖον ἔστι περὶ ἐκάστου τούτων ἐπεσκέφθαι, πότερα ὑγιῶς ἢ οὐχ ὑγιῶς λεγόμενον ἔστιν. εἰ γὰρ μὴ εἰσιν θεοί, πῶς ἔστι τέλος ἔπεσθαι θεοῖς; [5] εἰ δ' εἰσιν μὲν, μηδενός δ' ἐπιμελούμενοι, καὶ οὕτως πῶς ὑγιᾶς ἔσται; [6] ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ὄντων καὶ ἐπιμελομένων εἰ μηδεμία διάδοσις εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἔστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ νῆ Δία γε καὶ εἰς ἐμέ, πῶς ἔτι καὶ οὕτως ὑγιᾶς ἔστιν; [7] πάντα οὖν ταῦτα ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἐπεσκεμμένος τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ὑποτέταχεν τῷ διοικοῦντι τὰ ὅλα καθάπερ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ πολῖται τῷ νόμῳ τῆς πόλεως. [8] ὁ δὲ παιδευόμενος ταύτην ὀφείλει τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἔχων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ παιδεύεσθαι 'πῶς ἂν ἐποίμην ἐγὼ ἐν παντὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πῶς ἂν εὐαρεστοίην τῇ θεῇ διοικήσει καὶ πῶς ἂν γενοίμην ἐλεύθερος;' [9] ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ἔστιν, ὃ γίνεται πάντα κατὰ προαίρεσιν καὶ ὃν οὐδεὶς δύναται κωλῦσαι. [10] τί οὖν; ἀπόνοιά ἐστιν ἡ ἐλευθερία; μὴ γένοιτο. μανία γὰρ καὶ ἐλευθερία εἰς ταῦτόν οὐκ ἔρχεται. [11] 'ἀλλ' ἐγὼ θέλω πᾶν τὸ δοκοῦν μοι ἀποβαίνειν, κἂν ὀπωσοῦν δοκῇ.' [12] μαινόμενος εἶ, παραφρονεῖς. οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι καλόν τι ἐλευθερία ἔστι καὶ ἀξιόλογον; τὸ δ' ὥς ἔτυχεν με βούλεσθαι τὰ δ' ὥς ἔτυχεν δόξαντα γίνεσθαι, τοῦτο κινδυνεύει οὐ μόνον οὐκ εἶναι καλόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων αἰσχιστον εἶναι. [13] πῶς γὰρ ἐπὶ γραμματικῶν ποιοῦμεν; βούλομαι γράφειν ὥς θέλω τὸ Δίωνος ὄνομα; οὐ; ἀλλὰ διδάσκομαι θέλειν, ὥς δεῖ γράφεσθαι. τί ἐπὶ μουσικῶν; ὡσαύτως. [14] τί ἐν τῷ καθόλου, ὅπου τέχνη τις ἢ ἐπιστήμη ἐστίν; εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐδενὸς ἦν ἄξιον τὸ ἐπίστασθαι τι, εἰ ταῖς ἐκάστων βουλήσεσι προσηρμόζετο. [15] ἐνταῦθα οὖν μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ κυριωτάτου, τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ὥς ἔτυχεν ἐφεῖτά μοι θέλειν; οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ παιδεύεσθαι τοῦτ' ἔστι μανθάνειν ἕκαστα οὕτω θέλειν ὥς γίνεται. πῶς δὲ γίνεται; ὥς διέταξεν αὐτὰ ὁ διατάσσων. [16] διέταξε δὲ θέρος εἶναι καὶ χειμῶνα καὶ φορὰν καὶ ἀφορίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν καὶ πάσας τὰς τοιαύτας ἐναντιότητας ὑπὲρ συμφωνίας τῶν ὅλων ἡμῶν θ' ἐκάστῳ σῶμα καὶ μέρη τοῦ σώματος καὶ κτήσιν καὶ κοινωνοῦς ἔδωκεν. [17]

ταύτης οὖν τῆς διατάξεως μεμνημένους ἔρχεσθαι δεῖ ἐπὶ τὸ παιδεύεσθαι, οὐχ ἵν' ἀλλάξωμεν τὰς ὑποθέσεις (οὔτε γὰρ δίδοται ἡμῖν οὗτ' ἄμεινον) , ἀλλ' ἵνα οὕτως ἐχόντων τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς ὥς ἔχει καὶ ἐφύκεν αὐτοὶ τὴν γνώμην τὴν αὐτῶν συνηρμοσμένην τοῖς γινομένοις ἔχωμεν. [18] τί γάρ; ἐνδέχεται φυγεῖν ἀνθρώπους; καὶ πῶς οἶόν τε; ἀλλὰ συνόντας αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους ἀλλάξαι; καὶ τίς ἡμῖν δίδωσιν; [19] τί οὖν ἀπολείπεται ἢ τίς εὐρίσκεται μηχανὴ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῶν; τοιαύτη, δι' ἧς ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ποιήσουσι τὰ φαινόμενα αὐτοῖς,

ἡμεῖς δ' οὐδὲν ἤττον κατὰ φύσιν ἔξομεν. [20] σὺ δ' ἀταλαίπωρος εἶ καὶ
δυσάρεστος κἄν μὲν μόνος ᾦς, ἐρημίαν καλεῖς τοῦτο, ἂν δὲ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων,
ἐπιβούλους λέγεις καὶ ληστάς, μέμφῃ δὲ καὶ γονεῖς τοὺς σεαυτοῦ καὶ τέκνα
καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ γείτονας. [21] ἔδει δὲ μόνον μένοντα ἡσυχίαν καλεῖν αὐτὸ
καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ ὅμοιον τοῖς θεοῖς ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτόν, μετὰ πολλῶν δ' ὄντα μὴ
ὄχλον καλεῖν μηδὲ θόρυβον μηδ' ἀηδίαν, ἀλλ' ἐορτὴν καὶ πανήγυριν καὶ
οὕτως πάντα εὐαρέστως δέχεσθαι. τίς οὖν ἡ κόλασις τοῖς οὐ προσδεχομένοις;
[22] τὸ οὕτως ἔχειν ὡς ἔχουσιν. δυσαρεστεῖ τις τῷ μόνος εἶναι; ἔστω ἐν ἐρημίᾳ.
δυσαρεστεῖ τις τοῖς γονεῦσιν; ἔστω κακὸς υἱὸς καὶ πενθεῖτω. δυσαρεστεῖ τοῖς
τέκνοις; [23] ἔστω κακὸς πατήρ. 'βάλε αὐτὸν εἰς φυλακὴν.' ποίαν φυλακὴν;
ὅπου νῦν ἐστίν. ἄκων γάρ ἐστιν: ὅπου δὲ τις ἄκων ἐστίν, ἐκεῖνο φυλακὴ αὐτῷ
ἐστίν. καθὼ καὶ Σωκράτης οὐκ ἦν ἐν φυλακῇ, ἐκὼν γὰρ ἦν. [24] 'σκέλος οὖν
μοι γενέσθαι πεπηρωμένον.' ἀνδράποδον, εἴτα δι' ἐν σκελῦδριον τῷ κόσμῳ
ἐγκαλεῖς; οὐκ ἐπιδώσεις αὐτὸ τοῖς ὅλοις; οὐκ ἀποστήσῃ; οὐ χαίρων
παραχωρήσεις τῷ δεδωκότι; [25] ἀγανακτήσεις δὲ καὶ δυσαρεστήσεις τοῖς ὑπὸ
τοῦ Διὸς διατεταγμένοις, ἃ ἐκεῖνος μετὰ τῶν Μοιρῶν παρουσῶν καὶ
ἐπικλωθουσῶν σου τὴν γένεσιν ὥρισεν καὶ διέταξεν; [26] οὐκ οἴσθας, ἡλίκον
μέρος πρὸς τὰ ὅλα; τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, ὡς κατὰ γε τὸν λόγον οὐδὲν
χείρων τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲ μικρότερος; λόγου γὰρ μέγεθος οὐ μήκει οὐδ' ὕψει
κρίνεται, ἀλλὰ δόγμασιν.

[27] οὐ θέλεις οὖν, καθ' ἃ ἴσος εἶ τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐκεῖ που τίθεσθαι τὸ ἀγαθόν; [28]
'τάλας ἐγώ, τὸν πατέρα ἔχω τοιοῦτον καὶ τὴν μητέρα.' τί οὖν; ἐδίδοτό σοι
προελθόντι ἐκλέξασθαι καὶ εἶπεῖν 'ὁ δεῖνα τῇ δεῖνι συνελθέτω τῇδε τῇ ὥρᾳ,
ἵνα ἐγὼ γένωμαι;' [29] οὐκ ἐδίδοτο. ἀλλ' ἔδει προυποστήναί σου τοὺς γονεῖς,
εἴτα οὕτως γεννηθῆναι. ἐκ ποίων τινῶν; [30] ἐκ τοιούτων, ὅποιοι ἦσαν. τί οὖν;
τοιούτων αὐτῶν ὄντων οὐδεμία σοι δίδοται μηχανή; εἴτ' εἰ μὲν τὴν ὁρατικὴν
δύναμιν ἡγνῶεις πρὸς τί κέκτησαι, δυστυχῆς ἂν ᾦς καὶ ἄθλιος, εἰ κατέμυες,
προσαγόντων σοι τῶν χρωμάτων: ὅτι δὲ μεγαλοψυχίαν ἔχων καὶ γενναιότητα
πρὸς ἕκαστα τούτων ἀγνοεῖς, οὐ δυστυχέστερος εἶ καὶ ἀθλιώτερος;
προσάγεται σοι τὰ κατάλληλα τῇ δυνάμει ἣν ἔχεις; [31] σὺ δ' αὐτὴν τότε
μάλιστα ἀποστρέφεις, ὅποτε ἡνοιγμένην καὶ βλέπουσαν ἔχειν ἔδει. [32] οὐ
μᾶλλον εὐχαριστεῖς τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι σε ἐπάνω τούτων ἀφήκαν ὅσα μὴδ'
ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ σοί, μόνον δ' ὑπεύθυνον ἀπέφηναν τῶν ἐπὶ σοί; γονέων ἕνεκα
ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀφήκαν; [33] ἀδελφῶν ἕνεκα ἀφήκαν, σώματος ἕνεκα ἀφήκαν,
κτήσεως, θανάτου, ζωῆς. [34] τίνος οὖν ὑπεύθυνόν σε ἐποίησαν; τοῦ μόνου
ὄντος ἐπὶ σοί, χρήσεως οἷας δεῖ φαντασιῶν. [35] τί οὖν ἐπισπᾶς σεαυτῷ ταῦτα
ὧν ἀνυπεύθυνος εἶ; τοῦτό ἐστιν ἑαυτῷ παρέχειν πράγματα.

πῶς ἕκαστα ἐστὶν ποιεῖν ἀρεστῶς θεοῖς.

πυθομένου δέ τινος, πῶς ἐστὶν ἐσθίειν ἀρεστῶς θεοῖς, Εἰ δικαίως ἐστίν,
ἔφη, καὶ εὐγνωμόνως καὶ ἴσως ἐγκρατῶς καὶ κοσμίως, οὐκ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρεστῶς
τοῖς θεοῖς; [2] ὅταν δὲ θερμὸν αἰτήσαντός σου μὴ ὑπακούσῃ ὁ παῖς ἢ
ὑπακούσας χλιαρώτερον ἐνέγκῃ ἢ μὴδ' εὐρεθῇ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, τὸ μὴ χαλεπαίνειν
μηδὲ ρήγνυσθαι οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀρεστὸν τοῖς θεοῖς; [3] — πῶς οὖν τις ἀνάσχηται
τῶν τοιούτων; — ἀνδράποδον, οὐκ ἀνέξῃ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ σαυτοῦ, ὃς ἔχει

τὸν Δία πρόγονον, ὥσπερ υἱὸς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν σπερμάτων γέγονεν καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἄνωθεν καταβολῆς, [4] ἀλλ' εἰ ἐν τινι τοιαύτῃ χώρα κατετάγης ὑπερεχούση, εὐθὺς τύραννον καταστήσεις σεαυτόν; οὐ μεμνήση τί εἶ καὶ τίνων ἄρχεις; ὅτι συγγενῶν, ὅτι ἀδελφῶν φύσει, ὅτι τοῦ Διὸς ἀπογόνων; [5] — ἀλλ' ὦνῃν αὐτῶν ἔχω, ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔχουσιν. — ὁρᾷς ποῦ βλέπεις; ὅτι εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὅτι εἰς τὸ βάραθρον, ὅτι εἰς τοὺς ταλαιπώρους τούτους νόμους τοὺς τῶν νεκρῶν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν οὐ βλέπεις;

ὅτι πάντας ἐφορᾷ τὸ θεῖον.

πυθομένου δέ τις, πῶς ἂν τις πεισθῇ, ὅτι ἕκαστον τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραττομένων ἐφορᾶται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, Οὐ δοκεῖ σοι, ἔφη, ἡνῶσθαι τὰ πάντα; [2] — δοκεῖ, ἔφη. — τί δέ; συμπαθεῖν τὰ ἐπίγεια τοῖς οὐρανίοις οὐ δοκεῖ σοι; [3] — δοκεῖ, ἔφη. — πόθεν γὰρ οὕτω τεταγμένως καθάπερ ἐκ προστάγματος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅταν ἐκεῖνος εἴπῃ τοῖς φυτοῖς ἀνθεῖν, ἀνθεῖ, ὅταν εἴπῃ βλαστάνειν, βλαστάνει, ὅταν ἐκφέρειν τὸν καρπὸν, ἐκφέρει, ὅταν πεπαίνειν, πεπαίνει, ὅταν πάλιν ἀποβάλλειν καὶ φυλλορροεῖν καὶ αὐτὰ εἰς αὐτὰ συνειλούμενα ἐφ' ἡσυχίας μένειν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι, μένει καὶ ἀναπαύεται; [4] πόθεν δὲ πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν καὶ μείωσιν τῆς σελήνης καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου πρόσοδον καὶ ἄφοδον τοσαύτῃ παραλλαγῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐναντία μεταβολὴ τῶν ἐπιγείων θεωρεῖται; [5] ἀλλὰ τὰ φυτὰ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα οὕτως ἐνδέδεται τοῖς ὅλοις καὶ συμπέπονθεν, αἱ ψυχαὶ δ' αἱ ἡμέτεραι οὐ πολὺ πλέον; [6] ἀλλ' αἱ ψυχαὶ μὲν οὕτως εἰσὶν ἐνδεδεμένα καὶ συναφεῖς τῷ θεῷ ἅτε αὐτοῦ μόρια οὔσαι καὶ ἀποσπάσματα, οὐ παντὸς δ' αὐτῶν κινήματος ἅτε οἰκείου καὶ συμφυοῦς ὁ θεὸς αἰσθάνεται; [7] ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν περὶ τῆς θείας διοικήσεως καὶ περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν θείων, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἐνθυμῆσθαι δύνασαι καὶ ἅμα μὲν αἰσθητικῶς ἀπὸ μυρίων πραγμάτων κινεῖσθαι, ἅμα δὲ διανοητικῶς, ἅμα δὲ συγκαταθετικῶς, τοῖς δ' ἀνανευστικῶς ἢ ἐφεκτικῶς, [8] τύπους δὲ τοσοῦτους ἀφ' οὗτω πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων πραγμάτων ἐν τῇ σαυτοῦ ψυχῇ φυλάττεις καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν κινούμενος εἰς ἐπινοίας ὁμοειδεῖς ἐμπίπτεις τοῖς πρώτως τετυπωκόσι τέχνας τ' ἄλλην ἐπ' ἄλλη καὶ μνήμας ἀπὸ μυρίων πραγμάτων διασφύξεις; [9] ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐχ οἷός τ' ἐστὶ πάντα ἐφορᾶν καὶ πᾶσιν συμπαρεῖναι καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τινὰ ἴσχειν διάδοσιν; [10] ἀλλὰ φωτίζειν οἷός τ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἥλιος τηλικούτον μέρος τοῦ παντός, ὀλίγον δὲ τὸ ἀφώτιστον ἀπολιπεῖν ὅσον οἶόν τ' ἐπέχεσθαι ὑπὸ σκιᾶς, ἣν ἡ γῆ ποιεῖ: ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν πεποιηκῶς καὶ περιάγων μέρος ὄντ' αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ὥς πρὸς τὸ ὅλον, οὗτος δ' οὐ δύναται πάντων αἰσθάνεσθαι;

[11] ἀλλ' ἐγώ, φησίν, οὐ δύναμαι πᾶσιν ἅμα τούτοις παρακολουθεῖν. — τοῦτο δέ σοι καὶ λέγει τις, ὅτι ἴσῃν ἔχεις δύναμιν τῷ Δί; [12] ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ ἐπίτροπον ἐκάστῳ παρέστησεν τὸν ἐκάστου δαίμονα καὶ παρέδωκεν φυλάσσειν αὐτὸν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτον ἀκοίμητον καὶ ἀπαραλόγιστον. [13] τίνι γὰρ ἄλλῳ κρεῖττονι καὶ ἐπιμελεστέρῳ φύλακι παρέδωκεν ἡμῶν ἕκαστον; ὥσθ', ὅταν κλείσητε τὰς θύρας καὶ σκότος ἐνδον ποιήσητε, μέμνησθε μηδέποτε λέγειν ὅτι μόνοι ἐστέ: [14] οὐ γὰρ ἐστέ, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς ἐνδον ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ὑμέτερος δαίμων ἐστίν. καὶ τίς τούτοις χρεῖα φωτὸς εἰς τὸ βλέπειν τί ποιεῖτε; [15] τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ ἔδει καὶ ὑμᾶς ὁμνύειν ὄρκον, οἷον οἱ στρατιῶται

τῷ Καίσαρι. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τὴν μισθοφορίαν λαμβάνοντες ὁμνύουσιν πάντων προτιμήσειν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος σωτηρίαν, ὑμεῖς δὲ † δε τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἡξιωμένοι οὐκ ὁμόσετε ἢ ὁμόσαντες οὐκ ἐμμενεῖτε; [16] καὶ τί ὁμόσετε; μὴ ἀπειθήσειν μηδέποτε μηδ' ἐγκαλέσειν μηδὲ μέμψεσθαι τινι τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου δεδομένων μηδ' ἄκοντες ποιήσιν τι ἢ πείσεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. [17] ὅμοιός γε ὄρκος οὗτος ἐκείνῳ; ἐκεῖ μὲν ὁμνύουσιν αὐτοῦ μὴ προτιμήσειν ἕτερον, ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτοὺς ἀπάντων.

τί ἐπαγγέλλεται φιλοσοφία.

συμβουλευομένου τινός, πῶς τὸν ἀδελφὸν πείσῃ μηκέτι χαλεπῶς αὐτῷ ἔχειν, [2] οὐκ ἐπαγγέλλεται, ἔφη, φιλοσοφία τῶν ἐκτός τι περιποιήσιν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ: εἰ δὲ μή, ἔξω τι τῆς ἰδίας ὕλης ἀναδέξεται. ὥς γὰρ τέκτονος ὕλη τὰ ξύλα, ἀνδριαντοποιοῦ ὁ χαλκός, οὕτως τῆς περὶ βίον τέχνης ὕλη ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ ἐκάστου. [3] — τί οὖν ὁ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ; — πάλιν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τέχνης ἐστίν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν σὴν τῶν ἐκτός ἐστίν, ὅμοιον ἀγρῷ, ὅμοιον ὑγείᾳ, ὅμοιον εὐδοξίᾳ. τούτων δ' οὐδὲν ἐπαγγέλλεται: φιλοσοφία. [4] 'ἐν πάσῃ περιστάσει τηρήσω τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν κατὰ φύσιν ἔχον.' — τὸ τίνας; — 'τὸ ἐκείνου, ἐν ᾧ εἰμί.' [5] — πῶς οὖν ἐκεῖνός μοι μὴ ὀργίζεται; — 'φέρε μοι ἐκεῖνον κάκείνῳ ἐρῶ, σοὶ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ὀργῆς οὐδὲν ἔχω λέγειν.'

[6] εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ συμβουλευομένου ὅτι Τοῦτο ζητῶ, πῶς ἂν ἐκείνου καὶ μὴ διαλασσομένου κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοιμι, [7] οὐδὲν, ἔφη, τῶν μεγάλων ἄφνω γίνεται, ὅπου γε οὐδ' ὁ βότρυς οὐδὲ σῦκον. ἂν μοι νῦν λέγῃς ὅτι 'θέλω σῦκον,' ἀποκρινοῦμαί σοι ὅτι 'χρόνου δεῖ.' ἄφες ἀνθήσῃ πρῶτον, εἴτα προβάλλῃ τὸν καρπὸν, εἴτα πεπανθῇ. [8] εἴτα συκῆς μὲν καρπὸς ἄφνω καὶ μιᾷ ὥρᾳ οὐ τελειοῦται, γνώμης δ' ἀνθρώπου καρπὸν θέλεις οὕτως δι' ὀλίγου καὶ εὐκόλως κτήσασθαι; μηδ' ἂν ἐγὼ σοι λέγω, προσδόκα.

περὶ προνοίας.

μὴ θαυμάζετε εἰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ζῷοις τὰ πρὸς τὸ σῶμα ἔτοιμα γέγονεν, οὐ μόνον τροφαὶ καὶ πόμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοίτη καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι ὑποδημάτων, μὴ ὑποστρωμάτων, μὴ ἐσθῆτος, ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντων τούτων προσδεόμεθα. [2] τὰ γὰρ οὐκ αὐτῶν ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν γεγονότα οὐκ ἐλυσιτέλει προσδεόμενα ἄλλων πεποιηκέναι. [3] ἐπεὶ ὅρα οἷον ἦν ἡμᾶς φροντίζειν μὴ περὶ αὐτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν προβάτων καὶ τῶν ὄνων, πῶς ἐνδύσεται καὶ πῶς ὑποδήσεται, πῶς φάγῃ, πῶς πίῃ. [4] ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ στρατιῶται ἔτοιμοί εἰσι τῷ στρατηγῷ ὑποδεδεμένοι ἐνδεδυμένοι ὠπλισμένοι, εἰ δ' ἔδει περιερχόμενον τὸν χιλιάρχον ὑποδεῖν ἢ ἐνδύειν τοὺς χιλίους, δεινὸν ἂν ἦν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ φύσις πεποίηκε τὰ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν γεγονότα ἔτοιμα παρσκευασμένα μηδεμιᾶς ἐπιμελείας ἔτι προσδεόμενα. [5] οὕτως ἐν παιδίον μικρὸν καὶ ῥάβδῳ ἐλαύνει τὰ πρόβατα. [6] νῦν δ' ἡμεῖς ἀφέντες ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐχαριστεῖν, ὅτι μὴ καὶ αὐτῶν τὴν ἴσιν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπιμελοῦμεθα, ἐφ' αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ. [7] καίτοι νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν τῶν γεγονότων ἀπῆρκει πρὸς τὸ αἰσθῆσθαι τῆς προνοίας τῷ γε αἰδήμονι καὶ εὐχαρίστῳ. [8] καὶ μὴ μοι νῦν τὰ μεγάλα: αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ ἐκ πτόας γάλα γεννᾶσθαι καὶ ἐκ γάλακτος τυρὸν καὶ ἐκ δέρματος ἔρια τίς ἐστίν ὁ πεποιηκὼς ταῦτα ἢ ἐπινενοηκώς; 'οὐδὲ εἷς' φησὶν. ὦ μεγάλῃς ἀναισθησίας καὶ ἀναισχυντίας.

[9] ἄγε ἀφῶμεν τὰ ἔργα τῆς φύσεως, τὰ πάρεργα αὐτῆς θεασώμεθα. [10] μή τι ἀχρηστότερον τριχῶν τῶν ἐπὶ γενείου; τί οὖν; οὐ συνεχρήσατο καὶ ταύταις ὡς μάλιστα πρεπόντως ἐδύνατο; οὐ διεκρίνεν δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ; [11] οὐκ εὐθὺς μακρόθεν κέκραγεν ἡμῶν ἐκάστου ἡ φύσις 'ἄνῆρ εἰμι: οὕτω μοι προσέρχου, οὕτω μοι λάλει, ἄλλο μὴδὲν ζητεῖ: ἰδοὺ τὰ σύμβολα;' [12] πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ὥσπερ ἐν φωνῇ τι ἐγκατέμιξεν ἀπαλώτερον, οὕτως καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀφεῖλεν. οὐ: ἀλλ' ἀδιάκριτον ἔδει τὸ ζῶον ἀπολειφθῆναι καὶ κηρύσσειν ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ὅτι [13] 'ἄνῆρ εἰμι.' πῶς δὲ καλὸν τὸ σύμβολον καὶ εὐπρεπὲς καὶ σεμνόν, πόσῳ κάλλιον τοῦ τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων λόφου, πόσῳ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον τῆς χαίτης τῶν λεόντων. [14] διὰ τοῦτο ἔδει σφῆζειν τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔδει αὐτὰ μὴ καταπροιέσθαι, μὴ συγγεῖν ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς τὰ γένη τὰ διηρημένα.

[15] ταῦτα μόνα ἐστὶν ἔργα ἐφ' ἡμῶν τῆς προνοίας; καὶ τίς ἐξαρκεῖ λόγος ὁμοίως αὐτὰ ἐπαινέσαι ἢ παραστήσαι; εἰ γὰρ νοῦν εἵχομεν, ἄλλο τι ἔδει ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἢ ὑμνεῖν τὸ θεῖον καὶ εὐφημεῖν καὶ ἐπεξέρχεσθαι τὰς χάριτας; [16] οὐκ ἔδει καὶ σκάπτοντας καὶ ἀροῦντας καὶ ἐσθίοντας ἄδειν τὸν ὕμνον τὸν εἰς τὸν θεόν; 'μέγας ὁ θεὸς, ὅτι ἡμῖν παρέσχεν ὄργανα ταῦτα δι' ὧν τὴν γῆν ἐργασώμεθα: [17] μέγας ὁ θεός, ὅτι χεῖρας δέδωκεν, ὅτι κατάποσιν, ὅτι κοιλίαν, ὅτι αὖξεσθαι λεληθότως, ὅτι καθεύδοντας ἀναπνεῖν.' [18] ταῦτα ἐφ' ἐκάστου ἐφυμνεῖν ἔδει καὶ τὸν μέγιστον καὶ θεϊότατον ὕμνον ἐφυμνεῖν, ὅτι τὴν δύναμιν ἔδωκεν τὴν παρακολουθητικὴν τούτοις καὶ ὁδῷ χρηστικῇ. [19] τί οὖν; ἐπεὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἀποτετύφλωσθε, οὐκ ἔδει τινὰ εἶναι τὸν ταύτην ἐκπληροῦντα τὴν χώραν καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἄδοντα τὸν ὕμνον τὸν εἰς τὸν θεόν; [20] τί γὰρ ἄλλο δύναμαι γέρων χωλὸς εἰ μὴ ὑμνεῖν τὸν θεόν; εἰ γοῦν ἀηδὼν ἤμην, ἐποίουν τὰ τῆς ἀηδόνης, εἰ κύκνος, τὰ τοῦ κύκνου. [21] νῦν δὲ λογικός εἰμι: ὑμνεῖν με δεῖ τὸν θεόν. τοῦτό μου τὸ ἔργον ἐστίν, ποιῶ αὐτὸ οὐδ' ἐγκαταλείψω τὴν τάξιν ταύτην, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν διδῶται, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ᾠδὴν παρακαλῶ.

ὅτι ἀναγκαῖα τὰ λογικά.

ἐπειδὴ λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ διαρθρῶν καὶ ἐξεργαζόμενος τὰ λοιπά, ἔδει δ' αὐτὸν μὴ ἀδιάρθρωτον εἶναι, ὑπὸ τίνος διαρθρωθῆ; [2] δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἢ ὑφ' αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑπ' ἄλλου. ἢ τοι λόγος ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος ἢ ἄλλο τι κρεῖσσον ἔσται τοῦ λόγου, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον. [3] εἰ λόγος, ἐκεῖνον πάλιν τίς διαρθρώσει; εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν, δύναται καὶ οὗτος. εἰ ἄλλου δεησόμεθα, ἅπειρον ἔσται τοῦτο καὶ ἀκατάληκτον. [4] 'εἰναί, ἀλλ' ἐπείγει μᾶλλον θεραπεύειν' καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. θέλεις οὖν περὶ ἐκείνων ἀκούειν; ἄκουε. [5] ἀλλ' ἂν μοι λέγῃς ὅτι 'οὐκ οἶδα πότερον ἀληθῶς ἢ ψευδῶς διαλέγῃ,' κἂν τι κατ' ἀμφίβολον φωνὴν εἴπω καὶ λέγῃς μοι 'διάστιξον,' οὐκ ἔτι ἀνέξομαί σου, ἀλλ' ἐρῶ σοι: [6] 'ἀλλ' ἐπείγει μᾶλλον.' διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι προστάσσουσιν τὰ λογικά, καθάπερ τῆς μετρήσεως τοῦ σίτου προτάσσομεν τὴν τοῦ μέτρου ἐπίσκεψιν. [7] ἂν δὲ μὴ διαλάβωμεν πρῶτον τί ἐστὶ μόδιος μὴδὲ διαλάβωμεν πρῶτον τί ἐστὶ ζυγός, πῶς ἔτι μετρησαί τι ἢ στησαι δυνησόμεθα; [8] ἐνταῦθα οὖν τὸ τῶν ἄλλων κριτήριον καὶ δι' οὗ τᾶλλα καταμανθάνεται μὴ καταμεμαθηκότες μὴδ' ἠκριβωκότες δυνησόμεθα τι τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβῶσαι καὶ καταμαθεῖν; [9] καὶ πῶς οἶόν τε; 'ναί: ἀλλ' ὁ μόδιος

ξύλον ἐστὶ καὶ ἄκαρπον.’ [10] ἀλλὰ μετρητικὸν σίτου. ‘καὶ τὰ λογικὰ ἄκαρπὰ ἐστὶ.’ καὶ περὶ τούτου μὲν ὀψόμεθα. εἰ δ’ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο δοίη τις, ἐκεῖνο ἀπαρκεῖ ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ διακριτικὰ καὶ ἐπισκεπτικὰ καὶ ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι μετρητικὰ καὶ στατικά. [11] τίς λέγει ταῦτα; μόνος Χρύσιππος καὶ Ζήνων καὶ Κλεάνθης; [12] Ἀντισθένης δ’ οὐ λέγει; καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ γεγραφὼς ὅτι ‘ἀρχὴ παιδεύσεως ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπίσκεψις;’ Σωκράτης δ’ οὐ λέγει; καὶ περὶ τίνος γράφει Ξενοφῶν, ὅτι ἤρχετο ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπισκέψεως, τί σημαίνει ἕκαστον; [13]

ἄρ’ οὖν τοῦτό ἐστὶ τὸ μέγα καὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν νοῆσαι Χρύσιππον ἢ ἐξηγήσασθαι; καὶ τίς λέγει τοῦτο; τί οὖν τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἐστίν; [14] νοῆσαι τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως. τί οὖν; αὐτὸς διὰ σεαυτοῦ παρακολουθεῖς; καὶ τίνος ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχεις; εἰ γὰρ ἀληθές ἐστὶ τὸ πάντας ἄκοντας ἀμαρτάνειν, σὺ δὲ καταμεμάθηκας τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀνάγκη σε ἤδη κατορθοῦν. [15] ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία οὐ παρακολουθῶ τῷ βουλήματι τῆς φύσεως. τίς οὖν ἐξηγεῖται αὐτό; λέγουσιν ὅτι Χρύσιππος. [16] ἔρχομαι καὶ ἐπιζητῶ τί λέγει οὗτος ὁ ἐξηγητὴς τῆς φύσεως. ἄρχομαι μὴ νοεῖν τί λέγει, ζητῶ τὸν ἐξηγούμενον. ‘ἶδε ἐπίσκεψαι, πῶς τοῦτο λέγεται, καθάπερ εἰ Ῥωμαῖστί.’ [17] ποία οὖν ἐνθάδ’ ὀφρὺς τοῦ ἐξηγουμένου; οὐδ’ αὐτοῦ Χρυσίππου δικαίως, εἰ μόνον ἐξηγεῖται τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως, αὐτὸς δ’ οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ: πόσῳ πλέον τοῦ ἐκείνου ἐξηγουμένου; [18] οὐδὲ γὰρ Χρυσίππου χρεῖαν ἔχομεν δι’ αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ ἵνα παρακολουθήσωμεν τῇ φύσει. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦ θύτου δι’ αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι δι’ ἐκείνου κατανοήσῃς οἰόμεθα τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ σημαινόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν σπλάγχχνων δι’ αὐτά, [19] ἀλλ’ ὅτι δι’ ἐκείνων σημαίνεται, οὐδὲ τὸν κόρακα θαυμάζομεν ἢ τὴν κορώνην, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν σημαίνοντα διὰ τούτων. [20]

ἔρχομαι τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξηγητὴν τοῦτον καὶ θύτην καὶ λέγω ὅτι ‘ἐπίσκεψαί μοι τὰ σπλάγχχνα, τί μοι σημαίνεται.’ [21] λαβὼν καὶ ἀναπτύξας ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγεῖται ὅτι ‘ἄνθρωπε, προαίρεσιν ἔχεις ἀκώλυτον φύσει καὶ ἀνανάγκαστον. τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα ἐν τοῖς σπλάγχχνοις γέγραπται. [22] δείξω σοι αὐτὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῦ συγκαταθετικοῦ τόπου. μὴ τίς σε κωλῦσαι δύναται ἐπινεῦσαι ἀληθεῖ; οὐδὲ εἷς. μὴ τίς σε ἀναγκάσαι δύναται παραδέξασθαι τὸ ψεῦδος; [23] οὐδὲ εἷς. ὁρᾷς ὅτι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ τὸ προαιρετικὸν ἔχεις ἀκώλυτον ἀνανάγκαστον ἀπαρἀπόδιστον; [24] ἄγε ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὀρεκτικοῦ καὶ ὀρμητικοῦ ἄλλως ἔχει; καὶ τίς ὀρμὴν νικῆσαι δύναται ἢ ἄλλη ὀρμή; τίς δ’ ὀρεξιν καὶ ἐκκλισιν ἢ ἄλλη ὀρεξις καὶ ἐκκλισις;’ [25] ‘ἂν μοι,’ φησί, ‘προσάγη θανάτου φόβον, ἀναγκάζει με.’ ‘οὐ τὸ προσαγόμενον, ἀλλ’ ὅτι δοκεῖ σοι κρεῖττον εἶναι ποιῆσαι τι τούτων ἢ ἀποθανεῖν. [26] πάλιν οὖν τὸ σὸν δόγμα σε ἠνάγκασεν, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ προαίρεσιν προαίρεσις. [27] εἰ γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον μέρος, ὃ ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν ἀποσπάσας ὁ θεός, ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑπ’ ἄλλου τινὸς κωλυτὸν ἢ ἀναγκαστὸν κατεσκευάκει, οὐκέτι ἂν ἦν θεὸς οὐδ’ ἐπεμελεῖτο ἡμῶν ὃν δεῖ τρόπον. [28] ταῦτα εὐρίσκω,’ φησίν, ‘ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς. ταῦτά σοι σημαίνεται. ἐὰν θέλῃς, ἐλεύθερος εἶ: ἐὰν θέλῃς, μέμψῃ οὐδένα, ἐγκαλέσεις οὐδενί, πάντα κατὰ γνώμην ἔσται ἅμα τὴν σὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ.’ [29] διὰ ταύτην τὴν μαντείαν ἔρχομαι ἐπὶ τὸν θύτην τοῦτον καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον, οὐκ αὐτὸν θαυμάσας ἕνεκά γε τῆς ἐξηγήσεως, ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνα ἃ ἐξηγεῖται.

ὅτι οὐ δεῖ χαλεπαίνειν τοῖς ἀμαρτανομένοις.

εἰ ἀληθές ἐστι τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων λεγόμενον ὅτι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μία ἀρχὴ καθάπερ τοῦ συγκαταθέσθαι τὸ παθεῖν ὅτι ὑπάρχει καὶ τοῦ ἀνανεῦσαι τὸ παθεῖν ὅτι οὐχ ὑπάρχει καὶ νῆ Δία τοῦ ἐπισχεῖν τὸ παθεῖν ὅτι ἄδηλόν ἐστιν, οὕτως καὶ τοῦ ὀρμῆσαι ἐπὶ [2] τι τὸ παθεῖν ὅτι ἐμοὶ συμφέρει, ἀμήχανον δ' ἄλλο μὲν κρίνειν τὸ συμφέρον, ἄλλου δ' ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ ἄλλο μὲν κρίνειν καθήκον, ἐπ' ἄλλο δὲ ὀρμᾶν, τί ἐστι τοῖς πολλοῖς χαλεπαίνομεν; [3] — κλέπται, φησίν, εἰσὶ καὶ λωποδύται. — τί ἐστι τὸ κλέπται καὶ λωποδύται; πεπλάνηνται περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν. χαλεπαίνειν οὖν δεῖ αὐτοῖς ἢ ἐλεεῖν αὐτούς; [4] ἀλλὰ δεῖξον τὴν πλάνην καὶ ὅψει πῶς ἀφίστανται τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. ἂν δὲ μὴ βλέπωσιν, οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν ἀνώτερον τοῦ δοκοῦντος αὐτοῖς. [5]

τοῦτον οὖν τὸν ληστήν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν μοιχὸν οὐκ ἔδει ἀπολωλέναι; [6] — μηδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον 'τοῦτον τὸν πεπλανημένον καὶ ἐξηπατημένον περὶ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ἀποτετυφλωμένον οὐ τὴν ὄψιν τὴν διακριτικὴν τῶν λευκῶν καὶ μελάνων, ἀλλὰ τὴν γνώμην τὴν διακριτικὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν μὴ ἀπολλύναι;' κἂν οὕτως λέγῃς, [7] γνώση πῶς ἀπάνθρωπόν ἐστιν ὁ λέγεις καὶ ὅτι ἐκείνῳ ὅμοιον 'τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τυφλὸν μὴ ἀπολλύναι καὶ τὸν κωφόν;' [8] εἰ γὰρ μεγίστη βλάβη ἢ τῶν μεγίστων ἀπώλειά ἐστιν, μέγιστον δ' ἐν ἐκάστῳ προαίρεσις οἷα δεῖ καὶ τούτου στέρεται τις, τί ἐτι χαλεπαίνεις αὐτῷ; [9] ἄνθρωπε, εἰ σὲ δεῖ παρὰ φύσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις κακοῖς διατίθεσθαι, ἐλεεῖ αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ μίσει: ἄφες τοῦτο τὸ προσκοπτικὸν καὶ μισητικόν: [10] μὴ ἔ ... πῃς τὰς φωνὰς ταύτας ἃς οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν φ ... τῶν 'τούτους οὖν τοὺς καταράτους καὶ μιαινοὺς ... ' ἔστω: σὺ πῶς ποτ' ἀπεσοφώθης ἄφρων ... γ. [11] ἄλλως χαλεπὸς εἶ. διὰ τί οὖν χαλεπαίνομεν; ὅτι τὰς ὕλας θαυμάζομεν, ὧν ἡμᾶς ἀφαιροῦνται. ἐπεὶ τοι μὴ θαύμαζε σου τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τῷ κλέπτῃ οὐ χαλεπαίνεις: μὴ θαύμαζε τὸ κάλλος τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῷ μοιχῷ οὐ χαλεπαίνεις. [12] γνῶθι ὅτι κλέπτης καὶ μοιχὸς ἐν τοῖς σοῖς τόπον οὐκ ἔχει, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις καὶ τοῖς οὐκ ἐπὶ σοί. ταῦτα ἂν ἀφῇς καὶ παρὰ μηδὲν ἡγήσῃ, τί ἐτι χαλεπαίνεις; μέχρι δ' ἂν ταῦτα θαυμάζῃς, σεαυτῷ χαλεπαίνει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνοις. σκόπει γάρ: [13] ἔχεις καλὰ ἱμάτια, ὁ γείτων σου οὐκ ἔχει: θυρίδα ἔχεις, θέλεις αὐτὰ ψῦξαι. οὐκ οἶδεν ἐκεῖνος τί τὸ ἀγαθόν ἐστι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ φαντάζεται ὅτι τὸ ἔχειν καλὰ ἱμάτια, τοῦτο ὁ καὶ σὺ φαντάζῃ. [14] εἴτα μὴ ἔλθῃ καὶ ἄρῃ αὐτά; ἀλλὰ σὺ πλακοῦντα δεικνύων ἀνθρώποις λίχνους καὶ μόνος αὐτὸν καταπίνων οὐ θέλεις ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀρπάσῃ; μὴ ἐρέθιζε αὐτούς, θυρίδα μὴ ἔχε, μὴ ψυχὴ σου τὰ ἱμάτια. [15] καὶ γὰρ πρῶην σιδηροῦν λύχνον ἔχων παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀκούσας ψόφον τῆς θυρίδος κατέδραμον. εὗρον ἡρπασμένον τὸν λύχνον. ἐπελογισάμην, ὅτι ἐπαθὲν τι ὁ ἄρας οὐκ ἀπίθανον. τί οὖν; αὐριον, φημί, ὁστράκινον εὐρήσεις. [16] ἐκεῖνα γὰρ ἀπολλύει, ἃ ἔχει. 'ἀπώλεσά μου τὸ ἱμάτιον.' εἶχες γὰρ ἱμάτιον. 'ἀλγῶ τὴν κεφαλὴν.' μή τι κέρατα ἀλγείς; τί οὖν ἀγανακτεῖς; τούτων γὰρ αἱ ἀπώλειαι, τούτων οἱ πόνοι, ὧν καὶ αἱ κτήσεις.

[17] 'ἀλλ' ὁ τύραννος δῆσει.' τί; τὸ σκέλος. 'ἀλλ' ἀφελεῖ.' τί; τὸν τράχηλον. τί οὖν οὐ δῆσει οὐδ' ἀφελεῖ; τὴν προαίρεσιν. διὰ τοῦτο παρήγγελλον οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτόν. [18] τί οὖν; ἔδει νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς μελετᾶν ἐπὶ τῶν

μικρῶν καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἀρχομένους διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰ μεῖζω. [19] 'κεφαλὴν ἀλγῶν.' 'οἴμοι' μὴ λέγε. 'ὥτίον ἀλγῶν.' 'οἴμοι' μὴ λέγε. καὶ οὐ λέγω ὅτι οὐ δέδοται στενάζαι, ἀλλὰ ἔσωθεν μὴ στενάζῃς. μὴδ' ἂν βραδέως τὸν ἐπίδεσμον ὁ παῖς φέρῃ, κραυγάζε καὶ σπῶ καὶ λέγε 'πάντες με μισοῦσιν.' τίς γὰρ μὴ μισήσῃ τὸν τοιοῦτον; [20] τοῦτοις τὸ λοιπὸν πεποιθὼς τοῖς δόγμασιν ὀρθὸς περιπάτει, ἐλεύθερος, οὐχὶ τῷ μεγέθει πεποιθὼς τοῦ σώματος ὥσπερ ἀθλητής: οὐ γὰρ † ὥς ὄνον ἀήττητον εἶναι.

[21] τίς οὖν ὁ ἀήττητος; ὃν οὐκ ἐξίστησιν οὐδὲν τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων. εἴτα λοιπὸν ἐκάστην τῶν περιστάσεων ἐπερχόμενος καταμανθάνω ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ. 'οὗτος ἐξεβίασε τὸν πρῶτον κλῆρον. τί οὖν τὸν δεύτερον; τί δ' ἂν καῦμα ἦ; [22] τί δ' ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ;' καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὡσαύτως. ἂν ἀργυρίδιον προβάλλῃς, καταφρονήσῃς. τί οὖν ἂν κορασίδιον; τί οὖν ἂν ἐν σκότῳ; τί οὖν ἂν δοξάριον; τί οὖν ἂν λιοδορίαν; τί οὖν ἂν ἔπαινον; τί δ' ἂν θάνατον; [23] δύνата ταῦτα πάντα νικῆσαι. τί οὖν ἂν καῦμα ἦ, τοῦτο ἐστὶ: τί, ἂν οἰνωμένος ἦ; τί ἂν μελαγχολῶν; τί ἐν ὕπνοις; οὗτός μοι ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνίκητος ἀθλητής.

Πῶς ἔχειν δεῖ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους.

ὅτι ἂν τινι προσῇ τι πλεονέκτημα ἢ δοκῇ γε προσεῖναι μὴ προσόν, τοῦτον πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, ἐὰν ἀπαίδευτος ἦ, πεφυσῆσθαι δι' αὐτό. [2] εὐθὺς ὁ τύραννος λέγει 'ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ πάντων κράτιστος.' καὶ τί μοι δύνاسαι παρασχεῖν; ὄρεξίν μοι δύνاسαι περιποιῆσαι ἀκώλυτον; πόθεν σοι; σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις; ἔκκλινιν ἀπερίπτωτον; σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις; ὀρμὴν ἀναμάρτητον; [3] καὶ ποῦ σοι μέτεστιν; ἄγε, ἐν νηὶ δὲ σαυτῷ θαρρεῖς ἢ τῷ εἰδότη; ἐπὶ δ' ἄρματος τίνι ἢ τῷ εἰδότη; [4] τί δ' ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις τέχναις; ὡσαύτως. τί οὖν δύνاسαι; 'πάντες με θεραπεύουσιν.' καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸ πινάκιον θεραπεύω καὶ πλύνω αὐτὸ καὶ ἐκμάσσω καὶ τῆς ληκύθου ἔνεκα πᾶσσαλον πῆσσω. τί οὖν; ταῦτά μου κρεῖττονά ἐστιν; οὐ: ἀλλὰ χρειᾶν μοι παρέχει τινά. ταύτης οὖν ἔνεκα θεραπεύω αὐτά. τί δέ; τὸν ὄνον οὐ θεραπεύω; [5] οὐ νίπτω αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας; οὐ περικαθαίρω; οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτὸν θεραπεύει, σὲ δ' οὕτως ὡς τὸν ὄνον; ἐπεὶ τίς σε θεραπεύει ὡς ἄνθρωπον; δείκνυε. [6] τίς σοι θέλει ὅμοιος γενέσθαι, τίς σου ζηλωτὴς γίνεται ὡς Σωκράτους; 'ἀλλὰ δύναμαί σε τραχηλοκοπήσαι.' καλῶς λέγεις. ἐξελαθόμην ὅτι σε δεῖ θεραπεύειν καὶ ὡς πυρετὸν καὶ ὡς χολέραν καὶ βωμὸν στήσαι, ὡς ἐν Ῥώμῃ Πυρετοῦ βωμός ἐστιν. [7]

τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ταρασσόν καὶ καταπληττον τοὺς πολλούς; ὁ τύραννος καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι; πόθεν; μὴ γένοιτο: οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τὸ φύσει ἐλεύθερον ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς ταραχθῆναι ἢ κωλυθῆναι πλὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ. [8] ἀλλὰ τὰ δόγματα αὐτὸν ταρασσει. ὅταν γὰρ ὁ τύραννος εἴπῃ τινὶ 'δήσω σου τὸ σκέλος,' ὁ μὲν τὸ σκέλος τετιμηκῶς λέγει 'μή: ἐλέησον,' ὁ δὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λέγει 'εἴ σοι λυσιτελέστερον φαίνεται, δῆσον.' 'οὐκ ἐπιστρέφῃ;' [9] 'οὐκ ἐπιστρέφομαι.' 'ἐγὼ σοι δεῖξω ὅτι κύριός εἰμι.' 'πόθεν σύ; ἐμὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐλεύθερον ἀφῆκεν. ἢ δοκεῖς ὅτι ἔμελλεν τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν εἶναι καταδουλοῦσθαι; τοῦ νεκροῦ δέ μου κύριος εἶ, λάβε αὐτόν.' [10] 'ὥσθ' ὅταν μοι προσῇς, ἐμὲ οὐ θεραπεύεις;' 'οὐ: ἀλλ' ἐμαυτόν. εἰ δὲ θέλεις με λέγειν ὅτι καὶ σέ, λέγω σοι οὕτως ὡς τὴν χύτραν.'

[11] τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν φίλαυτον: γέγονε γὰρ οὕτως τὸ ζῆον: αὐτοῦ ἔνεκα

πάντα ποιεῖ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα πάντα ποιεῖ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς. [12] ἀλλ' ὅταν θέλῃ εἶναι Ὑέτιος καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος καὶ πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, ὁρᾷς ὅτι τούτων τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν προσηγοριῶν οὐ δύναται τυχεῖν, ἂν μὴ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ὠφέλιμος ᾖ. [13] καθόλου τε τοιαύτην τὴν φύσιν τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῴου κατεσκεύασεν, ἵνα μηδενὸς τῶν ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν δύνηται τυγχάνειν, ἂν μὴ τι εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ὠφέλιμον προσφέρεται. [14] οὕτως οὐκέτι ἀκοινώνητον γίνεται τὸ πάντα αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα ποιεῖν. [15] ἐπεὶ τί ἐκδέχῃ; ἵνα τις ἀποστῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου συμφέροντος; καὶ πῶς ἔτι μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρχὴ πᾶσιν ἔσται ἢ πρὸς αὐτὰ οἰκείωσις;

[16] τί οὖν; ὅταν ὑπὲρ δόγματα ἀλλόκοτα περὶ τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων πῶς ὄντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη θεραπεύει [17] ν τοὺς τυράννους. ὠφελον γὰρ τοὺς τυράννους μόνον, τοὺς κοιτωνίτας δ' οὐ. πῶς δὲ καὶ φρόνιμος γίνεται ἐξαίφνης ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὅταν Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ λασάνου ποιήσῃ; πῶς εὐθὺς λέγομεν 'φρονίμως μοι λελάληκεν Φηλικίων.' [18] ἤθελον αὐτὸν ἀποβληθῆναι τοῦ κοπρῶνος, ἵνα πάλιν ἄφρων σοι δοκῇ. [19] εἶχεν τινα Ἐπαφρόδιτος σκυτέα, ὃν διὰ τὸ ἄχρηστον εἶναι ἐπώλησεν. εἶτα ἐκεῖνος κατὰ τινα δαίμονα ἀγορασθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος τῶν Καισαριανῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος σκυτεὺς ἐγένετο. εἶδες ἂν πῶς αὐτὸν ἐτίμα ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος; ' [20] 'τί πράσσει Φηλικίων ὁ ἀγαθός; [21] φιλῶ σε.' εἶτα εἰ τις ἡμῶν ἐπύθετο 'τί ποιεῖ αὐτός;' ἐλέγετο ὅτι 'μετὰ Φηλικίωνος βουλευέται περὶ τινος.' [22] οὐχὶ γὰρ πεπράκει αὐτὸν ὥς ἄχρηστον; τίς οὖν αὐτὸν ἄφρων φρόνιμον ἐποίησεν; [23] τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ τιμᾶν ἄλλο τι ἢ τὰ προαιρετικά.'

[24] 'ἡξίωται δημαρχίας.' πάντες οἱ ἀπαντῶντες συνήδονται: ἄλλος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καταφιλεῖ, ἄλλος τὸν τράχηλον, οἱ δοῦλοι τὰς χεῖρας. ἔρχεται εἰς οἶκον, εὐρίσκει λύχνους ἀπτομένους. ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ἐπιθύει. [25] τίς οὖν πώποτε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀρεχθῆναι καλῶς ἔθυσεν; ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀρμῆσαι κατὰ φύσιν; ἐκεῖ γὰρ καὶ θεοὺς εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὅπου τὸ ἀγαθὸν τιθέμεθα. [26]

σήμερόν τις ὑπὲρ ἱερωσύνης ἐλάλει μοι τοῦ Αὐγούστου. λέγω αὐτῷ 'ἄνθρωπε, ἄφες τὸ πρᾶγμα: δαπανήσεις πολλὰ εἰς οὐδέν.' [27]—'ἀλλ' οἱ τὰς φώνας,' φησὶ, 'γράφοντες γράψουσι τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα.'—'μὴ τι οὖν σὺ τοῖς ἀναγιγνώσκουσι λέγεις παρών: ἐμὲ γεγράφασιν; [28] εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν δύνασαι παρεῖναι πᾶσιν, ἐὰν ἀποθάνῃς, τί ποιήσεις;—'μενεῖ μου τὸ ὄνομα.'—'γράψον αὐτὸ εἰς λίθον καὶ μενεῖ. ἄγε ἔξω δὲ Νικοπόλεως τίς σου μενεία;' [29]—'ἀλλὰ χρυσοῦν στέφανον φορήσω.'—'εἰ ἅπαξ ἐπιθυμεῖς στεφάνου, ρόδιον λαβὼν περιθού: ὄψει γὰρ κομψότερον.'

περὶ τοῦ λόγου πῶς αὐτοῦ θεωρητικός ἐστίν.

πᾶσα τέχνη καὶ δύναμις προηγουμένων τινῶν ἐστὶ θεωρητικὴ. [2] ὅταν μὲν οὖν ὁμοειδῆς τοῖς θεωρουμένοις καὶ αὐτῇ, ἀναγκαίως καὶ αὐτῆς γίνεται θεωρητικὴ: ὅταν δ' ἀνομογενής, οὐ δύναται θεωρεῖν ἑαυτήν. [3] οἷον σκυτικὴ περὶ δέρματα ἀναστρέφεται, αὐτὴ δὲ παντελῶς ἀπήλλακται τῆς ὕλης τῶν δερμάτων: διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς θεωρητικὴ. [4] γραμματικὴ πάλιν περὶ τὴν ἐγγράμματον φωνήν: μὴ τι οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὴ ἐγγράμματος φωνή; οὐδαμῶς. διὰ τοῦτο οὐ δύναται θεωρεῖν ἑαυτήν. ὁ οὖν λόγος πρὸς τί ποτε ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως παρείληπται; [5] πρὸς χρῆσιν φαντασιῶν οἷαν δεῖ. αὐτὸς οὖν τί

ἐστιν; σύστημα ἐκ ποιῶν φαντασιῶν. οὕτως γίνεται φύσει καὶ αὐτοῦ θεωρητικός. [6] πάλιν ἡ φρόνησις τίνα θεωρήσουσα παρελήλυθεν; ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ καὶ οὐδέτερα. αὐτὴ οὖν τί ἐστιν; ἀγαθόν. ἡ δ' ἀφροσύνη τί ἐστιν; κακόν. ὁρᾷς οὖν ὅτι ἀναγκαίως καὶ αὐτῆς γίνεται καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας θεωρητικῆς; [7] διὰ τοῦτο ἔργον τοῦ φιλοσόφου τὸ μέγιστον καὶ πρῶτον δοκιμάζειν τὰς φαντασίας καὶ διακρίνειν καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀδοκίμαστον προσφέρεσθαι. [8] ὁρᾷτε ἐπὶ τοῦ νομίσματος, ὅπου δοκεῖ τι εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, πῶς καὶ τέχνην ἐξευρήκαμεν καὶ ὅσοις ὁ ἀργυρογνῶμων προσχρῆται πρὸς δοκιμασίαν τοῦ νομίσματος, τῇ ὄψει, τῇ ἀφῇ, τῇ ὁσφρασίᾳ, τὰ τελευταῖα τῇ ἀκοῇ; [9] ῥήξας τὸ δηνάριον τῷ ψόφῳ προσέχει καὶ οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀρκεῖται ψοφήσαντος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς προσοχῆς μουσικὸς γίνεται. [10] οὕτως ὅπου διαφέρειν οἰόμεθα τὸ πλανᾶσθαι τοῦ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, ἐνταῦθα πολλὴν προσοχὴν εἰσφέρομεν εἰς διάκρισιν τῶν διαπλανᾶν δυναμένων, [11] ἐπὶ δὲ ταλαιπώρου ἡγεμονικοῦ χάσκοντες καὶ καθεύδοντες, πᾶσαν φαντασίαν παραπροσδεχόμεθα: ἡ γὰρ ζημία οὐ προσπίπτει.

[12] ὅταν οὖν θέλῃς γινῶναι, πῶς ἔχεις περὶ μὲν τὰγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ ἀνειμένως, περὶ τὰδιάφορα δ' ἐσπευσμένως, ἐπίστησον πῶς ἔχεις πρὸς τὸ ἐκτυφλωθῆναι καὶ πῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐξαπατηθῆναι καὶ γνώσῃ ὅτι μακρὰν εἴ τοῦ ὡς δεῖ πεπονθέναι περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν. [13] 'ἀλλὰ πολλῆς ἔχει χρεῖαν παρασκευῆς καὶ πόνου πολλοῦ καὶ μαθημάτων.' τί οὖν; ἐλπίζεις ὅτι τὴν μεγίστην τέχνην ἀπὸ ὀλίγων ἔστιν ἀναλαβεῖν; [14] καίτοι αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ προηγούμενος λόγος τῶν φιλοσόφων λίαν ἐστὶν ὀλίγος. εἰ θέλεις γινῶναι, ἀνάγνωθι τὰ Ζήνωνος καὶ ὄψαι. [15] τί γὰρ ἔχει μακρὸν εἰπεῖν ὅτι τέλος ἐστὶ τὸ ἔπεσθαι θεοῖς, οὐσία δ' ἀγαθοῦ χρήσις οἷα δεῖ φαντασιῶν; [16] λέγε 'τί οὖν ἐστὶ θεὸς καὶ τί φαντασία; καὶ τί ἐστὶ φύσις ἡ ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ τί ἐστὶ φύσις ἡ τῶν ὅλων;' [17] ἤδη μακρόν. ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν Ἐπίκουρος εἴπῃ, ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ δεῖ εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθόν, πάλιν μακρὸν γίνεται καὶ ἀνάγκη ἀκοῦσαι τί τὸ προηγούμενόν ἐστιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, τί τὸ ὑποστατικόν καὶ οὐσιῶδες. ὅτι τὸ κοχλίου ἀγαθὸν οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶναι ἐν τῷ κελύφει, τὸ οὖν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰκός; [18] σὺ δ' αὐτὸς τί κυριώτερον ἔχεις, Ἐπίκουρε; τί ἐστὶν ἐν σοὶ τὸ βουλευόμενον, τὸ ἐπισκεπτόμενον ἕκαστα, τὸ περὶ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτῆς ὅτι τὸ προηγούμενόν ἐστιν τὸ ἐπικρῖνον; [19] τί δὲ καὶ λύχνον ἅπτεῖς καὶ πονεῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ τηλικαῦτα βιβλία γράφεις; ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοήσωμεν ἡμεῖς τὴν ἀλήθειαν; τίνες ἡμεῖς; τί πρὸς σὲ ὄντες; οὕτω μακρὸς ὁ λόγος γίνεται.

πρὸς τοὺς θαυμάζεσθαι θέλοντας.

[2] ὅταν τις ᾗν δεῖ στάσιν ἔχῃ ἐν τῷ βίῳ, ἔξω οὐ κέχηνεν. ἄνθρωπε, τί θέλεις σοὶ γενέσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν ἀρκοῦμαι, ἂν ὀρέγωμαι καὶ ἐκκλίνω κατὰ φύσιν, ἂν ὀρμῇ καὶ ἀφορμῇ χρῶμαι ὡς πέφυκα, ἂν προσθέσει, ἂν ἐπιβολῇ, ἂν συγκαταθέσει. τί οὖν ἡμῖν ὀβελίσκον καταπιὼν περιπατεῖς; [3] 'ἤθελον, ἵνα με καὶ οἱ ἀπαντῶντες θαυμάζωσιν καὶ ἐπακολουθοῦντες ἐπικραυγάζωσιν: ὦ μεγάλου φιλοσόφου.' [4] τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι, ὅν' ὧν θαυμάζεσθαι θέλεις; οὐχ οὗτοί εἰσι, περὶ ὧν εἴωθας λέγειν ὅτι μαίνονται; τί οὖν; ὑπὸ τῶν μαινομένων θαυμάζεσθαι θέλεις;

περὶ τῶν προλήψεων.

προλήψεις κοιναὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἰσὶν: καὶ πρόληψις προλήψει οὐ

μάχεται. τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐ τίθησιν, ὅτι τὸ ἀγαθὸν συμφέρον ἐστὶ † ἐστὶ καὶ αἵρετόν καὶ ἐκ πάσης αὐτὸ περιστάσεως δεῖ μετιέναι καὶ διώκειν; τίς δ' ἡμῶν οὐ τίθησιν, ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον καλὸν ἐστὶ καὶ πρέπον; [2] πότε οὖν ἡ μάχη γίνεται; περὶ τὴν ἐφαρμογὴν τῶν προλήψεων ταῖς ἐπὶ μέρους οὐσίαις, [3] ὅταν ὁ μὲν εἴπῃ ‘καλῶς ἐποίησεν, ἀνδρεῖός ἐστιν.’ ‘οὐ, ἀλλ' ἀπονενοημένος.’ ἔνθεν ἡ μάχη γίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρὸς ἀλλήλους. [4] αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Σύρων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων μάχη, οὐ περὶ τοῦ ὅτι τὸ ὅσιον πάντων προτιμητέον καὶ ἐν παντὶ μεταδιωκτέον, ἀλλὰ πότερόν ἐστιν ὅσιον τοῦτο τὸ χοιρεῖον φαγεῖν ἢ ἀνόσιον. [5] ταύτην τὴν μάχην εὐρήσετε καὶ Ἀγαμέμνωνος καὶ Ἀχιλλέως. κάλει γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ μέσον. τί λέγεις σύ, ὦ Ἀγάμεμνον; οὐ δεῖ γενέσθαι τὰ δέοντα καὶ τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα; [6] ‘δεῖ μὲν οὖν.’ σὺ δὲ τί λέγεις, ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ; οὐκ ἀρέσκει σοι γίνεσθαι τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα; ‘ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν πάντων μάλιστα ἀρέσκει.’ ἐφαρμόσατε οὖν τὰς προλήψεις. ἐντεῦθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ μάχης. [7] ὁ μὲν λέγει ‘οὐ χρὴ ἀποδιδόναι με τὴν Χρυσηίδα τῷ πατρί,’ ὁ δὲ λέγει ‘δεῖ μὲν οὖν.’ πάντως ὁ ἕτερος αὐτῶν κακῶς ἐφαρμόζει τὴν πρόληψιν τοῦ δέοντος. [8] πάλιν ὁ μὲν λέγει ‘οὐκοῦν, εἰ με δεῖ ἀποδοῦναι τὴν Χρυσηίδα, δεῖ με λαβεῖν ὑμῶν τινος τὸ γέρας,’ ὁ δὲ ‘τὴν ἐμὴν οὖν λάβης ἐρωμένην;,’ ‘τὴν σὴν’ φησίν. ‘ἐγὼ οὖν μόνος—’ ‘ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μόνος μὴ ἔχω;’ οὕτως μάχη γίνεται.

[9] τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ παιδεύεσθαι; μαρθάνειν τὰς φυσικὰς προλήψεις ἐφαρμόζειν ταῖς ἐπὶ μέρους οὐσίαις καταλλήλως τῇ φύσει καὶ λοιπὸν διελεῖν, [10] ὅτι τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν: ἐφ' ἡμῖν μὲν προαίρεσις καὶ πάντα τὰ προαιρετικὰ ἔργα, οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος, κτήσεις, γονεῖς, ἀδελφοὶ, τέκνα, πατρίς, ἀπλῶς οἱ κοινωνοί. [11] ποῦ οὖν θῶμεν τὸ ἀγαθόν; ποία οὐσία αὐτὸ ἐφαρμόσομεν; τῇ ἐφ' ἡμῖν; [12] — εἴτα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν ὑγίεια καὶ ἀρτιότης καὶ ζωὴ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τέκνα οὐδὲ γονεῖς οὐδὲ πατρίς; — καὶ τίς σου ἀνέξεται; [13] μεταθῶμεν οὖν αὐτὸ πάλιν ἐνθάδε. ἐνδέχεται οὖν βλαπτόμενον καὶ ἀποτυγχάνοντα τῶν ἀγαθῶν εὐδαιμονεῖν; — οὐκ ἐνδέχεται. — καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς κοινωνοὺς οἷαν δεῖ ... ἀναστροφὴν; καὶ πῶς ἐνδέχεται; [14] ἐγὼ γὰρ πέφυκα πρὸς τὸ ἐμὸν συμφέρον. εἰ συμφέρει μοι ἄγρὸν ἔχειν, συμφέρει μοι καὶ ἀφελέσθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ πλησίον: εἰ συμφέρει μοι ἱμάτιον ἔχειν, συμφέρει μοι καὶ κλέψαι αὐτὸ ἐκ βαλανείου. ἔνθεν πόλεμοι, στάσεις, τυραννίδες, ἐπιβουλαί. [15] πῶς δ' ἔτι δυνήσομαι τὸ πρὸς τὸν Δία καθῆκον; εἰ γὰρ βλάπτομαι καὶ ἀτυχῶ, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφεται μοι. καὶ ‘τί μοι καὶ αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐ δύναται μοι βοηθῆσαι;’ καὶ πάλιν ‘τί μοι καὶ αὐτῷ, εἰ θέλει μ' ἐν τοιούτοις εἶναι ἐν οἷς εἰμι;’ ἄρχομαι λοιπὸν μισεῖν αὐτόν. [16] τί οὖν ναοὺς ποιοῦμεν, τί οὖν ἀγάλματα, ὥς κακοῖς δαίμοσιν, ὥς πυρετῷ τῷ Δί; καὶ πῶς ἔτι Σωτὴρ καὶ πῶς Ὑέτιος καὶ πῶς Ἐπικάρπιος; καὶ μὴν, ἂν ἐνταυθα ποῦ θῶμεν τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, πάντα ταῦτα ἐξακολουθεῖ.

τί οὖν ποιήσωμεν; [17] — αὕτη ἐστὶ ζήτησις τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦντος τῷ ὄντι καὶ ὠδίνοντος: νῦν ἐγὼ οὐχ ὁρῶ τί ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν: οὐ μαίνομαι; [18] ναί: ἀλλ' ἂν ἐνταυθα ποῦ θῶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἐν τοῖς προαιρετικοῖς, πάντες μου καταγελάσσονται. ἤξει τις γέρων πολὺς χρυσοὺς δακτυλίους ἔχων πολλούς, εἴτα ἐπισείσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρεῖ ‘ἄκουσόν μου, τέκνον: δεῖ μὲν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν, δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐγκέφαλον ἔχειν: ταῦτα μωρὰ ἐστίν. σὺ παρὰ τῶν

φιλοσόφων μανθάνεις συλλογισμόν, [19] τί δέ σοι ποιητέον ἐστίν, σὺ κάλλιον οἶδας ἢ οἱ φιλόσοφοι.’ ἄνθρωπε, τί οὖν μοι ἐπιτιμᾷς, εἰ οἶδας; [20] τοῦτῳ τῷ ἀνδραπόδῳ τί εἶπω; [21] ἂν σιωπῶ, ῥήγνυται ἐκεῖνος. ὥς δεῖ λέγειν ὅτι ‘σύγγνωθί μοι ὥς τοῖς ἐρῶσιν: οὐκ εἰμὶ ἑμαυτοῦ, μαίνομαι.’

πρὸς Ἐπίκουρον.

ἐπινοεῖ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ὅτι φύσει ἐσμὲν κοινωνικοί, ἀλλ’ ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ κελύφει θεῖς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἡμῶν οὐκέτι δύναται ἄλλο οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν. [2] πάλιν γὰρ ἐκεῖνου λίαν κρατεῖ, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀπεσπασμένον οὐδὲν τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ οὐσίας οὔτε θαυμάζειν οὔτ’ ἀποδέχεσθαι: καὶ καλῶς αὐτοῦ κρατεῖ. [3] πῶς οὖν ὑπονοητικοί ἐσμεν, οἷς μὴ φυσικὴ ἐστὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔγγονα φιλοστοργία; διὰ τί ἀποσυμβουλευεῖς τῷ σοφῷ τεκνοτροφεῖν; τί φοβῇ μὴ διὰ ταῦτα εἰς λύπας ἐμπέσῃ; [4] διὰ γὰρ τὸν μὺν τὸν ἔσω τρεφόμενον ἐμπίπτει; τί οὖν αὐτῷ μέλει, ἂν μυίδιον μικρὸν ἔσω κατακλαίῃ αὐτοῦ; [5] ἀλλ’ οἶδεν, ὅτι, ἂν ἅπαξ γένηται παιδίον, οὐκέτι ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ἐστὶ μὴ στέργειν μηδὲ φροντίζειν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ. [6] διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν οὐδὲ πολιτεύσεσθαι τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα: οἶδεν γὰρ τίνα δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸν πολιτευόμενον: ἐπεῖτοι εἰ ὥς ἐν μυῖαις μέλλεις ἀναστρέφεσθαι, τί κωλύει; [7] ἀλλ’ ὁμως εἰδὼς ταῦτα τολμᾷ λέγειν ὅτι ‘μὴ ἀναιρώμεθα τέκνα.’ ἀλλὰ πρόβατον μὲν οὐκ ἀπολείπει τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔγγονον οὐδὲ λύκος, ἄνθρωπος δ’ ἀπολείπει; [8] τί θέλεις; μωροὺς ἡμᾶς εἶναι ὥς τὰ πρόβατα; οὐδ’ ἐκεῖνα ἀπολείπει. θηριώδεις ὥς τοὺς λύκους; οὐδ’ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπολ[ύ] [9] εἰπουσιν. ἄγε, τίς δέ σοι πείθεται ἰδὼν παιδίον αὐτοῦ κλαῖον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν πεπτωκός; [10] ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἐμαντεύσατο ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι μέλλεις ταῦτα λέγειν, οὐκ ἂν σε ἔρριπαν.

Πῶς πρὸς τὰς περιστάσεις ἀγωνιστέον.

αἱ περιστάσεις εἰσὶν αἱ τοὺς ἄνδρας δεικνύουσαι. λοιπὸν ὅταν ἐμπέσῃ περίστασις, μέμνησο ὅτι ὁ θεός σε ὥς ἀλείπτῃς τραχεῖ νεανίσκῳ [2] συμβέβληκεν. — ἵνα τί; φησὶν. — ἵνα Ὀλυμπιονίκης γένη: δίχα δ’ ἰδρῶτος οὐ γίγνεται. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεὶς δοκεῖ κρεῖσσονα ἐσχηκέναι περίστασιν ἧς σὺ ἐσχηκας, ἂν θέλῃς ὥς ἀθλητῆς νεανίσκῳ χρῆσθαι. [3] καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς γε εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κατάσκοπον ἐέμπομεν. οὐδεὶς δὲ δειλὸν κατάσκοπον πέμπει, ἵν’, ἂν μόνον ἀκούσῃ ψόφου καὶ σκιάν ποθεν ἴδῃ, τρέχων ἔλθῃ τεταραγμένος καὶ λέγων ἤδη παρεῖναι τοὺς πολεμίους. [4] οὕτως νῦν καὶ σὺ ἂν ἐλθὼν ἡμῖν εἴπῃς ‘φοβερά τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πράγματα, δεινὸν ἐστὶ θάνατος, δεινὸν ἐστὶ φυγή, δεινὸν λαιδορία, δεινὸν πενία: φεύγετε ἄνδρες, πάρεισιν οἱ πολέμιοι,’ [5] ἐροῦμέν σοι ‘ἄπελθε, σεαυτῷ μαντεύου: ἡμεῖς τοῦτο μόνον ἡμάρτομεν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον κατάσκοπον ἐέμπομεν.’ [6]

πρὸ σοῦ κατάσκοπος ἀποσταλεῖς Διογένης ἄλλα ἡμῖν ἀπήγγελεκεν. λέγει ὅτι ὁ θάνατος οὐκ ἐστὶ κακόν, οὐδὲ γὰρ αἰσχρόν: λέγει ὅτι ἀδοξία ψόφος ἐστὶ μαινομένων ἀνθρώπων. [7] οἷα δὲ περὶ πόνου, οἷα δὲ περὶ ἡδονῆς, οἷα περὶ πενίας εἶρηκεν οὗτος ὁ κατάσκοπος. τὸ δὲ γυμνασιὸν εἶναι λέγει ὅτι κρεῖσσόν ἐστὶ πάσης περιπορφύρου: τὸ δ’ ἐπ’ ἀστρώτῳ πέδῳ καθεύδειν λέγει ὅτι μαλακωτάτῃ κοίτῃ ἐστίν. [8] καὶ ἀπόδειξιν φέρει περὶ ἐκάστου τὸ θάρσος τὸ αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἀταραξίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, εἶτα καὶ τὸ σωματίον στίλβον καὶ συνεστραμμένον. [9] ‘οὐδεὶς,’ φησὶν, ‘πολέμιος ἐγγὺς ἐστίν: πάντα εἰρήνης

γέμει.' πῶς, ὃ Διόγενες; 'ἰδοῦ,' φησίν, 'μή τι βέβλημαι, μή τι τέτρωμαι, μή τινα πέφρυγα;'^[10] τοῦτ' ἔστιν οἶος δεῖ κατάσκοπος, σὺ δ' ἡμῖν ἐλθὼν ἄλλα ἐξ ἄλλων λέγεις. οὐκ ἀπελεύση πάλιν καὶ ὄψει ἀκριβέστερον δίχα τῆς δειλίας;

τί οὖν ποιήσω; ^[11] — τί ποιεῖς, ἐκ πλοίου ὅταν ἐξίης; μή τι τὸ πηδάλιον αἶρεις, μή τι τὰς κώπας; τί οὖν αἶρεις; τὰ σά, τὴν λήκυθον, τὴν πῆραν. καὶ νῦν ἂν ἦς μεμνημένος τῶν σῶν, οὐδέποτε τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀντιποιήσῃ. ^[12] λέγει σοι 'θές τὴν πλατύσημον:' ἰδοῦ στενόσημος. 'θές καὶ ταύτην:' ἰδοῦ ἱμάτιον μόνον. 'θές τὸ ἱμάτιον:' ^[13] 'ἰδοῦ γυμνός.' ἄλλα φθόνον μοι κινεῖς. λάβε τοίνυν ὅλον τὸ σωματίον. ὃ δύναμαι ῥῖψαι τὸ σωματίον, ἔτι τοῦτο ^[14] ν φοβοῦμαι; ἄλλα κληρονόμον μ' οὐκ ἀπολείψει. τί οὖν; ἐπελαθόμην ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἐμὸν ἦν; πῶς οὖν ἐμὰ αὐτὰ λέγομεν; ὥς τὸν κράβαττον ἐν τῷ πανδοκεῖῳ. ἂν οὖν ὁ πανδοκεὺς ἀποθανὼν ἀπολίπῃ σοι τοὺς κραβάττους; ἂν δ' ἄλλω, ἐκεῖνος ἔξει, σὺ δ' ἄλλον ζητήσεις: ^[15] ἂν οὖν μὴ εὕρῃς, χαμαὶ κοιμήσῃ μόνον θαρρῶν καὶ ῥέγκων καὶ μεμνημένος ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πλουσίοις καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ τυράννοις αἱ τραγωδίαί τόνον ἔχουσιν, οὐδεὶς δὲ πένης τραγωδίαν συμπληροῖ εἰ μὴ ὥς χορευτής. ^[16] οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς ἄρχονται μὲν ἀπ' ἀγαθῶν:

στένγατε δώματα:

εἴτα περὶ τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον μέρος:

ἰὼ Κιθαιρών, τί μ' ἐδέχου;

ἀνδράποδον, ποῦ οἱ στέφανοι, ποῦ τὸ διάδημα; ^[17] οὐδὲν σε ὠφελοῦσιν οἱ δορυφόροι; ^[18] ὅταν οὖν ἐκείνων τινὶ προσίης, τούτων μέμνησο, ὅτι τραγωδῶ προσέρχῃ, οὐ τῷ ὑποκριτῇ, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τῷ Οἰδίποδι. ^[19] ἄλλα μακάριος ὁ δεῖνα: μετὰ πολλῶν γὰρ περιπατεῖ. κάγῳ συγκατατάττω ἐμαυτὸν σὺν τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν περιπατῶ. ^[20] τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον: μέμνησο ὅτι ἡ θύρα ἦνοικται. μὴ γίνου τῶν παιδίων δειλότερος, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐκεῖνα, ὅταν αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀρέσκῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα, λέγει 'οὐκέτι παίξω,' καὶ σύ, ὅταν σοι φαίνηται τινα εἶναι τοιαῦτα, εἰπὼν 'οὐκέτι παίξω' ἀπαλλάσσου, μένων δὲ μὴ θρήνη.

πρὸς τὸ αὐτό.

εἰ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ ἔστι καὶ μὴ βλακεύομεν μηδ' ὑποκρινόμεθα ὅτι τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν προαιρέσει καὶ τὸ κακόν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τί ἔτι ταρασσόμεθα, τί ἔτι φοβούμεθα; περὶ ἃ ἐσπουδάκαμεν, τούτων ἐξουσίαν οὐδεὶς ἔχει: ^[2] ὧν ἐξουσίαν οἱ ἄλλοι ἔχουσιν, τούτων οὐκ ἐπιστρεφόμεθα. ποῖον ἔτι πρᾶγμα ἔχομεν; ^[3] — ἀλλὰ ἐντεῖλαι μοι. — τί σοι ἐντεῖλωμαι; ὁ Ζεὺς σοι οὐκ ἐντέταλται; οὐ δέδωκέν σοι τὰ μὲν σὰ ἀκώλυστα καὶ ἀπαραπόδιστα, τὰ δὲ μὴ σὰ κωλυτὰ καὶ παραποδιστά; ^[4] τίνα οὖν ἐντολὴν ἔχων ἐκεῖθεν ἐλήλυθας, ποῖον διάταγμα; τὰ σὰ τήρει ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μὴ ἐφίεσο. τὸ πιστὸν σόν ... : τίς οὖν ἀφελέσθαι δύναταί σου ταῦτα; τίς κωλύσει χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ἄλλος εἰ μὴ σύ; σὺ δὲ πῶς; ὅταν περὶ τὰ μὴ σαντοῦ σπουδάσῃς, τὰ σαντοῦ ἀπώλεσας. ^[5] τοιαύτας ἔχων ὑποθήκας καὶ ἐντολὰς παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ποίας ἔτι παρ' ἐμοῦ θέλεις; κρείσσων εἰμὶ ἐκείνου, ἄξιοπιστότερος; ^[6] ἀλλὰ ταύτας τηρῶν ἄλλων τινῶν προσδέξῃ; ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἐντέταλται ταῦτα; φέρε τὰς προλήψεις, φέρε τὰς ἀποδείξεις τὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων, φέρε ἃ **πολλάκις** ἤκουσας, φέρε δ' ἃ εἶπας αὐτός, φέρε ἃ

ἀνέγνως, φέρε ἃ ἐμελέτησας.

[7] μέχρις οὗ ν τίνος ταῦτα τηρεῖν καλῶς ἔχεις καὶ τὴν παιδιὰν μὴ λύειν; [8] μέχρις ἂν κομψῶς διεξάγῃται. ἐν Σατορναλίοις λέλογχεν βασιλεύς· ἔδοξε γὰρ παῖζει ταύτην τὴν παιδιάν. προστάσσει ‘σὺ πίε, σὺ κέρασον, σὺ ἄσον, σὺ ἀπελθε, σὺ ἐλθέ.’ ὑπακούω, ἵνα μὴ παρ’ ἐμὲ λύηται ἡ παιδιά. [9] ‘ἀλλὰ σὺ ὑπολαμβάνανε ὅτι ἐν κακοῖς εἶ.’ οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω· καὶ τίς μ’ ἀναγκάσει ὑπολαμβάνειν; [10] πάλιν συνεθέμεθα παῖζει τὰ περὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα. καταταγείς Ἀγαμέμνων λέγει μοι ‘πορεύου πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ ἀπόσπασον τὴν Βρισηίδα.’ πορεύομαι [11] μοι. ‘ἔρχου.’ ἔρχομαι. ὥς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποθετικῶν λόγων ἀναστρεφόμεθα, οὕτως δεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου. ‘ἔστω νύξ.’ ἔστω. ‘τί οὖν; ἡμέρα ἐστίν;’ οὐ· ἔλαβον γὰρ ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ νύκτα εἶναι. [12] ‘ἔστω σε ὑπολαμβάνειν ὅτι νύξ ἐστίν.’ ἔστω. ‘ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπόλαβε ὅτι νύξ ἐστίν.’ οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ τῇ ὑποθέσει. [13] οὕτως καὶ ἐνταῦθα. ‘ἔστω σε εἶναι δυστυχή.’ ἔστω. ‘ἄρ’ οὖν ἀτυχῆς εἶ;’ ναί. ‘τί οὖν; κακοδαίμονεις;’ ναί. ‘ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπόλαβε ὅτι ἐν κακοῖς εἶ.’ οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ τῇ ὑποθέσει· καὶ ἄλλος με κωλύει.

[14] μέχρι πόσου οὖν ὑπακουστέον τοῖς τοιούτοις; μέχρις ἂν οὗ λυσιτελή, τοῦτο δ’ ἔστιν μέχρις ἂν οὗ σφῶζ τὸ πρέπον καὶ κατάλληλον. [15] λοιπὸν οἱ μὲν εἰσι κακαύστηροι καὶ κακοστόμαχοι καὶ λέγουσιν ‘ἐγὼ οὐ δύναμαι παρὰ τούτῳ δειπνεῖν, ἵν’ αὐτοῦ ἀνέχομαι καθ’ ἡμέραν διηγούμενου, πῶς ἐν Μυσία ἐπολέμησεν· διηγησάμην σοι, ἀδελφέ, πῶς ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἀνέβην· πάλιν ἄρχομαι πολιορκεῖσθαι.’ [16] ἄλλος λέγει ‘ἐγὼ δειπνήσαι θέλω μᾶλλον καὶ ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ ὅσα θέλει ἀδολεσχοῦντος.’ [17] καὶ σὺ σύγκρινε ταύτας τὰς ἀξίας· μόνον μὴδὲν βαρούμενος ποιεῖ, μὴ θλιβόμενος μὴδ’ ὑπολαμβάνων ἐν κακοῖς εἶναι· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεὶς σε ἀναγκάζει. [18] καπνὸν πεποίηκεν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι; ἂν μέτριον, μενῶ· ἂν λίαν πολύν, ἐξέρχομαι. τούτου γὰρ μεμνησθαι καὶ κρατεῖν, ὅτι ἡ θύρα ἥνοικται. [19] ἀλλὰ ‘μὴ οἶκει ἐν Νικοπόλει.’ οὐκ οἰκῶ. ‘μὴδ’ ἐν Ἀθήναις.’ οὐδ’ ἐν Ἀθήναις. ‘μὴδ’ ἐν Ῥώμῃ.’ οὐδ’ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. ‘ἐν Γυάροις οἶκει.’ οἰκῶ. ἀλλὰ πολὺς μοι καπνὸς φαίνεται τὸ ἐν Γυάροις οἰκεῖν. [20] ἀποχωρῶ, ὅπου μ’ οὐδεὶς κωλύσει οἰκεῖν· ἐκεῖνη γὰρ ἡ οἰκησις παντὶ ἥνοικται. [21] καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χιτωνάριον, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὸ σωματίον, τούτου ἀνωτέρω οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἰς ἐμὲ ἔξεστιν. [22] διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Δημήτριος εἶπεν τῷ Νέρωνι [23] ‘ἀπειλεῖς μοι θάνατον, σοὶ δ’ ἡ φύσις.’ ἂν δὲ τὸ σωματίον θαυμάσω, δοῦλον ἐμαυτὸν παραδέδωκα· ἂν τὸ κτησείδιον, δοῦλον. [24] εὐθύς γὰρ ἐμαυτὸς κατ’ ἐμαυτοῦ δηλῶ, τίني ἁλωτός εἰμι. ὥς ὁ ὄφις ἐὰν συσπᾷ τὴν κεφαλὴν, λέγω ‘ἐκεῖνο αὐτοῦ τύπτε ὁ φυλάσσει.’ καὶ σὺ γίγνωσκε, ὅτι ὁ ἂν φυλάσσειν ἐθέλῃς, κατ’ ἐκεῖνο ἐπιβήσεται σοι ὁ κύριος. [25] τούτων μεμνημένος τίνα ἔτι κολακεύσεις ἢ φοβήσῃ;

ἀλλὰ θέλω καθῆσθαι ὅπου οἱ συγκλητικοί. [26] — ὁρᾷς ὅτι σὺ σαντῶ στενοχωρίαν παρέχεις, σὺ σαντὸν θλίβεις; [27] — πῶς οὖν ἄλλως θεωρήσω καλῶς ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ; — ἄνθρωπε, καὶ μὴ θεώρει καὶ οὐ μὴ θλιβῇς. τί πράγματα ἔχεις; ἢ μικρὸν ἐκδεξαι καὶ ἀχθείσης τῆς θεωρίας κάθισον εἰς τοὺς τῶν συγκλητικῶν τόπους καὶ ἡλιάζου. [28] καθόλου γὰρ ἐκεῖνου μέμνησο, ὅτι ἑαυτοὺς θλίβομεν, ἑαυτοὺς στενοχωροῦμεν, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν τὰ δόγματα ἡμᾶς θλίβει καὶ στενοχωρεῖ. [29] ἐπεὶ τί ἐστὶν αὐτὸ τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι; παραστάς λίθον

λοιδορεῖ: καὶ τί ποιήσεις; ἂν οὖν τις ὡς λίθος ἀκούῃ, τί ὄφελος τῷ λοιδοροῦντι; ἂν δ' ἔχη τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ λοιδορουμένου ὁ λοιδορῶν ἐπιβάθραν, τότε ἀνύει τι. [30] 'περίσχισον αὐτόν.' τί λέγεις αὐτόν; τὸ ἱμάτιον λάβε, περίσχισον. [31] 'ὕβριν σοι πεποίηκα.' καλῶς σοι γένοιτο. ταῦτα ἐμελέτα Σωκράτης, διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ἔχων πρόσωπον αἰεὶ διετέλει. ἡμεῖς δὲ θέλομεν πάντα μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖν καὶ μελετᾶν ἢ ὅπως ἀπαραπόδιστοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι ἐσόμεθα. [32] 'παράδοξα λέγουσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι.' ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις τέχναις οὐκ ἔστι παράδοξα; καὶ τί παραδοξότερόν ἐστιν ἢ κεντεῖν τινος τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, ἵνα ἴδῃ; εἴ τις ἀπείρω τῶν ἱατρικῶν τοῦτο εἶπεν, οὐκ ἂν κατεγέλα τοῦ λέγοντος; [33] τί οὖν θαυμαστόν εἰ καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ πολλὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν παράδοξα φαίνεται τοῖς ἀπείροις;

τίς ὁ βιωτικὸς νόμος.

ἀναγινώσκοντος δὲ τοὺς ὑποθετικοὺς ἔφη Νόμος ὑποθετικὸς ἐστὶ καὶ οὗτος τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῇ ὑποθέσει παραδέχεσθαι. πολὺ πρότερον δὲ νόμος βιωτικὸς ἐστὶν οὗτος τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῇ φύσει πράττειν. [2] εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ πάσης ὕλης καὶ περιστάσεως βουλόμεθα τηρῆσαι τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, δηλὸν ὅτι ἐν παντὶ στοχαστέον τοῦ μήτε τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἡμᾶς ἐκφυγεῖν μήτε παραδέξασθαι τὸ μαχόμενον. [3] πρῶτον οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς θεωρίας γυμνάζουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ φιλόσοφοι ὅπου ῥᾶον, εἴτα οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰ χαλεπώτερα ἄγουσιν: ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστι τὸ ἀνθέλκον ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἀκολουθῆσαι τοῖς διδασκομένοις, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν βιωτικῶν πολλὰ τὰ περισπῶντα. γελοῖος οὖν ὁ λέγων πρῶτον βούλεσθαι ἐπ' ἐκείνων: [4] οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον ἄρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν χαλεπωτέρων. [5] καὶ τοῦτον ἀπολογισμὸν ἔδει φέρειν πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς τοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ φιλοσοφεῖν τὰ τέκνα. 'οὐκοῦν ἀμαρτάνω, πάτερ, καὶ οὐκ οἶδα τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐμαυτῷ καὶ προσῆκον: εἰ μὲν οὐδὲ μαθητόν ἐστιν οὐδὲ διδακτόν, τί μοι ἐγκαλεῖς; εἰ δὲ διδακτόν, δίδασκε: εἰ δὲ σὺ μὴ δύνασαι, ἄφες με μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων εἰδέναι. [6] ἐπεὶ τί δοκεῖς; ὅτι θέλων περιπίπτω κακῷ καὶ ἀποτυγχάνω τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; μὴ γένοιτο. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ ἀμαρτάνειν με; [7] ἡ ἄγνοια. οὐ θέλεις οὖν ἀποθῶμαι τὴν ἄγνοιαν; τίνα πώποτε ὀργὴν ἐδίδαξε τὰ κυβερνητικά, τὰ μουσικά; τὰ βιωτικά οὖν διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν σου δοκεῖς ὅτι μαθήσομαι;' [8]

[9] ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ λέγειν ἔξεστι τῷ τοιαύτην ἐπιβολὴν ἐνηνοχότι. εἰ δέ τις μόνον ἐπιδείκνυσθαι θέλων ἐν συμποσίῳ ὅτι οἶδεν τοὺς ὑποθετικούς ἀναγινώσκει ταῦτα καὶ προσέρχεται τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, οὗτος ἄλλο τι πράσσει † ἵνα αὐτὸν συγκλητικὸς παρακατακείμενος θαυμάσῃ; [10] ἐκεῖ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι αἱ μεγάλαι ὕλαι εἰσι καὶ οἱ ἐνθάδε πλοῦτοι ἐκεῖ παίγνια δοκοῦσιν. διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖ δύσκολον κρατῆσαι τῶν αὐτοῦ φαντασιῶν, ὅπου τὰ ἐκ [11] σείοντα μεγάλα. ἐγὼ τίνα οἶδα κλαίοντα Ἐπαφροδίτου τῶν γονάτων ἀπτόμενον καὶ λέγοντα ταλαιπωρεῖν: ἀπολελεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ μηδέν, εἰ μὴ ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα μυριάδας. [12] τί οὖν ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος; κατεγέλασεν ὡς ὑμεῖς; οὐ: ἀλλ' ἐπιθαυμάσας λέγει 'τάλας, πῶς οὖν ἐσιώπας, πῶς ἐκαρτέρεις;' [13]

ταράξας δὲ τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα τοὺς ὑποθετικούς καὶ γελάσαντος τοῦ ὑποθεμένου αὐτῷ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν Σεαυτοῦ, ἔφη, καταγελάς: οὐ προεγύμνασας τὸν νεανίσκον οὐδ' ἔγνως εἰ δύναται τούτοις παρακολουθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀναγνώστη αὐτῷ χρῆ. [14] τί οὖν, ἔφη, μὴ δυναμένη διανοία συμπεπλεγμένου

ἐπικρίσει παρακολουθεῖν ἔπαινον πιστεύομεν, ψόγον πιστεύομεν, ἐπικρίσιν περὶ τῶν καλῶς ἢ κακῶς γινομένων; κἂν τινα κακῶς λέγῃ, οὗτος ἐπιστρέφεται, κἂν ἐπαινῇ τινα, ἐπαίρεται; ἐν τοῖς οὕτως μικροῖς μὴ εὐρίσκων τὸ ἐξῆς; [15] αὕτη οὖν ἀρχὴ τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν, αἰσθησις τοῦ ἰδίου ἡγεμονικοῦ πῶς ἔχει: μετὰ γὰρ τὸ γνῶναι ὅτι ἀσθενῶς οὐκ ἔτι θελήσει χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ μεγάλα. [16] νῦν δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοί τινες τὸν ψωμὸν καταπίνειν σύνταξιν ἀγοράσαντες ἐπιβάλλονται ἐσθίειν. διὰ τοῦτο ἐμοῦσιν ἡ ἀπεπτοῦσιν: εἴτα στρόφοι καὶ κατάρροια καὶ πυρετοί. ἔδει δ' ἐφιστάνειν, εἰ δύνανται. [17] ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν θεωρίᾳ ῥάδιον ἐξελέγξαι τὸν οὐκ εἰδότα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον οὔτε παρέχει ἑαυτὸν τις ἐλέγχῳ τὸν τ' ἐξελέγξαντα μισοῦμεν. ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν ἀνεξέταστον βίον μὴ ζῆν. [18]

Ποσαχῶς αἱ φαντασίαι γίνονται καὶ τίνα πρόχειρα πρὸς αὐτὰς βοηθήματα παρασκευαστέον.

Τετραχῶς αἱ φαντασίαι γίνονται ἡμῖν: ἡ γὰρ ἔστι τινὰ καὶ οὕτως φαίνεται ἡ οὐκ ὄντα οὐδὲ φαίνεται ὅτι ἔστιν ἡ ἔστι καὶ οὐ φαίνεται ἡ οὐκ ἔστι καὶ φαίνεται. [2] λοιπὸν ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις εὐστοχεῖν ἔργον ἐστὶ τοῦ πεπαιδευμένου. ὅ τι δ' ἂν ἦ τὸ θλίβον, ἐκεῖνῳ δεῖ προσάγειν τὴν βοήθειαν. εἰ σοφίσματα ἡμᾶς Πυρρώνεια καὶ Ἀκαδημαϊκὰ τὰ θλίβοντά ἐστιν, ἐκείνοις προσάγωμεν τὴν βοήθειαν: [3] εἰ αἱ τῶν πραγμάτων πιθανότητες, καθ' ἃς φαίνεται τινα ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὄντα, ἐκεῖ τὴν βοήθειαν ζητῶμεν: εἰ ἔθος ἐστὶ τὸ θλίβον, πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὴν βοήθειαν ἀνευρίσκειν πειρατέον. [4] τί οὖν πρὸς ἔθος ἔστιν εὐρίσκειν βοήθημα; [5] τὸ ἐναντίον ἔθος. ἀκούεις τῶν ιδιωτῶν λεγόντων 'τάλας ἐκεῖνος, ἀπέθανεν: ἀπώλετο ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, ἡ μήτηρ: ἐξεκόπη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄωρος καὶ ἐπὶ ξένης.' [6] ἄκουσον τῶν ἐναντίων λόγων, ἀπόσπασον σεαυτὸν τούτων τῶν φωνῶν, ἀντίθεος τῷ ἔθει τὸ ἐναντίον ἔθος. πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστικούς λόγους τὰ λογικὰ καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις γυμνασίαν καὶ τριβὴν, πρὸς τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων πιθανότητας τὰς προλήψεις ἐναργεῖς ἐσμηγμένας καὶ προχείρους ἔχειν δεῖ.

[7] ὅταν θάνατος φαίνεται κακόν, πρόχειρον ἔχειν ὅτι τὰ κακὰ ἐκκλίνειν καθήκει καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ὁ θάνατος. τί γὰρ ποιήσω; [8] ποῦ γὰρ αὐτὸν φύγω; ἔστω ἐμὲ εἶναι Σαρπηδόνα τὸν τοῦ Διός, ἴν' οὕτως γενναίως εἴπω 'ἀπελθὼν ἡ αὐτὸς ἀριστεῦσαι θέλω ἢ ἄλλῳ παρασχεῖν ἀφορμὴν τοῦ ἀριστεῦσαι: εἰ μὴ δύναμαι κατορθῶσαι τι αὐτός, οὐ φθονήσω ἄλλῳ τοῦ ποιῆσαι τι γενναῖον:' ἔστω ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ἐκεῖνο οὐ πίπτει εἰς ἡμᾶς; [9] καὶ ποῦ φύγω τὸν θάνατον; μηνύσατέ μοι τὴν χώραν, μηνύσατε ἀνθρώπους, εἰς οὓς ἀπέλθω, εἰς οὓς οὐ παραβάλλει, μηνύσατε ἐπαισιδὴν: εἰ μὴ ἔχω, τί με θέλετε ποιεῖν; [10] οὐ δύναμαι τὸν θάνατον ἀποφυγεῖν: τὸ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτὸν μὴ ἀποφύγω, ἀλλ' ἀποθάνω πενθὼν καὶ τρέμων; αὕτη γὰρ γένεσις πάθους θέλειν τι καὶ μὴ γίνεσθαι. [11] ἔνθεν ἂν μὲν δύνωμαι τὰ ἐκτὸς μετατιθεῖναι πρὸς τὴν βούλησιν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ, μετατίθηναι: εἰ δὲ μή, τὸν ἐμποδίζοντα ἐκτυφλῶσαι θέλω. [12] πέφυκε γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος μὴ ὑπομένειν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, μὴ ὑπομένειν περιπίπτειν τῷ κακῷ. [13] εἴτα τὸ τελευταῖον, ὅταν μήτε τὰ πράγματα μεταθεῖναι δυνηθῶ μήτε τὸν ἐμποδίζοντα ἐκτυφλῶσαι, κάθημαι καὶ στένω καὶ ὄν δύναμαι λαιδορῶ, τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἄλλους: εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐπιστρέφονται μοι, τί ἐμοὶ καὶ αὐτοῖς; [14] 'ναί: ἀλλ' ἀσεβὴς ἔση.' τί οὖν μοι

χειρὼν ἔσται, ὧν ἔστι μοι νῦν; τὸ σύνολον ἐκείνου μεμνησθαι, ὅτι, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἢ τὸ εὐσεβὲς καὶ συμφέρον, οὐ δύναται σωθῆναι τὸ εὐσεβὲς ἐν τινι ταῦτα οὐ δοκεῖ ἐπείγοντα; [15]

ἐρχέσθω καὶ ἀπαντάτω Πυρρώνειος καὶ Ἀκαδημαϊκός. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐμὸν μέρος οὐκ ἄγω σχολὴν πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδὲ δύναμαι συνηγορῆσαι τῇ συνηθείᾳ. [16] εἰ καὶ περὶ ἀγριδίου πραγμάτων εἶχον, ἄλλον ἂν παρεκάλεσα τὸν συνηγορήσοντα: τίνοι οὖν ἀρκοῦμαι κατὰ τὸν τόπον; πῶς μὲν αἰσθησις γίνεται, [17] πρότερον δι' ὅλων ἢ ἀπὸ μέρους, ἴσως οὐκ οἶδα ἀπολογίσασθαι, ταράσσει δέ με ἀμφοτέρω. ὅτι δ' ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ οὐκ ἐσμέν οἱ αὐτοί, λίαν ἀκριβῶς οἶδα. [18] πόθεν τοῦτο; οὐδέποτε καταπίνειν τι θέλων ἐκεῖ φέρω τὸν ψωμόν, ἀλλ' ὥδε: οὐδέποτ' ἄρτον θέλων λαβεῖν τὸ σάρον ἔλαβον, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρτον ἔρχομαι ὡς πρὸς σκοπόν. [19] ὑμεῖς δ' αὐτοὶ οἱ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀναιρουντες ἄλλο τι ποιεῖτε; τίς ὑμῶν εἰς βαλανεῖον ἀπελθεῖν θέλων εἰς μυλῶνα ἀπῆλθεν; [20] — τί οὖν; οὐ δεῖ κατὰ δυνάμιν καὶ τούτων ἀντέχεσθαι, τοῦ τηρῆσαι τὴν συνηθειαν, τοῦ πεφράχθαι πρὸς τὰ κατ' αὐτῆς; [21] — καὶ τίς ἀντιλέγει; ἀλλὰ τὸν δυνάμενον, τὸν σχολάζοντα: τὸν δὲ τρέμοντα καὶ ταρασσόμενον καὶ ῥηγνύμενον ἔσωθεν τὴν καρδίαν ἄλλω τινὶ δεῖ προσευκαρεῖν.

ὅτι οὐ δεῖ χαλεπαίνειν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τίνα τὰ μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

[2] τί ἐστὶν αἷτιον τοῦ συγκατατίθεσθαι τινι; τὸ φαίνεσθαι ὅτι ὑπάρχει. τῷ οὖν φαινομένῳ ὅτι οὐχ ὑπάρχει συγκατατίθεσθαι οὐχ οἶόν τε. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἡ φύσις αὕτη ἐστὶ τῆς διανοίας τοῖς μὲν ἀληθεῖσιν ἐπινεύειν, τοῖς δὲ ψευδέσι δυσαρεστεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἄδηλα ἐπέχειν. [3] τίς τούτου πίστις; 'πάθε, εἰ δύνασαι, νῦν ὅτι νῦξ ἐστίν.' οὐχ οἶόν τε. 'ἀπόπαθε ὅτι ἡμέρα ἐστίν.' οὐχ οἶόν τε. 'πάθε ἢ ἀπόπαθε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρτίους εἶναι τοὺς ἀστέρας.' οὐχ οἶόν τε. [4] ὅταν οὖν τις συγκατατίθῃται τῷ ψεύδει, ἴσθι ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλεν ψεύδει συγκαταθέσθαι: πᾶσα γὰρ ψυχὴ ἄκουσα στέρεται τῆς ἀληθείας, ὡς λέγει Πλάτων: ἀλλὰ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ τὸ ψεῦδος ἀληθές. [5] ἄγε ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πράξεων τί ἔχομεν τοιοῦτον οἶον ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀληθές ἢ τὸ ψεῦδος; τὸ καθῆκον καὶ παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον, τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ ἀσύμφορον, τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ καὶ οὐ κατ' ἐμὲ καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια. [6] 'οὐ δύναται οὖν τις δοκεῖν μὲν, ὅτι συμφέρει αὐτῷ, μὴ αἰρεῖσθαι δ' αὐτό;' οὐ δύναται. [7] πῶς ἢ λέγουσα

καὶ μανθάνω μὲν οἷα δρᾶν μέλλω κακά,

θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων;

ὅτι αὐτὸ τοῦτο, τῷ θυμῷ χαρίσασθαι καὶ τιμωρῆσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, συμφορώτερον ἡγείται τοῦ σῶσαι τὰ τέκνα. [8] 'ναί: ἀλλ' ἐξηπάτηται.' δεῖξον αὐτῇ ἐναργῶς ὅτι ἐξηπάτηται καὶ οὐ ποιήσει: μέχρι δ' ἂν οὐ μὴ δεικνύης, τίνοι ἔχει ἀκολουθῆσαι ἢ τῷ φαινομένῳ; [9] οὐδενί. τί οὖν χαλεπαίνεις αὐτῇ, ὅτι πεπλάνηται ἢ ταλαίπωρος περὶ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ἔχῃς ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου γέγονεν; οὐχὶ δ', εἴπερ ἄρα, μᾶλλον ἐλεεῖς, ὡς τοὺς τυφλοὺς ἐλεοῦμεν, ὡς τοὺς χωλοὺς, οὕτως τοὺς τὰ κυριώτατα τετυφλωμένους καὶ ἀποκεχωλωμένους; [10]

ὅστις οὖν τούτου μέμνηται καθαρῶς ὅτι ἀνθρώπῳ μέτρον πάσης πράξεως τὸ φαινόμενον (λοιπὸν ἢ καλῶς φαίνεται ἢ κακῶς: εἰ καλῶς, ἀνέγκλητός

ἐστιν: εἰ κακῶς, αὐτὸς ἐξημίωται: οὐ δύναται γὰρ ἄλλος μὲν εἶναι ὁ πεπλανημένος, ἄλλος δ' ὁ βλαπτόμενος), οὐδενὶ ὀργισθῆσεται, οὐδενὶ χαλεπανεῖ, οὐδένα λοιδορήσει, οὐδένα μέμψεται, οὐ μισήσει, οὐ προσκόψει οὐδενί. [11] ὥστε καὶ τὰ οὕτω μεγάλα καὶ δεινὰ ἔργα ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἀρχήν, τὸ φαινόμενον; ταύτην οὐδ' ἄλλην. [12] ἡ Ἰλιάς οὐδέν ἐστιν ἢ φαντασία καὶ χρήσις φαντασιῶν. ἐφάνη τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀπάγειν τοῦ Μενελάου τὴν γυναῖκα, ἐφάνη τῇ Ἑλένῃ ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ. [13] εἰ οὖν ἐφάνη τῷ Μενελάῳ παθεῖν ὅτι κέρδος ἐστὶ τοιαύτης γυναικὸς στερηθῆναι, τί ἂν ἐγένετο; ἀπολώλει ἡ Ἰλιάς οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Ὀδύσεια. — [14] ἐκ τοιούτου οὖν μικροῦ πράγματος ἥρτηται τὰ τηλικαῦτα; — τίνα δὲ καὶ λέγεις τὰ τηλικαῦτα; πολέμους καὶ στάσεις καὶ ἀπωλείας πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατασκαφὰς πόλεων; καὶ τί μέγα ἔχει ταῦτα; — οὐδέν; — [15] τί δ' ἔχει μέγα πολλοὺς βοῦς ἀποθανεῖν καὶ πολλὰ πρόβατα καὶ πολλὰς καλὰς χελιδόνων ἢ πελαργῶν ἐμπρησθῆναι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι; [16] — ὅμοια οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνοις; — ὁμοιότατα. σώματα ἀπώλετο ἀνθρώπων: καὶ βοῶν καὶ προβάτων. οἰκημάτια ἐνεπρήσθη ἀνθρώπων: καὶ πελαργῶν νεοσσιαί. [17] τί μέγα ἢ δεινόν; ἢ δεῖξόν μοι τί διαφέρει οἰκία ἀνθρώπου καὶ νεοσσιὰ πελαργοῦ ὡς οἰκησις. [18] — ὅμοιον οὖν ἐστὶ πελαργὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος; — τί λέγεις; κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ὁμοιότατον. πλὴν ὅτι μὲν ἐκ δοκῶν καὶ κεραμίδων καὶ πλίνθων οἰκοδομεῖται τὰ οἰκίδια, ἢ δ' ἐκ ῥάβδων καὶ πηλοῦ.

Οὐδενὶ οὖν διαφέρει ἄνθρωπος πελαργοῦ; [19] — μὴ γένοιτο: ἀλλὰ τούτοις οὐ διαφέρει. — τίνοι οὖν διαφέρει; [20] — ζῆται καὶ εὐρήσεις, ὅτι ἄλλω διαφέρει. ὅρα μὴ τῷ παρακολουθεῖν οἷς ποιεῖ, ὅρα μὴ τῷ κοινωνικῷ, μὴ τῷ πιστῷ, τῷ αἰδήμονι, τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ, τῷ συνετῷ. [21] ποῦ οὖν τὸ μέγα ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν; ὅπου ἢ διαφορά. ἂν σφίζεται τοῦτο καὶ περιτετειχισμένον μένη καὶ μὴ διαφθείρηται τὸ αἰδήμον μηδὲ τὸ πιστόν μηδὲ τὸ συνετόν, τότε σφίζεται καὶ αὐτός; ἂν δ' ἀπολλύηται τι τούτων καὶ ἐκπολιορκῆται, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπόλλυται. καὶ τὰ μεγάλα πράγματα ἐν τούτῳ ἐστίν. [22] ἔπταισεν μέγала ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅτ' ἐπῆλθον † φασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ὅτε ἐπόρθουν τὴν Τροίαν καὶ ὅτε οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπώλλυντο; [23] οὐδαμῶς: δι' ἄλλότριον γὰρ ἔργον πταίει οὐδεὶς: ἀλλὰ τότε πελαργῶν νεοσσιαί ἐπορθοῦντο. πταῖσμα δ' ἦν, ὅτε ἀπώλεσε τὸν αἰδήμονα, τὸν πιστόν, τὸν φιλοξενον, τὸν κόσμιον. [24] πότ' ἔπταισεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς; ὅτε ἀπέθανεν ὁ Πάτροκλος; μὴ γένοιτο: ἀλλ' ὅτε ὠργίζετο, ὅτε κορασίδιον ἔκλαεν, ὅτ' ἐπελάθετο ὅτι πάρεστιν οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐρωμένως κτᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν. [25] ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ ἀνθρωπικὰ πταίσματα, τοῦτό ἐστιν ἢ πολιορκία, τοῦτό ἐστι κατασκαφή, ὅταν τὰ δόγματα τὰ ὀρθὰ καθαιρήται, ὅταν ἐκεῖνα διαφείρηται. [26] — ὅταν οὖν γυναῖκες ἄγωνται καὶ παῖδια αἰχμαλωτίζηται καὶ ὅταν αὐτοὶ κατασφάζωνται, ταῦτα οὐκ ἐστὶ κακά; [27] — πόθεν τοῦτο προσδοξάζεις; καμὲ δίδαζον. — οὐ: ἀλλὰ πόθεν σὺ λέγεις ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶ κακά; [28] — ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς κανόνας, φέρε τὰς προλήψεις.

Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἱκανῶς θαυμάσαι τὸ γινόμενον. ὅπου βάρη κρῖναι θέλομεν, οὐκ εἰκῇ κρίνομεν: ὅπου τὰ εὐθέα καὶ στρεβλά, οὐκ εἰκῇ: [29] ἀπλῶς ὅπου διαφέρει ἡμῖν γινῶναι τὸ κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἀληθές, οὐδέποθ' ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς

οὐδὲν εἰκῇ ποιήσει. [30] ὅπου δὲ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μόνον αἰτιόν ἐστι τοῦ κατορθοῦν ἢ ἀμαρτάνειν, τοῦ εὐροεῖν ἢ δυσροεῖν, τοῦ ἀτυχεῖν ἢ εὐτυχεῖν, ἐνθάδε μόνον εἰκαῖοι καὶ προπετεῖς. οὐδαμοῦ ὁμοίον τι ζυγῷ, οὐδαμοῦ ὁμοίον τι κανόνι, ἀλλὰ τι ἐφάνη καὶ εὐθὺς ποιῶ τὸ φανέν. [31] κρείσσων γάρ εἰμι τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἢ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ἴν' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν διὰ τὸ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς φαινομένοις τοιαῦτα κακὰ ποιήσωσι καὶ πάθωσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ ἀρκῇ τὸ φαινόμενον; [32] καὶ ποῖα τραγωδία ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ἔχει; Ἀτρεὺς Εὐριπίδου τί ἐστιν; τὸ φαινόμενον. Οἰδίπους Σοφοκλέους τί ἐστιν; τὸ φαινόμενον. Φοῖνιξ; [33] τὸ φαινόμενον. Ἰππόλυτος; τὸ φαινόμενον. τούτου οὖν μηδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι τίνος ὑμῖν δοκεῖ; τίνες δὲ λέγονται οἱ παντὶ τῷ φαινόμενῳ ἀκολουθοῦντες; — μαινόμενοι. — ἡμεῖς οὖν ἄλλο τι ποιοῦμεν;

Περὶ εὐσταθείας.

Οὐσία τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ προαίρεσις ποιὰ, τοῦ κακοῦ προαίρεσις ποιὰ. [2] τί οὖν τὰ ἐκτός; ὕλαι τῇ προαιρέσει, περὶ ἧς ἀναστρεφόμενη τεύζεται τοῦ ἰδίου ἀγαθοῦ ἢ κακοῦ. πῶς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τεύζεται; [3] ἂν τὰς ὕλας μὴ θαυμάσῃ. τὰ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὕλων δόγματα ὀρθὰ μὲν ὄντα ἀγαθὴν ποιεῖ τὴν προαίρεσιν, στρεβλὰ δὲ καὶ διεστραμμένα κακὴν. [4] τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ὁ θεὸς θέθει καὶ φησὶν 'εἰ τι ἀγαθὸν θέλεις, παρὰ σεαυτοῦ λάβε.' σὺ λέγεις 'οὐ: ἀλλὰ παρ' ἄλλου.' μή, ἀλλὰ παρὰ σεαυτοῦ. λοιπὸν ὅταν ἀπειλῇ ὁ τύραννος καὶ μὴ καλῇ, λέγω [5] 'τίνι ἀπειλεῖ;' ἂν λέγῃ 'δήσω σε,' φημὶ ὅτι 'ταῖς χερσὶν ἀπειλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ποσίν.' [6] ἂν λέγῃ 'τραχηλοκοπήσω σε,' λέγω 'τῷ τραχήλῳ ἀπειλεῖ.' ἂν λέγῃ 'εἰς φυλακὴν σε βαλῶ,' ὅλῳ τῷ σαρκιδίῳ: κἂν ἐξορισμὸν ἀπειλῇ, τὸ αὐτό. [7] — σοὶ οὖν οὐδὲν ἀπειλεῖ; — εἰ πέπονθα ὅτι ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐστι πρὸς ἐμέ, οὐδέν: εἰ δὲ φοβοῦμαι τι τούτων, ἐμοὶ ἀπειλεῖ. [8] τίνα λοιπὸν δέδουκα; τὸν τίνων ὄντα κύριον; τῶν ἐπ' ἐμοί; οὐδὲ εἷς ἐστιν. τῶν οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμοί; καὶ τί μοι αὐτῶν μέλει; [9]

ἡμεῖς οὖν οἱ φιλόσοφοι διδάσκετε καταφρονεῖν τῶν βασιλέων; — μὴ γένοιτο. τίς ἡμῶν διδάσκει ἀντιποιεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, ὧν ἐκεῖνοι ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν; [10] τὸ σωματίον λάβε, τὴν κτῆσιν λάβε, τὴν φήμην λάβε, τοὺς περὶ ἐμέ λάβε. ἂν τινες τούτων ἀναπαίθῳ ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, τῷ ὄντι ἐγκαλείτω μοι. [11] 'ναί: ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν δογμάτων ἄρχειν θέλω.' καὶ τίς σοι ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν δέδωκεν; [12] ποῦ δύνασαι νικῆσαι δόγμα ἀλλότριον; 'προσάγων,' φησὶν, 'αὐτῷ φόβον νικήσω.' ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι αὐτὸ αὐτὸ ἐνίκησεν, οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλου ἐνίκηθη: προαίρεσιν δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο νικῆσαι δύναται, πλὴν αὐτὴ εαυτήν. [13] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νόμος κράτιστός ἐστι καὶ δικαιοτάτος: τὸ κρεῖσσον αἰεὶ περιγινέσθω τοῦ χείρονος. [14] 'κρεῖττονές εἰσιν οἱ δέκα τοῦ ενός.' πρὸς τί; πρὸς τὸ διῆσαι, πρὸς τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι, πρὸς τὸ ἀπαγαγεῖν ὅπου θέλουσιν, πρὸς τὸ ἀφελέσθαι τὰ ὄντα. νικῶσιν τοίνυν οἱ δέκα τὸν ἕνα ἐν τούτῳ, ἐν ᾧ κρεῖσσονές εἰσιν. [15] ἐν τίνι οὖν χείρονές εἰσιν; ἂν ὁ μὲν ἔχῃ δόγματα ὀρθὰ, οἱ δὲ μή. τί οὖν; ἐν τούτῳ δύνανται νικῆσαι; πόθεν; εἰ δ' ἰστάμεθα ἐπὶ ζυγοῦ, οὐκ ἔδει τὸν βαρύτερον καθελκύσαι;

Σωκράτης οὖν ἵνα πάθῃ ταῦτα ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων; [16] — ἀνδράποδον, τί λέγεις τὸ Σωκράτης; ὥς ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγε: ἴν' οὖν τὸ Σωκράτους σωματίον ἀπαχθῇ καὶ συρῇ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων εἰς δεσμοκτήριον καὶ κώνειόν τις δῶ

τῷ σωματίῳ τῷ Σωκράτους κάκεινο ἀποψυγῇ; [17] ταῦτά σοι φαίνεται θαυμαστά, ταῦτα ἄδικα, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγκαλεῖς τῷ θεῷ; οὐδὲν οὖν εἶχε Σωκράτης ἀντὶ τούτων; ποῦ ἦν ἡ οὐσία αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; [18] τίνι προσσχῶμεν; σοὶ ἢ αὐτῷ; καὶ τί λέγει ἐκεῖνος; ‘ἐμὲ δ’ Ἄνυτος καὶ Μέλητος ἀποκτείνειν μὲν δύνανται, βλάψαι δ’ οὐ.’ καὶ πάλιν ‘εἰ ταύτῃ τῷ θεῷ φίλον, ταύτῃ γινέσθω.’ [19] ἀλλὰ δεῖξον ὅτι χεῖρονα ἔχων δόγματα κρατεῖ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐν δόγμασιν. οὐ δεῖξεις; οὐδ’ ἐγγύς. νόμος γὰρ τῆς φύσεως. καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ οὗτος τὸ κρεῖσσον ἀεὶ περιγινέσθω τοῦ χείρονος. ἐν τίνι; ἐν ᾧ κρεῖσσόν ἐστιν. [20] σῶμα σώματος ἰσχυρότερον, οἱ πλείονες τοῦ ἐνός, ὁ κλέπτῃς τοῦ μὴ κλέπτου. [21] διὰ τοῦτο κἀγὼ τὸν λύχνον ἀπώλεσα, ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἀγρυπνεῖν μου κρεῖσσων ἦν ὁ κλέπτῃς. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος τοσοῦτου ὠνήσατο λύχνον: ἀντὶ λύχνου κλέπτῃς ἐγένετο, ἀντὶ λύχνου ἄπιστος, ἀντὶ λύχνου θηριώδης. τοῦτο ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ λυσιτελεῖν.

[22] ἔστω: ἀλλ’ εἰληπταὶ μού τις τοῦ ἱματίου καὶ ἔλκει μ’ εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, εἴτα ἐπικραυγάζουσιν ἄλλοι ‘φιλόσοφε, τί σε ὠφέληκε τὰ δόγματα; ἰδοὺ σύρῃ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ἰδοὺ μέλλεις τραχηλοκοπεῖσθαι.’ [23] καὶ ποῖαν ἔπραξα ἂν εἰσαγωγὴν, ἴν’, ἂν ἰσχυρότερος ἐπιλάβηταί μου τοῦ ἱματίου, μὴ σύρωμαι; ἴνα, ἂν με δέκα περισπάσαντες εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐμβάλωσιν, μὴ ἐμβληθῶ; [24] ἄλλο οὖν οὐδὲν ἔμαθον; ἔμαθον, ἴνα: πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἴδω ὅτι, ἂν ἀπροαίρετον ἦ, οὐδὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἐμέ. [25] πρὸς τοῦτο οὖν οὐκ ὠφέλησαι; τί οὖν ἐν ἄλλῳ ζητεῖς τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἢ ἐν ᾧ ἔμαθες; [26] καθήμενος λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ λέγω ‘οὗτος ὁ ταῦτα κραυγάζων οὔτε τοῦ σημαινομένου ἀκούει οὔτε τῷ λεγομένῳ παρακολουθεῖ οὔτε ὅλως μεμέληκεν αὐτῷ εἰδέναι περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τί λέγουσιν ἢ τί ποιοῦσιν. ἄφες αὐτόν.’ [27] ‘ἀλλ’ ἐξέλθε πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς.’ εἰ μηκέτι χρεῖαν ἔχητέ μου ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, ἐξέρχομαι: ἂν πάλιν σχῆτε, εἰσελεύσομαι. [28] μέχρι τίνος; μέχρις ἂν οὗ λόγος αἰρῇ συνεῖναι με τῷ σωματίῳ: ὅταν δὲ μὴ αἰρῇ, λάβετε αὐτὸ καὶ ὑγιαίνετε. [29] μόνον μὴ ἀλογίστως, μόνον μὴ μαλακῶς, μὴ ἐκ τῆς τυχύσεως προφάσεως. πάλιν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οὐ βούλεται: χρεῖαν γὰρ ἔχει κόσμου τοιοῦτου, τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναστρεφομένων τοιούτων. ἐὰν δὲ σημήνῃ τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ὡς τῷ Σωκράτει, πείθεσθαι δεῖ τῷ σημαίνοντι ὡς στρατηγῷ.

[30] τί οὖν; λέγειν δεῖ ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς; — ἴνα τί; [31] οὐ γὰρ ἄρκεῖ τὸ αὐτὸν πείθεσθαι; τοῖς γὰρ παιδίοις, ὅταν προσελθόντα κροτῇ καὶ λέγῃ ‘σήμερον Σατορνάλια ἀγαθὰ,’ λέγομεν ‘οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα;’ οὐδαμῶς: ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπικροτοῦμεν. [32] καὶ σὺ τοίνυν, ὅταν μεταπεῖσαι τινα μὴ δύνη, γίγνωσκε ὅτι παιδίον ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπικρότει αὐτῷ: ἂν δὲ μὴ τοῦτο θέλῃς, σιώπα λοιπόν. [33]

[34] τούτων δεῖ μεμνήσθαι καὶ κληθέντα εἰς τινα τοιαύτην περίστασιν εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἐλήλυθεν ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ ἀποδείξαι, εἰ πεπαιδευμέθα. νέος γὰρ ἀπὸ σχολῆς ἀπὶ τῶν εἰς περίστασιν ὁμοίους ἐστὶ τῷ μεμελετηκότῳ συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύειν, κἂν τις εὐλυτον αὐτῷ προτείνῃ, λέγει ‘μᾶλλον μοι πεπλεγμένον κομπῶς προτείνετε, ἴνα γυμνασθῶ.’ καὶ οἱ ἀθληταὶ τοῖς κούφοις νεανίσκοις δυσαρεστοῦσιν: [35] ‘οὐ βαστάζει με,’ φησίν. οὗτός ἐστιν εὐφυῆς νέος. οὐ: ἀλλὰ καλέσαντος τοῦ καιροῦ κλάειν δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ‘ἤθελον ἔτι μανθάνειν.’

τίνα; εἰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔμαθες οὐχ ὥστ' ἔργῳ δεῖξαι, πρὸς τί αὐτὰ ἔμαθες; [36] ἐγὼ
τίνα οἶμαι τῶν καθημένων ἐνταῦθα ὠδίνειν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ λέγειν 'ἐμοὶ
νῦν περίστασιν μὴ ἔρχεσθαι τοιαύτην, ὅποια τούτῳ ἐλήλυθεν; ἐμὲ νῦν
κατατριβῆναι καθήμενον ἐν γωνίᾳ δυνάμενον στεφανωθῆναι Ὀλύμπια; πότε
τις ἐμοὶ καταγγελεῖ τοιοῦτον ἄγωνα;' οὕτως ἔχειν ἔδει πάντας ὑμᾶς. [37] ἀλλ'
ἐν μὲν τοῖς Καίσαρος μονομάχοις εἰσὶ τινες οἱ ἀγανακτοῦντες ὅτι οὐδεὶς
αὐτοὺς προάγει οὐδὲ ζευγνύει καὶ εὐχονται τῷ θεῷ καὶ προσέρχονται τοῖς
ἐπιτρόποις δεόμενοι μονομαχῆσαι, ἐξ ὑμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς φανήσεται τοιοῦτος; [38]
ἤθελον πλεῦσαι ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἰδεῖν, τί μου ποιεῖ ὁ ἀθλητής, πῶς μελετᾷ
τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. [39] 'οὐ θέλω,' φησὶν, 'τοιαύτην.' ἐπὶ σοὶ γὰρ ἐστι λαβεῖν ἣν
θέλεις ὑπόθεσιν; δέδοται σοι σῶμα τοιοῦτον, γονεῖς τοιοῦτοι, ἀδελφοὶ
τοιοῦτοι, πατὴρ τοιαύτη, τάξις ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαύτη: εἰτά μοι λέγεις ἐλθὼν
'ἄλλαξόν μοι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.' εἰτα οὐκ ἔχεις ἀφορμὰς πρὸς τὸ χρήσασθαι [40]
τοῖς δοθεῖσιν; σὸν ἐστι προτείνειν, ἐμὸν μελετῆσαι καλῶς. οὐ: ἀλλὰ 'μὴ
τοιοῦτό μοι προβάλλῃς τροπικόν, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτον: μὴ τοιαύτην ἐπενέγκῃς τὴν
ἐπιφοράν, ἀλλὰ τοιαύτην.' [41] ἔσται χρόνος τάχα, ἐν ᾧ οἱ τραγωδοὶ οἰήσονται
ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι προσωπεῖα καὶ ἐμβάδας καὶ τὸ σύρμα. ἄνθρωπε, ταῦτα ὕλην
ἔχεις καὶ ὑπόθεσιν. [42] φθέγγῃς τι, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν πότερον τραγωδὸς εἶ ἢ
γελωτοποιός: κοινὰ γὰρ ἔχουσι τὰ ἄλλα ἀμφοτέρω. [43] διὰ τοῦτο ἂν ἀφέλῃ τις
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐμβάδας καὶ τὸ προσωπεῖον καὶ ἐν εἰδώλῳ αὐτὸν προαγάγῃ,
ἀπώλετο ὁ τραγωδὸς ἢ μένει; ἂν φωνὴν ἔχῃ, μένει.

καὶ ἐνθάδε. [44] 'λάβε ἡγεμονίαν.' λαμβάνω καὶ λαβὼν δεικνύω, πῶς
ἄνθρωπος ἀναστρέφεται πεπαιδευμένος. [45] 'θὲς τὴν πλατύσημον καὶ
ἀναλαβὼν ράκη πρόσελθε ἐν προσώπῳ τοιούτῳ.' τί οὖν; οὐ δέδοται μοι
καλὴν φωνὴν εἰσενεγκεῖν; [46] 'πῶς οὖν ἀναβαίνεις νῦν;' ὥς μάρτυς ὑπὸ τοῦ
θεοῦ κεκλημένος. [47] 'ἔρχου σὺ καὶ μαρτύρησόν μοι: σὺ γὰρ ἄξιός εἰ
προαχθῆναι μάρτυς. ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. μὴ τι τῶν ἐκτὸς τῆς προαιρέσεως ἀγαθόν ἐστιν
ἢ κακόν; μὴ τίνα βλάπτω; μὴ τι ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐποίησα τὴν ἐκάστου
ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῷ;' [48] τίνα μαρτυρίαν δίδως τῷ θεῷ; 'ἐν δεινοῖς εἰμι, κύριε, καὶ
δυστυχῶ, οὐδεὶς μοι ἐπιστρέφεται, οὐδεὶς μοι δίδωσιν οὐδέν, πάντες
ψέγουσιν, κακολογοῦσιν.' [49] ταῦτα μέλλεις μαρτυρεῖν καὶ καταισχύνειν τὴν
κλῆσιν ἣν κέκληκεν, ὅτι σε ἐτίμησεν ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ἄξιον ἡγήσατο
προσαγαγεῖν εἰς μαρτυρίαν τηλικαύτην;

ἀλλ' ἀπεφάνητο ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἐξουσίαν [50] 'κρίνω σε ἄσεβῃ καὶ ἀνόσιον
εἶναι.' τί σοι γέγονεν; 'ἐκρίθην ἄσεβης καὶ ἀνόσιος εἶναι.' [51] ἄλλο οὐδέν;
'οὐδέν.' εἰ δὲ περὶ συνημμένου τινὸς ἐπικεκρίκει καὶ ἐδεδώκει ἀπόφασιν 'τὸ
εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστίν, φῶς ἐστὶν κρίνω ψεῦδος εἶναι,' τί ἐγεγόνει τῷ συνημμένῳ; τίς
ἐνθάδε κρίνεται, τίς κατακέκριται; τὸ συνημμένον ἢ ὁ ἐξαπατηθεὶς περὶ
αὐτοῦ; [52] οὗτος οὖν τίς ποτε ὁ ἔχων ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἀποφῆνασθαι τι περὶ σοῦ;
οἶδεν τί ἐστὶ τὸ εὐσεβές ἢ τὸ ἄσεβές; μεμελέτηκεν αὐτό; μεμάθηκεν; ποῦ;
παρὰ τίνι; [53] εἰτα μουσικὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐπιστρέφεται αὐτοῦ ἀποφαινομένου περὶ
τῆς νήτης ὅτι ἐστὶν ὑπάτη οὐδὲ γεωμετρικός, ἂν ἐπικρίνῃ τὰς ἀπὸ κέντρου
πρὸς τὸν κύκλον προσπιπτούσας μὴ εἶναι ἴσας; [54] ὁ δὲ ταῖς ἀληθείαις
πεπαιδευμένος ἀνθρώπου ἀπαιδεύτου ἐπιστραφήσεται ἐπικρίνοντός τι περὶ

ὀσίου καὶ ἀνοσίου καὶ ἀδίκου καὶ δικαίου;

ὃ πολλῆς ἀδικίας τῶν πεπαιδευμένων. ταῦτα οὖν ἔμαθες ἐνταῦθα; [55] οὐ θέλεις τὰ μὲν λογάρια τὰ περὶ τούτων ἄλλοις ἀφείναι, ἀταλαιπώροις ἀνθρωπαρίοις, ἵν' ἐν γωνία καθεζόμενοι μισθάρια λαμβάνωσιν ἢ γογγυρίζωσιν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς παρέχει οὐδέν, σὺ δὲ χρῆσθαι παρελθὼν οἷς ἔμαθες; [56] οὐ γὰρ λογάρια ἐστὶ τὰ λείποντα νῦν, ἀλλὰ γέμει τὰ βιβλία τῶν Στωικῶν λογαρίων. τί οὖν τὸ λείπόν ἐστιν; ὁ χρησόμενος, ὁ ἔργῳ μαρτυρήσων τοῖς λόγοις. [57] τοῦτό μοι τὸ πρόσωπον ἀνάλαβε, ἵνα μηκέτι παλαιοῖς ἐν τῇ σχολῇ παραδείγμασι χρώμεθα, ἀλλὰ ἔχωμέν τι καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς παράδειγμα. [58] ταῦτα οὖν τίνος ἐστὶ θεωρεῖν; τοῦ σχολάζοντος. ἐστὶ γὰρ φιλοθέωρόν τι ζῶον ὁ ἄνθρωπος. [59] ἀλλ' αἰσχρόν ἐστι θεωρεῖν ταῦτα οὕτως ὥς οἱ δραπέται: ἀλλ' ἀπερισπάστως καθῆσθαι καὶ ἀκούειν νῦν μὲν τραγωδοῦ νῦν δὲ κιθαρωδοῦ, οὐχ ὥς ἐκεῖνοι ποιοῦσιν. ἅμα μὲν ἐπέστη καὶ ἐπήνεσεν τὸν τραγωδόν, ἅμα δὲ περιεβλέψατο: εἶτα ἂν τις φθέγγηται κύριον, εὐθὺς σεσόβηνται, τaráσσονται. [60] αἰσχρόν ἐστὶν οὕτως καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους θεωρεῖν τὰ ἔργα τῆς φύσεως. τί γάρ ἐστι κύριος; ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπου κύριος οὐκ ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ θάνατος καὶ ζωὴ καὶ ἡδονὴ καὶ πόνος. [61] ἐπεὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἄγαγέ μοι τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ὅψει πῶς εὐσταθῶ. ὅταν δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἔλθῃ βροντῶν καὶ ἀστράπτων, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα φοβῶμαι, τί ἄλλο ἢ ἐπέγνωκα τὸν κύριον ὥς ὁ δραπέτης; [62] μέχρι δ' ἂν οὐ τίνα ἀνοχὴν ἀπὸ τούτων ἔχω, ὥς δραπέτης ἐφίσταται θεάτρῳ οὕτως κἀγώ: λούομαι, πίνω, ἄδω, πάντα δὲ μετὰ φόβου καὶ τάλαιπωρίας. [63] ἐὰν δ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀπολύσω τῶν δεσποτῶν, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκείνων, δι' ἃ οἱ δεσπότες εἰσὶ φοβεροί, ποῖον ἔτι πρᾶγμα ἔχω, ποῖον ἔτι κύριον;

[64] τί οὖν; κηρύσσειν δεῖ ταῦτα πρὸς πάντας; — οὐ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰδιώταις συμπεριφέρεσθαι καὶ λέγειν 'οὗτος ὁ αὐτῷ ἀγαθὸν οἶεται τοῦτο κάμοι συμβουλεύει: συγγινώσκω αὐτῷ.' [65] καὶ γὰρ Σωκράτης συνεγίνωσκεν τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς κλάοντι, ὅτι ἔμελλεν πίνειν τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ λέγει 'ὥς γενναίως ἡμᾶς ἀποδεδάκρυσεν.' [66] μή τι οὖν ἐκείνῳ λέγει ὅτι 'διὰ τοῦτο τὰς γυναικας ἀπελύσαμεν;' ἀλλὰ τοῖς γνωρίμοις, τοῖς δυναμένοις αὐτὰ ἀκοῦσαι: ἐκείνῳ δὲ συμπεριφέρεται ὥς παιδίῳ.

τί δεῖ πρόχειρον ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς περιστάσεσιν.

ὅταν εἰσῆς πρὸς τίνα τῶν ὑπερεχόντων, μέμνησο ὅτι καὶ ἄλλος ἄνωθεν βλέπει τὰ γινόμενα καὶ ὅτι ἐκείνῳ σε δεῖ μᾶλλον ἀρέσκειν ἢ τούτῳ. [2] ἐκεῖνος οὖν σου πυνθάνεται 'φυγὴν καὶ φυλακὴν καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ θάνατον καὶ ἀδοξίαν τί ἔλεγες ἐν τῇ σχολῇ;' 'ἐγὼ ἀδιάφορα.' [3] 'νῦν οὖν τίνα αὐτὰ λέγεις; μή τι ἐκεῖνα ἡλλάγη;' 'οὐ.' 'σὺ οὖν ἡλλάγης;' 'οὐ.' 'λέγε οὖν τίνα ἐστὶν ἀδιάφορα.' 'τὰ ἀπροαίρετα.' 'λέγε καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.' [4] 'ἀπροαίρετα οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐμέ.' 'λέγε καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τίνα ὑμῖν ἐδόκει;' 'προαίρεσις οἷα δεῖ καὶ χρήσις φαντασιῶν.' 'τέλος δὲ τί;' 'τὸ σοὶ ἀκολουθεῖν.' [5] 'ταῦτα καὶ νῦν λέγεις;' 'ταῦτά καὶ νῦν λέγω.' ἅπειθι λοιπὸν ἔσω θαρρῶν καὶ μεμνημένος τούτων καὶ ὅψει τί ἐστὶ νέος μεμελετηκὼς ἃ δεῖ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀμελετήτοις. [6] ἐγὼ μὲν νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς φαντάζομαι ὅτι πείσῃ τὸ τοιοῦτον 'τί οὕτως μεγάλα καὶ πολλὰ παρασκευαζόμεθα πρὸς τὸ μηδέν; [7] τοῦτο ἦν ἡ ἐξουσία; τοῦτο τὰ πρόθυρα,

οἱ κοιτώνται, οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς μαχαίρας; τούτων ἕνεκα τοὺς πολλοὺς λόγους ἤκουον; ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἦν, ἐγὼ δ' ὥς μεγάλα παρεσκευαζόμεν.'

BOOK II.

ὅτι οὐ μάχεται τὸ θαρρεῖν τῷ εὐλαβεῖσθαι.

παράδοξον μὲν τυχὸν φαίνεται τισιν τὸ ἀξιούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ὅμως δὲ σκεψώμεθα κατὰ δύναμιν, εἰ ἀληθές ἐστι τὸ δεῖν ἅμα μὲν εὐλαβῶς ἅμα δὲ θαρρούντως πάντα ποιεῖν. [2] ἐναντίον γάρ πως δοκεῖ τῷ θαρραλέῳ τὸ εὐλαβές, τὰ δ' ἐναντία οὐδαμῶς συνυπάρχει. [3] τὸ δὲ φαινόμενον πολλοῖς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ παράδοξον δοκεῖ μοι τοιούτου τινὸς ἔχεσθαι: εἰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα ἡξιούμεν χρῆσθαι τῇ τ' εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ τῷ θάρσει, δικαίως ἂν ἡμᾶς ἡτιῶντο ὡς τὰ ἀσύνακτα συνάγοντας. [4] νῦν δὲ τί δεινὸν ἔχει τὸ λεγόμενον; εἰ γὰρ ὑγιῇ ταῦτ' ἐστι τὰ πολλὰκις μὲν εἰρημένα, πολλὰκις δ' ἀποδεδειγμένα, ὅτι ἡ οὐσία τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔστιν ἐν χρήσει φαντασιῶν καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ὡσαύτως, τὰ δ' ἀπροαίρετα οὔτε τὴν τοῦ κακοῦ δέχεται φύσιν οὔτε τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, [5] τί παράδοξον ἀξιοῦσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι, εἰ λέγουσιν 'ὅπου μὲν τὰ ἀπροαίρετα, ἐκεῖ τὸ θάρσος ἔστω σοι, ὅπου δὲ τὰ προαιρετικά, ἐκεῖ ἡ εὐλάβεια;' [6] εἰ γὰρ ἐν κακῇ προαιρέσει τὸ κακόν, πρὸς μόνον ταῦτα χρῆσθαι ἄξιον εὐλαβείᾳ: εἰ δὲ τὰ ἀπροαίρετα καὶ μὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, πρὸς ταῦτα τῷ θάρσει χρηστέον. [7] καὶ οὕτως ἅμα μὲν εὐλαβεῖς ἅμα δὲ θαρραλέοι ἐσόμεθα καὶ νῆ Δία διὰ τὴν εὐλάβειαν θαρραλέοι. διὰ γὰρ τὸ εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὰ ὄντως κακὰ συμβήσεται θαρρεῖν ἡμῖν πρὸς τὰ μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντα.

[8] λοιπὸν ἡμεῖς τὸ τῶν ἐλάφων πάσχομεν: ὅτε φοβοῦνται καὶ φεύγουσιν αἱ ἔλαφοι τὰ πτερά, ποῦ τρέπονται καὶ πρὸς τίνα ἀναχωροῦσιν ὡς ἀσφαλῆ; πρὸς τὰ δίκτυα: καὶ οὕτως ἀπόλλυνται ἐναλλάξασαι τὰ φοβερὰ καὶ τὰ θαρραλέα. [9] οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ποῦ χρώμεθα τῷ φόβῳ; πρὸς τὰ ἀπροαίρετα. ἐν τίσιν πάλιν θαρροῦντες ἀναστρεφόμεθα ὡς οὐδενὸς ὄντος δεινοῦ; ἐν τοῖς προαιρετικοῖς. [10] ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἢ προπεσεῖν ἢ ἀναίσχυντόν τι ποιῆσαι ἢ μετ' ἐπιθυμίας αἰσχυρᾶς ὀρεχθῆναι τινος οὐδὲν διαφέρει ἡμῖν, ἂν μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἀπροαιρέτοις εὐστοχῶμεν. ὅπου δὲ θάνατος ἢ φυγὴ ἢ πόνος ἢ ἀδοξία, ἐκεῖ τὸ ἀναχωρητικόν, ἐκεῖ τὸ σεσοβημένον. [11] τοιγαροῦν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τοὺς περὶ τὰ μέγιστα διαμαρτάνοντας τὸ μὲν φύσει θαρραλέον θρασὺ κατασκευάζομεν, ἀπονεννοημένον, ἰταμόν, ἀναίσχυντον, τὸ δ' εὐλαβές φύσει καὶ αἰδήμον δειλὸν καὶ ταπεινόν, φόβον καὶ ταραχῶν μεστόν. [12] ἂν γὰρ τις ἐκεῖ μεταθῇ τὸ εὐλαβές, ὅπου προαίρεσις καὶ ἔργα προαιρέσεως, εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ θέλειν εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κειμένην ἔξει τὴν ἑκκλισιν: ἂν δ' ὅπου τὰ μὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστι καὶ ἀπροαίρετα, πρὸς τὰ ἐπ' ἄλλοις ὄντα τὴν ἑκκλισιν ἔχων ἀναγκαιῶς φοβήσεται, ἀκαταστατήσεται, ταραχθήσεται. [13] οὐ γὰρ θάνατος ἢ πόνος φοβερὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι πόνον ἢ θάνατον. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινοῦμεν τὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι οὐ κατθανεῖν γὰρ δεινόν, ἀλλ' αἰσχυρῶς θανεῖν. [14]

ἔδει οὖν πρὸς μὲν τὸν θάνατον τὸ θάρσος ἐστράφθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν φόβον τοῦ θανάτου τὴν εὐλάβειαν: νῦν δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον πρὸς μὲν τὸν θάνατον τὴν φυγὴν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ δόγμα τὴν ἀνεπιστρεψίαν καὶ τὸ † [15] ἀφειδές καὶ τὸ ἀδιαφορητικόν. ταῦτα δ' ὁ Σωκράτης καλῶς ποιῶν μορμολύκεια

ἐκάλει. ὥς γὰρ τοῖς παιδίοις τὰ προσωπεῖα φαίνεται δεινὰ καὶ φοβερὰ δι' ἀπειρίαν, τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἡμεῖς πάσχομεν πρὸς τὰ πράγματα δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ παιδιά πρὸς τὰς μορμολυκεῖας. [16] τί γὰρ ἐστὶ παιδίον; ἀγνοια. τί ἐστὶ παιδίον; ἀμαθία. ἐπεὶ ὅπου οἶδεν, κάκεῖνα οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ἔλαττον ἔχει. [17] θάνατος τί ἐστίν; μορμολύκειον. στρέψας αὐτὸ κατάμαθε· ἰδοῦ, πῶς οὐ δάκνει. τὸ σωματίον δεῖ χωρισθῆναι τοῦ πνευματίου, ὥς πρότερον ἐκεχώριστο, ἢ νῦν ἢ ὕστερον. τί οὖν ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ νῦν; εἰ γὰρ μὴ νῦν, ὕστερον. [18] διὰ τί; ἵνα ἡ περίοδος ἀνύηται τοῦ κόσμου· χρειαν γὰρ ἔχει τῶν μὲν ἐνισταμένων, τῶν δὲ μελλόντων, τῶν δ' ἡνυσμένων. [19] πόνος τί ἐστίν; μορμολύκειον. στρέψον αὐτὸ καὶ κατάμαθε. τραχέως κινεῖται τὸ σαρκίδιον, εἴτα ἄλιν λειῶς. ἂν σοι μὴ λυσιτελῇ, ἡ θύρα ἥνοικται· ἂν λυσιτελῇ, φέρε. [20] πρὸς πάντα γὰρ ἡνοῖγθαι δεῖ τὴν θύραν· καὶ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔχομεν.

[21] τίς οὖν τούτων τῶν δογμάτων καρπός; ὄνπερ δεῖ κάλλιστόν τ' εἶναι καὶ πρεπωδέστατον τοῖς τῷ ὄντι παιδευομένοις, ἀταραξία ἀφοβία ἐλευθερία. [22] οὐ γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς περὶ τούτων πιστευτέον, οἱ λέγουσιν μόνοις ἐξεῖναι παιδεύεσθαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις μᾶλλον, οἱ λέγουσι μόνοις τοὺς παιδευθέντας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι. [23] — πῶς τοῦτο; — οὕτως· νῦν ἄλλο τί ἐστὶν ἐλευθερία ἢ τὸ ἐξεῖναι ὥς βουλόμεθα διεξάγειν; 'οὐδέν.' λέγετε δὴ μοι, ὦ ἄνθρωποι, βούλεσθε ζῆν ἁμαρτάνοντες; 'οὐ βουλόμεθα.' οὐδεὶς τοῖνυν ἁμαρτάνων ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν. [24] βούλεσθε ζῆν φοβούμενοι, βούλεσθε λυπούμενοι, βούλεσθε ταρασσόμενοι; 'οὐδαμῶς.' οὐδεὶς ἄρα οὔτε φοβούμενος οὔτε λυπούμενος οὔτε ταρασσόμενος ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν, ὅστις δ' ἀπήλλακται λυπῶν καὶ φόβων καὶ ταραχῶν, οὗτος τῇ αὐτῇ ὁδῷ καὶ τοῦ δουλεύειν ἀπήλλακται. [25] πῶς οὖν ἔτι ὑμῖν πιστεῦσομεν, ὦ φίλτατοι νομοθέται; οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομεν παιδεύεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις; οἱ φιλόσοφοι γὰρ λέγουσιν ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομεν ἐλευθέρους εἶναι εἰ μὴ τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις, τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει. [26] — ὅταν οὖν στρέψῃ τις ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ τὸν αὐτοῦ δοῦλον, οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν; — ἐποίησεν. — τί; — ἔστρεψεν τὸν αὐτοῦ δοῦλον ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ. — ἄλλο οὐδέν; — ναί· καὶ εἰκοστήν αὐτοῦ δοῦναι ὀφείλει. [27] — τί οὖν; ὁ ταῦτα παθὼν οὐ γέγονεν ἐλεύθερος; — οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀτάραχος. [28] ἐπεὶ σὺ ὁ ἄλλους στρέφεις δυνάμενος οὐδένᾳ ἔχεις κύριον; οὐκ ἀργύριον, οὐ κοράσιον, οὐ παιδάριον, οὐ τὸν τύραννον, οὐ φίλον τινὰ τοῦ τυράννου; τί οὖν τρέμεις ἐπὶ τινι τοιαύτην ἀπὼν περίστασιν;

διὰ τοῦτο λέγω πολλάκις [29] 'ταῦτα μελετᾶτε καὶ ταῦτα πρόχειρα ἔχετε, πρὸς τίνα δεῖ τεθαρρηκέναι καὶ πρὸς τίνα εὐλαβῶς διακεῖσθαι, ὅτι πρὸς τὰ ἀπροαίρετα θαρρεῖν, εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὰ προαιρετικά.' [30] — ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέγων σοι οὐδ' ἔγνως τί ποιῶ. [31] — ἐν τίνι; ἐν λεξειδίῳ. ἔχε σου τὰ λεξειδία· δεῖξον, πῶς ἔχεις πρὸς ὄρεξιν καὶ ἔκκλινιν, εἰ μὴ ἀποτυγχάνεις ὧν θέλεις, εἰ μὴ περιπίπτεις οἷς οὐ θέλεις. ἐκεῖνα δὲ τὰ περιόδια, ἂν νοῦν ἔχῃς, ἄρας ποῦ ποτε ἀπαλείψεις. [32] — τί οὖν; Σωκράτης οὐκ ἔγραφεν; — καὶ τίς τοσαῦτα; ἀλλὰ πῶς; ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐδύνατο ἔχειν αἰετὸν τὸν ἐλέγχοντα αὐτοῦ τὰ δόγματα ἢ ἐλεγχθισόμενον ἐν τῷ μέρει, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἡλεγχεν καὶ ἐξήταξεν καὶ αἰετὸν μίαν γέ τινα πρόληψιν ἐγύμναζεν χρηστικῶς. [33] ταῦτα γράφει φιλόσοφος· λεξειδία δὲ καὶ † ἡ ὁδός, ἣν λέγω, ἄλλοις ἀφίησι, τοῖς ἀναισθήτοις ἢ τοῖς μακαρίοις,

τοῖς σχολῇν ἄγουσιν ὑπὸ ἀταραξίας ἢ τοῖς μηδὲν τῶν ἐξῆς ὑπολογιζομένοις διὰ μωρίαν. [34]

καὶ νῦν καιροῦ καλοῦντος ἐκεῖνα δείξεις ἀπελθὼν καὶ ἀναγνώσῃ καὶ ἐμπερεπεύσῃ; ‘ἰδοῦ, πῶς διαλόγους συντίθηναι.’ [35] μή, ἄνθρωπε, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον ‘ἰδοῦ, πῶς ὀρεγόμενος οὐκ ἀποτυγχάνω. ἰδοῦ, πῶς ἐκκλίνων οὐ περιπίπτω. φέρε θάνατον καὶ γνώσῃ: φέρε πόνους, φέρε δεσμωτήριον, φέρε ἀδοξίαν, φέρε καταδίκην.’ [36] αὕτη ἐπίδειξις νέου ἐκ σχολῆς ἐληλυθότος. τᾶλλα δ’ ἄλλοις ἄφες, μηδὲ φωνήν τις ἀκούσῃ σου περὶ αὐτῶν ποτε μηδ’, ἂν ἐπαινέσῃ τις ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, ἀνέχου, δόξον δὲ μηδεὶς εἶναι καὶ εἰδέναι μηδέν. [37] μόνον τοῦτο εἰδὼς φαίνου, πῶς μήτ’ ἀποτύχῃς ποτὲ μήτε περιπέσῃς. [38] ἄλλοι μελετάτωσαν δίκας, ἄλλοι προβλήματα, ἄλλοι συλλογισμούς: σὺ ἀποθνήσκεις, σὺ δεδέσθαι, σὺ στρεβλοῦσθαι, σὺ ἐξορίζεσθαι. [39] πάντα ταῦτα θαρρύντως, πεποιθότως τῷ κεκληκότε σε ἐπ’ αὐτά, τῷ ἄξιον τῆς χώρας ταύτης κεκρικότε, ἐν ᾗ καταταχθεὶς ἐπιδείξεις, τίνα δύναται λογικὸν ἡγεμονικὸν πρὸς τὰς ἀπροαιρέτους δυνάμεις ἀντιταξάμενον. [40] καὶ οὕτως τὸ παράδοξον ἐκεῖνο οὐκέτι οὐτ’ ἀδύνατον φανεῖται οὔτε παράδοξον, ὅτι ἅμα μὲν εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ ἅμα δὲ θαρρεῖν, πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἀπροαίρετα θαρρεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς προαιρετικοῖς εὐλαβεῖσθαι.

περὶ ἀταραξίας.

ὄρα σὺ ὁ ἀπῳων ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην, τί θέλεις τηρῆσαι καὶ ποῦ θέλεις ἀνύσαι. [2] εἰ γὰρ προαίρεσιν θέλεις τηρῆσαι κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσας, πᾶσά σοι ἀσφάλεια, πᾶσά σοι εὐμάρεια, πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔχεις. [3] τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ σοὶ αὐτεξούσια καὶ φύσει ἐλεύθερα θέλων τηρῆσαι καὶ τούτοις ἀρκοῦμενος τίνος ἔτι ἐπιστρέφῃ; τίς γὰρ αὐτῶν κύριος, τίς αὐτὰ δύναται ἀφελέσθαι; [4] εἰ θέλεις αἰδήμων εἶναι καὶ πιστός, τίς οὐκ ἔασει σε; εἰ θέλεις μὴ κωλύεσθαι μηδ’ ἀναγκάζεσθαι, τίς σε ἀναγκάσει ὀρέγεσθαι ὃν οὐ δοκεῖ σοι, τίς ἐκκλίνειν ἃ μὴ φαίνεται σοι; [5] ἀλλὰ τί; πράξει μὲν σοὶ τίνα ἃ δοκεῖ φοβερά εἶναι: ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἐκκλίνων αὐτὰ πάθῃς, πῶς δύναται ποιῆσαι; [6] ὅταν οὖν ἐπὶ σοὶ ἢ τὸ ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ ἐκκλίνειν, τίνος ἔτι ἐπιστρέφῃ; [7] τοῦτό σοι προοίμιον, τοῦτο διήγησις, τοῦτο πίστις, τοῦτο νίκη, τοῦτο ἐπίλογος, τοῦτο εὐδοκίμησις.

[8] διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸς τὸν ὑπομιμνήσκοντα, ἵνα παρασκευάζεται πρὸς τὴν δίκην, ἔφη ‘οὐ δοκῶ οὖν σοὶ ἅπαντι τῷ βίῳ πρὸς τοῦτο παρασκευάζεσθαι;’ [9]—‘ποῖαν παρασκευήν;’—‘τετήρηκα,’ φησίν, ‘τὸ ἐπ’ ἐμοί.’—‘πῶς οὖν;’—‘οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε’ ἄδικον οὐτ’ ἰδία οὔτε δημοσίᾳ ἔπραξα.’ [10] εἰ δὲ θέλεις καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τηρῆσαι, τὸ σωματίον καὶ τὸ οὐσίδιον καὶ τὸ ἀξιομάτιον, λέγω σοι: ἤδη αὐτόθεν παρασκευάζου τὴν δυνατὴν παρασκευὴν πᾶσαν καὶ λοιπὸν σκέπτου καὶ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ δικαστοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀντίδικον. [11] εἰ γονάτων ἄψασθαι δεῖ, γονάτων ἄψαι: εἰ κλαῦσαι, κλαῦσον: εἰ οἰμῶσαι, οἰμῶξον. [12] ὅταν γὰρ ὑποθῇς τὰ σὰ τοῖς ἐκτός, δούλευε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ μὴ ἀντισπῶ καὶ ποτὲ μὲν θέλε δουλεύειν, ποτὲ δὲ μὴ θέλε, [13] ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας ἢ ταῦτα ἢ ἐκεῖνα: ἢ ἐλεύθερος ἢ δοῦλος, ἢ πεπαιδευμένος ἢ ἀπαίδευτος, ἢ γενναῖος ἀλεκτρυὼν ἢ ἀγεννής, ἢ ὑπόμενε τυπτόμενος, μέχρις ἂν ἀποθάνῃς, ἢ ἀπαγόρευσον εὐθύς. μή σοι γένοιτο πληγὰς πολλὰς λαβεῖν καὶ ὕστερον ἀπαγορεῦσαι. [14] εἰ δ’ αἰσχροῦ ταῦτα, αὐτόθεν ἤδη διέλεε ‘ποῦ φύσις

κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν; οὐ καὶ ἀλήθεια. ὅπου ἀλήθεια καὶ οὐ φύσις, ἐκεῖ τὸ εὐλαβές; ὅπου ἡ ἀλήθεια, ἐκεῖ τὸ θαρραλέον, ὅπου ἡ φύσις.’

[15] ἐπεὶ τ οἱ δοκεῖς, ὅτι τὰ ἐκτὸς τηρῆσαι θέλων Σωκράτης παρελθὼν ἂν ἔλεγε ‘ἐμὲ δ’ Ἄνυτος καὶ Μέλητος ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δύνανται, βλᾶναι δ’ οὐ;’ οὕτω μωρὸς ἦν, [16] ἵνα μὴ ἴδῃ ὅτι αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς ἐνταῦθα οὐ φέρει, ἀλλ’ ἄλλῃ; τί οὖν ἐστίν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει λόγον καὶ προσερεθίζει; [17] ὥς ὁ ἐμὸς Ἡράκλειτος περὶ ἀγριδίου πραγμάτων ἔχων ἐν Ῥόδῳ καὶ ἀποδείξας τοῖς δικασταῖς ὅτι δίκαια λέγει ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπίλογον ἔφη ὅτι ‘ἀλλ’ οὔτε δεῖσθαι ὑμῶν οὐτ’ ἐπιστρέφομαι, τί μέλλετε κρίνειν: ὑμεῖς τε μᾶλλον οἱ κρινόμενοί ἐστε ἢ ἐγώ.’ [18] καὶ οὕτως κατέστρεψε τὸ πραγματίον. τίς χρεῖα; μόνον μὴ δέου, μὴ προστίθει δ’ ὅτι ‘καὶ οὐ δέομαι.’ εἰ μὴ τι καιρὸς ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδεις ἐρεθίσαι τοὺς δικαστὰς ὥς Σωκράτει. [19] καὶ σὺ εἰ τοιοῦτον ἐπίλογον παρασκευάζῃ, τί ἀναβαίνεις, τί ὑπακούεις; [20] εἰ γὰρ σταυρωθῆναι θέλεις, ἔκδεξαι καὶ ἥξει ὁ σταυρός; εἰ δ’ ὑπακοῦσαι λόγος αἰρεῖ καὶ πείσαι τό γε παρ’ αὐτόν, τὰ ἐξῆς τούτῳ ποιητέον τηροῦντι μέντοι τὰ ἴδια.

ταύτῃ καὶ γελοῖον ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν [21] ‘ὑπόθου μοι.’ τί σοι ὑποθῶμαι; ἀλλὰ ‘ποίησόν μου τὴν διάνοιαν ὅ τι ἂν ἀποβαίνῃ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀρμόσασθαι.’ [22] ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνό γε ὁμοῖον ἐστὶν οἷον εἰ ἀγράμματος λέγοι ‘εἰπέ μοι τί γράψω, ὅταν μοι προβληθῇ τι ὄνομα.’ [23] ἂν γὰρ εἶπω ὅτι Δίων, εἴτα παρελθὼν ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ προβάλῃ μὴ τὸ Δίωνος ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ τὸ Θεώνος, τί γένηται; [24] τί γράψῃ; ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν μεμελέτηκας γράφειν, ἔχεις καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι πρὸς πάντα τὰ ὑπαγορευόμενα: εἰ δὲ μὴ, τί σοι ἐγὼ νῦν ὑποθῶμαι; ἂν γὰρ ἄλλο τι ὑπαγορεύῃ τὰ πράγματα, τί ἐρεῖς ἢ τί πράξεις; [25] τούτου οὖν τοῦ καθολικοῦ μέμνησο καὶ ὑποθήκης οὐκ ἀπορήσεις. ἐὰν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἔξω χάσκης, ἀνάγκη σε ἄνω καὶ κάτω κυλίεσθαι πρὸς τὸ βούλημα τοῦ κυρίου. [26] τίς δ’ ἐστὶ κύριος; ὁ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ τινος σπουδαζομένων ἢ ἐκκλινομένων ἔχων ἐξουσίαν.

πρὸς τοὺς συνιστάντας τινὰς τοῖς φιλοσόφοις.

καλῶς ὁ Διογένης πρὸς τὸν ἀξιούντα γράμματα παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν συστατικά ‘ὅτι μὲν ἄνθρωπος,’ φησίν, ‘εἶ, καὶ ἰδὼν γινώσεται: εἰ δ’ ἀγαθὸς ἢ κακός, εἰ μὲν ἔμπειρός ἐστι διαγινῶναι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ κακοὺς, γινώσεται, εἰ δ’ ἄπειρος, οὐδ’ ἂν μυριάκις γράψω αὐτῷ.’ [2] ὁμοῖον γὰρ ὥσπερ εἰ δραχμὴ συσταθῆναι τι νηξίου, ἵνα δοκιμασθῇ. εἰ ἀγυρογνομονικός ἐστίν, σὺ σαυτὴν συστήσεις. [3] ἔδει οὖν τοιοῦτόν τι ἔχειν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ οἷον ἐπ’ ἀργυρίου, ἵν’ εἰπῇ δύνωμαι καθάπερ ὁ ἀγυρογνώμων λέγει ‘φέρε ἦν θέλεις δραχμὴν καὶ διαγνώσομαι.’ [4] ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ συλλογισμῶν ‘φέρε ὃν θέλεις καὶ διακρινῶ σοι τὸν ἀναλυτικόν τε καὶ μὴ.’ διὰ τί; οἶδα γὰρ ἀναλύειν συλλογισμούς: ἔχω τὴν δύναμιν, ἣν ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν ἐπιγνωστικὸν τῶν περὶ συλλογισμοὺς κατορθούντων. [5] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βίου τί ποιῶ; νῦν μὲν λέγω ἀγαθόν, νῦν δὲ κακόν. τί τὸ αἴτιον; τὸ ἐναντίον ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν συλλογισμῶν, ἀμαθία καὶ ἀπειρία.

πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ ποτὲ κατελιγμένον.

λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ὅτι Ὁ ἄνθρωπος πρὸς πίστιν γέγονεν καὶ τοῦτο ὁ ἀνατρέπων ἀνατρέπει τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπεισηλθὲν τις τῶν δοκούντων φιλολόγων, ὃς κατελιγτό ποτε μοιχὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει. [2] ὁ δ’ Ἄλλ’ ἄν, φησίν, ἀφέντες τοῦτο τὸ πιστόν, πρὸς ὃ πεφύκαμεν, ἐπιβουλεύωμεν τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ

γείτονος, τί ποιοῦμεν; τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ ἀπόλλυμεν καὶ ἀναιροῦμεν; τίνα; τὸν πιστόν, τὸν αἰδήμονα, τὸν ὅσιον. [3] ταῦτα μόνα; γειννίασιν δ' οὐκ ἀναιροῦμεν, φιλίαν δ' οὐ, πόλιν δ' οὐ; εἰς τίνα δὲ χώραν αὐτοὺς κατατάσσομεν; ὥς τίνοι σοι χρῶμαι, ἄνθρωπε; ὥς γείτονι, ὥς φίλῳ; ποίῳ τινί; ὥς πολίτῃ; τί σοι πιστεῦσω; [4] εἴτα σκευάριον μὲν εἰ ἥς οὕτως σαπρόν, ὥστε σοι πρὸς μηδὲν δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι, ἔξω ἂν ἐπὶ τὰς κοπρίας ἐρρίπτου καὶ οὐδ' ἐκεῖθεν ἂν τίς σε ἀνηρεῖτο: [5] εἰ δ' ἄνθρωπος ὦν οὐδεμίαν χώραν δύνασαι ἀποπληρῶσαι ἀνθρωπικὴν, τί σε ποιήσομεν; ἔστω γάρ, φίλου οὐ δύνασαι τόπον ἔχειν: δούλου δύνασαι; καὶ τίς σοι πιστεῦσει; οὐ θέλεις οὖν ῥιφῆναι πού καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ κοπρίαν ὥς σκευὸς ἄχρηστον, ὥς κόπριον; [6] εἴτα ἐρεῖς 'οὐδεὶς μου ἐπιστρέφεται, ἀνθρώπου φιλόλογου;' κακὸς γὰρ εἶ καὶ ἄχρηστος. οἷον εἰ οἱ σφῆκες ἡγανάκτουν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέφεται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι πάντες κἂν τις δύνηται, πλήξας κατέβαλεν. [7] σὺ κέντρον ἔχεις τοιοῦτον, ὥστε ὃν ἂν πλήξης εἰς πράγματα καὶ ὀδύνας ἐμβάλλειν. τί σε θέλεις ποιήσωμεν; οὐκ ἔχεις ποῦ τεθῆς.

[8] τί οὖν; οὐκ εἰσὶν αἱ γυναῖκες κοιναὶ φύσει; καὶ γὰρ λέγω. καὶ γὰρ τὸ χοιρίδιον κοινὸν τῶν κεκλημένων: ἀλλ' ὅταν μέρη γένηται, ἂν σοι φανῇ, ἀνάρπασον ἀπελθὼν τὸ τοῦ παρακατακειμένου μέρος, λάθρᾳ κλέψων ἢ παρακαθεὶς τὴν χεῖρα λίχνευε, κἂν μὴ δύνῃ τοῦ κρέως ἀποσπάσαι, λίπαινε τοὺς δακτύλους καὶ περιίλειχε. καλὸς συμπότης καὶ σύνδειπνος Σωκρατικός. [9] ἄγε, τὸ δὲ θέατρον οὐκ ἔστι κοινὸν τῶν πολιτῶν; ὅταν οὖν καθίσωσιν, ἐλθῶν, ἂν σοι φανῇ, ἔκβαλέ τινα αὐτῶν. [10] οὕτως καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες φύσει κοιναί. ὅταν δ' ὁ νομοθέτης ὥς ἐστιάτωρ διέλῃ αὐτάς, οὐ θέλεις καὶ αὐτὸς ἴδιον μέρος ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀλλότριον ὑφαρπάζεις καὶ λιχνεῖς; [11] 'ἀλλὰ φιλόλογός εἰμι καὶ Ἀρχέδημον νοῶ.' Ἀρχέδημον τοίνυν νοῶν μοιχὸς ἴσθι καὶ ἄπιστος καὶ ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου λύκος ἢ πίθηκος. τί γὰρ κωλύει;

πῶς συνυπάρχει μεγαλοφροσύνη καὶ ἐπιμέλεια.

αἱ ὕλαι ἀδιάφοροι, ἡ δὲ χρήσις αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀδιάφορος. [2] πῶς οὖν τηρήσῃ τις ἅμα μὲν τὸ εὐσταθὲς καὶ ἀτάραχον, ἅμα δὲ τὸ ἐπιμελὲς καὶ μὴ εἰκαῖον μηδ' ἐπισεσυρμένον; [3] ἂν μιμῆται τοὺς κυβεύοντας. αἱ ψῆφοι ἀδιάφοροι, οἱ κύβοι ἀδιάφοροι: πόθεν οἶδα, τί μέλλει πίπτειν; τῷ πεσόντι δ' ἐπιμελῶς καὶ τεχνικῶς χρῆσθαι, τοῦτο ἤδη ἔμὸν ἔργον ἐστίν. [4] οὕτως τοίνυν τὸ μὲν προηγουμένον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου ἔργον ἐκεῖνο: διέλε τὰ πράγματα καὶ διάστησον καὶ εἶπε 'τὰ ἔξω οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμοί: προαίρεσις ἐπ' ἐμοί. [5] ποῦ ζητήσω τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν; ἔσω ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς.' ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις μηδέποτε μῆτ' ἀγαθὸν ὀνομάσης μήτε κακὸν μῆτ' ὠφέλειαν μήτε βλάβην μῆτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων.

[6] τί οὖν; ἀμελῶς τούτοις χρηστέον; οὐδαμῶς. τοῦτο γὰρ πάλιν τῇ προαιρέσει κακόν ἐστι καὶ ταύτῃ τὴν παρὰ φύσιν. [7] ἀλλ' ἅμα μὲν ἐπιμελῶς, ὅτι ἡ χρήσις οὐκ ἀδιάφορον, ἅμα δ' εὐσταθῶς καὶ ἀταράχως, ὅτι ἡ ὕλη οὐ διαφέρουσα. [8] ὅπου γὰρ τὸ διαφέρον, ἐκεῖ οὔτε κωλῦσαι μέ τις δύναται οὔτ' ἀναγκάσαι. ὅπου κωλυτὸς καὶ ἀναγκαστός εἰμι, ἐκείνων ἢ μὲν τεῦξις οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμοί οὐδ' ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν, ἢ χρήσις δ' ἢ κακὸν ἢ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐμοί. [9] δύσκολον δὲ μῖξαι καὶ συναγαγεῖν ταῦτα, ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ προσπεπονητότος

ταῖς ὕλαις καὶ εὐστάθειαν τοῦ ἀνεπιστρεπτοῦντος, πλὴν οὐκ ἀδύνατον. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀδύνατον τὸ εὐδαιμονῆσαι. [10] ἀλλ' οἷόν τι ἐπὶ τοῦ πλοῦ ποιοῦμεν. τί μοι δύναται; τὸ ἐκλέξασθαι τὸν κυβερνήτην, τοὺς ναύτας, τὴν ἡμέραν, τὸν καιρόν. [11] εἴτα χεიმὼν ἐμπέπτωκεν. τί οὖν ἔτι μοι μέλει; τὰ γὰρ ἐμὰ ἐκπεπλήρωται. ἄλλου ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπόθεσις, τοῦ κυβερνήτου. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ναὺς καταδύεται. [12] τί οὖν ἔχω ποιῆσαι; ὁ δύναμαι, τοῦτο μόνον ποιῶ: μὴ φοβούμενος ἀποπνίγομαι οὐδὲ κεκραγὼς οὐδ' ἐγκαλὼν τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς, ὅτι τὸ γενόμενον καὶ φθαρῆναι δεῖ. [13] οὐ γὰρ εἰμι αἰών, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος, μέρος τῶν πάντων ὡς ὥρα ἡμέρας. ἐνστήναί με δεῖ ὡς τὴν ὥραν καὶ παρελθεῖν ὡς ὥραν. τί οὖν μοι διαφέρει πῶς παρέλθω, [14] πότερον πνιγείς ἢ πυρέξας; διὰ γὰρ τοιούτου τινὸς δεῖ παρελθεῖν με. [15]

τοῦτο ὅψει ποιοῦντας καὶ τοὺς σφαιρίζοντας ἐμπείρωσ. οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν διαφέρεται περὶ τοῦ ἀρπαστοῦ ὡς περὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ κακοῦ, περὶ δὲ τοῦ βάλλειν καὶ δέχεσθαι. [16] λοιπὸν ἐν τούτῳ ἡ εὐρύθυμία, ἐν τούτῳ ἡ τέχνη, τὸ τάχος, ἡ εὐγνωμοσύνη, ἴν' ἐγώ, μὴδ' ἂν τὸν κόλπον ἐκτείνω, δύναμαι λαβεῖν αὐτό, ὁ δέ, ἂν βάλω, λαμβάνει. [17] ἂν δὲ μετὰ ταραχῆς καὶ φόβου δεχόμεθα ἢ βάλλωμεν αὐτό, ποία ἔτι παιδιά, ποῦ δέ τις εὐσταθήσει, ποῦ δέ τις τὸ ἐξῆς ὄψεται ἐν αὐτῇ; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐρεῖ 'βάλε,' ὁ δὲ 'μὴ βάλης,' ὁ δὲ † 'μὴ ἀνέβαλες.' τοῦτο δὴ μάχη ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ παιδιά.

[18] τοιγαροῦν Σωκράτης ἤδει σφαιρίζειν. πῶς; παίζειν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ. 'λέγε μοι,' φησὶν, 'Ἄνυτε, πῶς με φῆς θεὸν οὐ νομίζεις; οἱ δαίμονές σοι τίνες εἶναι δοκοῦσιν; οὐχὶ ἦτοι θεῶν παῖδές εἰσιν ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν μεμιγμένοι τινές;' [19] ὁμολογήσαντος δὲ 'τίς οὖν σοι δοκεῖ δύνασθαι ἡμίονους μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι, ὄνους δὲ μή;' ὡς ἀρπαστίῳ παίζων. καὶ τί ἐκεῖ ἐν μέσῳ ἀρπαστίον τότ' ἦν; τὸ δεδέσθαι, τὸ φυγαδευθῆναι, τὸ πιεῖν φάρμακον, τὸ γυναικὸς ἀφαιρεθῆναι, τὸ τέκνα ὀρφανὰ καταλιπεῖν. [20] ταῦτα ἦν ἐν μέσῳ οἷς ἔπαιζεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦττον ἔπαιζεν καὶ ἐσφαίριζεν εὐρύθμως. οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς τὴν μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν σφαιριστικωτάτην, τὴν δ' ἀδιαφορίαν ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀρπαστίου. [21] δεῖ γὰρ πάντως περὶ τινὰ τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑλῶν φιλοτεχνεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνην ἀποδεχόμενον, ἀλλ' οἷα ἂν ἦ ἐκείνη, τὴν περὶ αὐτὴν φιλοτεχνίαν ἐπιδεικνύοντα. οὕτως καὶ ὁ ὑφάντης οὐκ ἔρια ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' οἷα ἂν παραλάβῃ περὶ αὐτὰ φιλοτεχνεῖ. [22] ἄλλος σοι δίδωσι τροφὰς καὶ κτήσιν καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα δύναται ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὸ σωματίον αὐτό. σὺ λοιπὸν παραλαβὼν τὴν ὕλην ἐργάζου. εἴτα ἂν ἐξέλης μὴδὲν παθὼν, [23] οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀπαντῶντές σοι συγχαρήσονται ὅτι ἐσώθης, ὁ δ' εἰδὼς βλέπειν τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἂν μὲν ἴδῃ ὅτι εὐσχημόνως ἀνестράφης ἐν τούτῳ, ἐπαινέσει καὶ συνησθήσεται: ἂν δὲ δι' ἀσχημοσύνην τινὰ διασεσωσμένον, τὰ ἐναντία. ὅπου γὰρ τὸ χαίρειν εὐλόγως, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ συγχαίρειν. [24]

πῶς οὖν λέγεται τῶν ἐκτὸς τινὰ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ παρὰ φύσιν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἀπόλυτοι ἦμεν. τῷ γὰρ ποδὶ κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι ἐρῶ τὸ καθαρῶ εἶναι, ἀλλ', ἂν αὐτὸν ὡς πόδα λάβῃς καὶ ὡς μὴ ἀπόλυτον, καθήξει αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς πηλὸν ἐμβαίνειν καὶ ἀκάνθας πατῆσαι καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε ἀποκοπῆναι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὅλου: εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκέτι ἔσται πούς. τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὑπολαβεῖν δεῖ. [25] τί εἴ; ἄνθρωπος. εἰ μὲν ὡς ἀπόλυτον σκοπεῖς, κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ ζῆσαι μέχρι γήρως,

πλουτεῖν, ὑγιαίνειν. εἰ δ' ὡς ἄνθρωπον σκοπεῖς καὶ μέρος ὅλου τινός, δι' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὅλον νῦν μὲν σοι νοσῆσαι καθήκει, νῦν δὲ πλεῦσαι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι, νῦν δ' ἀπορηθῆναι, πρὸ ὥρας δ' ἔστιν ὅτ' ἀποθανεῖν. [26] τί οὖν ἀγανακτεῖς; οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι ὡς ἐκεῖνος οὐκέτι ἔσται πούς, οὕτως οὐδὲ σὺ ἄνθρωπος; τί γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος; μέρος πόλεως, πρώτης μὲν τῆς ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῆς ὡς ἔγγιστα λεγομένης, ἣ τί ἐστι μικρὸν τῆς ὅλης μίμημα. [27] 'νῦν οὖν ἐμὲ κρίνεσθαι;' νῦν οὖν ἄλλον πυρέσσειν, ἄλλον πλεῖν, ἄλλον ἀποθνήσκειν, ἄλλον κατακεκρίσθαι; ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐν τοιούτῳ σώματι, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ περιέχοντι, τούτοις τοῖς συζῶσιν μὴ συμπίπτειν ἄλλοις ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. [28] σὸν οὖν ἔργον ἐλθόντα εἰπεῖν ἃ δεῖ, διαθέσθαι ταῦτα ὡς ἐπιβάλλει. [29] εἶτα ἐκεῖνος λέγει 'κρίνω σε ἀδικεῖν.' 'εὗ σοι γένοιτο. ἐποίησα ἐγὼ τὸ ἐμόν, εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺ τὸ σὸν ἐποίησας, ὅψει αὐτός.' ἔστι γὰρ τις κἀκείνου κίνδυνος, μὴ σε λανθανέτω.

περὶ ἀδιαφορίας.

τὸ συνημμένον ἀδιάφορον: ἡ κρίσις ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀδιάφορος, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐπιστήμη ἡ δόξα ἡ ἀπάτη. οὕτως τὸ ζῆν ἀδιάφορον, ἡ χρήσις οὐκ ἀδιάφορος. [2] μὴ ποτ' οὖν, ὅταν εἴπῃ τις ὑμῖν ἀδιαφορεῖν καὶ ταῦτα, ἀμελεῖς γίνεσθε, μήθ' ὅταν εἰς ἐπιμέλειάν τις ὑμᾶς παρακαλῇ, ταπεινοὶ καὶ τᾶς ὕλας τεθναυμάκοτες. [3] καλὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ εἰδέναι τὴν αὐτοῦ παρασκευὴν καὶ δύναμιν, ἵν' ἐν οἷς μὴ παρεσκεύασαι, ἡσυχίαν ἄγῃς μὴδ' ἀγανακτῇς, εἴ τινες ἄλλοι πλεῖόν σου ἔχουσιν ἐν ἐκείνοις. [4] καὶ γὰρ σὺ ἐν συλλογισμοῖς πλεῖον ἀξιώσεις σεαυτὸν ἔχειν κἂν ἀγανακτῶσιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, παραμυθήσῃ αὐτούς: 'ἐγὼ ἔμαθον, ὑμεῖς δ' οὐ.' [5] οὕτως καί, ὅπου τινὸς χρεῖα τριβῆς, μὴ ζήτει τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας περιγινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου μὲν παραχώρει τοῖς περιτετριμμένοις, σοὶ δ' ἀρκεῖτω τὸ εὐσταθεῖν.

[6] 'ἄπελθε καὶ ἄσπασαι τὸν δεῖνα.' 'ἀσπάζομαι.' 'πῶς;' 'οὐ ταπεινῶς.' 'ἀλλ' ἐξεκλείσθης.' 'διὰ θυρίδος γὰρ οὐκ ἔμαθον εἰσερχεσθαι. ὅταν δὲ κεκλειμένην εὗρω τὴν θύραν, ἀνάγκη μ' ἡ ἀποχωρῆσαι ἢ διὰ τῆς θυρίδος εἰσελθεῖν.' [7] 'ἀλλὰ καὶ λάλησον αὐτῷ.' 'λαλῶ.' [8] 'τίνα τρόπον;' 'οὐ ταπεινῶς.' 'ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπέτυχες.' μὴ γὰρ σὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἦν; ἀλλ' ἐκείνου. τί οὖν ἀντιποιῇ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου; αἰεὶ μεμνημένος ὁ τι σὸν καὶ τί ἀλλότριον καὶ οὐ ταραχθήσῃ. [9] διὰ τοῦτο καλῶς ὁ Χρύσιππος λέγει ὅτι 'μέχρις ἂν ἀδηλά μοι ᾗ τὰ ἐξῆς, αἰεὶ τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν ἔχομαι πρὸς τὸ τυγχάνειν τῶν κατὰ φύσιν: αὐτὸς γάρ μ' ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν τούτων ἐκλεκτικόν.' [10] εἰ δέ γε ᾗδειν ὅτι νοσεῖν μοι καθείμαρται νῦν, καὶ ὥρμων ἂν ἐπ' αὐτό: καὶ γὰρ ὁ πούς, εἰ φρένας εἶχεν, ὥρμα ἂν ἐπὶ τὸ πηλοῦσθαι.'

[11] ἐπεὶ τοι τίνος ἔνεκα γίνονται στάχυες; οὐχ ἵνα καὶ ξηρανθῶσιν; ἀλλὰ ξηραίνονται μὲν, οὐχ ἵνα δὲ καὶ θερισθῶσιν; [12] οὐ γὰρ ἀπόλυτοι γίνονται. εἰ οὖν αἴσθησιν εἶχον, εὐχεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔδει, ἵνα μὴ θερισθῶσιν μηδέποτε; τοῦτο δὲ κατὰρα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ σταχύων τὸ μηδέποτε θερισθῆναι. [13] οὕτως ἴστε ὅτι καὶ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων κατὰρα ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν: ὁμοιον τῷ μὴ πεπανθῆναι, μὴ θερισθῆναι. [14] ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὴ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐσμεν, ἅμα μὲν οὖς δεῖ θερισθῆναι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ παρακολουθοῦντες ὅτι θεριζόμεθα, διὰ τοῦτο ἀγανακτοῦμεν. οὔτε γὰρ ἴσμεν τίνες ἐσμέν οὔτε μεμελετήκαμεν τὰ ἀνθρωπικὰ

ὥς ἵππικοι τὰ ἵππικά. [15] ἀλλὰ Χρυσάντας μὲν παίειν μέλλων τὸν πολέμιον, ἐπειδὴ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἤκουσεν ἀνακαλούσης, ἀνέσχεν: οὕτως προυργαίτερον ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ τὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρόσταγμα ἢ τὸ ἴδιον ποιεῖν: [16] ἡμῶν δ' οὐδείς θέλει οὐδὲ τῆς ἀνάγκης καλούσης εὐλύτως ὑπακοῦσαι αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ κλάοντες καὶ στένοντες πάσχομεν ἃ πάσχομεν καὶ περιστάσεις αὐτὰ καλοῦντες. [17] ποίας περιστάσεις, ἄνθρωπε; εἰ περιστάσεις λέγεις τὰ περιεστηκότα, πάντα περιστάσεις εἰσίν: εἰ δ' ὥς δύσκολα καλεῖς, ποίαν δυσκολίαν ἔχει τὸ γενόμενον φθαρῆναι; [18] τὸ δὲ φθεῖρον ἢ μάχαιρά ἐστιν ἢ τροχὸς ἢ θάλασσα ἢ κεραμὶς ἢ τύραννος. τί σοι μέλει, ποία ὁδὸ καταβῆς εἰς Ἄϊδου; [19] ἴσαι πᾶσαι εἰσιν. εἰ δὲ θέλεις ἀκοῦσαι τάληθῃ, συντομωτέρα ἦν πέμπει ὁ τύραννος. οὐδέποτε' οὐδείς τύραννος ἕξ μηνσὶν τινα ἔσφαξεν, πυρετὸς δὲ καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ πολλάκις. ψόφος ἐστὶ πάντα ταῦτα καὶ κόμπος κενῶν ὀνομάτων.

[20] 'τῇ κεφαλῇ κινδυνεύω ἐπὶ Καίσαρος.' ἐγὼ δ' οὐ κινδυνεύω, ὅς οἱκῶ ἐν Νικοπόλει, ὅπου σεισμοὶ τοσοῦτοι; σὺ δ' αὐτὸς ὅταν διαπλῆξ τὸν Ἀδρίαν, τί κινδυνεύεις; οὐ τῇ κεφαλῇ; [21] 'ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ὑπολήψει κινδυνεύω.' τῇ σῇ; πῶς; τίς γάρ σε ἀναγκάσαι δύναται ὑπολαβεῖν τι ὧν οὐ θέλεις; ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ; καὶ ποῖός ἐστι κίνδυνος σὸς ἄλλους τὰ ψεύδη ὑπολαβεῖν; [22] 'ἀλλ' ἐξορισθῆναι κινδυνεύω.' τί ἐστιν ἐξορισθῆναι; ἀλλαχοῦ εἶναι ἢ ἐν Ῥώμῃ; 'ναί. τί οὖν; ἂν εἰς Γύαρα πεμφθῶ;' ἂν σοι ποιῇ, ἀπελεύση: εἰ δὲ μή, ἔχεις ποῦ ἀντὶ Γυάρων ἀπέλθῃς, ὅπου κἀκεῖνος ἐλεύσεται, ἂν τε θέλῃ ἂν τε μή, ὁ πέμπων σε εἰς Γύαρα. [23] τί λοιπὸν ὥς ἐπὶ μεγάλα ἀνέρχῃ; μικρότερα ἐστὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς, ἴν' εἴπῃ νέος εὐφυῆς ὅτι 'οὐκ ἦν τοσοῦτου τοσοῦτων μὲν ἀκηκοέναι, τοσαῦτα δὲ γεγραφέναι, τοσοῦτῳ δὲ χρόνῳ παρακεκαθικέναι γεροντίῳ οὐ πολλοῦ ἀξίῳ.' [24] μόνον ἐκείνης τῆς διαιρέσεως μέμνησο, καθ' ἣν διορίζεται τὰ σὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ σά. μή ποτ' ἀντιποιήσῃ τινὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων. [25] βῆμα καὶ φυλακὴ τόπος ἐστὶν ἐκάτερον, ὁ μὲν ὑψηλός, ὁ δὲ ταπεινός: ἡ προαίρεσις δ' ἴση, ἂν ἴσῃ αὐτὴν ἐν ἐκατέρῳ φυλάξαι θέλῃς, δύναται φυλαχθῆναι. [26] καὶ τότε' ἐσόμεθα ζηλωταὶ Σωκράτους, ὅταν ἐν φυλακῇ δυνώμεθα παιᾶνας γράφειν. [27] μέχρι δὲ νῦν ὥς ἔχομεν, ὅρα εἰ ἠνεσχόμεθ' ἂν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἄλλου τινὸς ἡμῖν λέγοντος 'θέλεις ἀναγνῶ σοι παιᾶνας;' 'τί μοι πράγματα παρέχεις; οὐκ οἶδας τὰ ἔχοντά με κακά; ἐν τούτοις γάρ μοι ἔστιν—' ἐν τίσιν οὖν; ἀποθνήσκειν μέλλω.' ἄνθρωποι δ' ἄλλοι ἀθάνατοι ἔσονται; πῶς μαντεύεόν.

διὰ τὸ ἀκαίρως μαντεύεσθαι πολλοὶ καθήκοντα πολλὰ παραλείπομεν. [2] τί γὰρ ὁ μάντις δύναται πλεον ἰδεῖν θανάτου ἢ κινδύνου ἢ νόσου ἢ ὅλως τῶν τοιούτων; [3] ἂν οὖν δέῃ κινδυνεῦσαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ φίλου, ἂν δὲ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καθήκῃ, ποῦ μοι καιρὸς ἔτι μαντεύεσθαι; οὐκ ἔχω τὸν μάντιν ἔσω τὸν εἰρηκότα μοι τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ, τὸν ἐξηγημένον τὰ σημεῖα ἀμφοτέρων; [4] τί οὖν ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχω τῶν σπλάγχχνων ἢ τῶν οἰωνῶν; ἀλλ' ἀνέχομαι λέγοντος ἐκείνου 'συμφέρι σοι;' τί γάρ ἐστι συμφέρον οἶδεν; [5] τί ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν οἶδεν; μεμάθηκεν ὥσπερ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν σπλάγχχνων οὕτως σημεῖα τίνα ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν; εἰ γὰρ τούτων οἶδεν σημεῖα, καὶ καλῶν καὶ αἰσχυρῶν οἶδεν καὶ δικαίων καὶ ἀδίκων. [6] ἄνθρωπε, σύ μοι λέγε τί σημαίνεται,

ζωή ἢ θάνατος, πενία ἢ πλοῦτος· πότερον δὲ συμφέρει ταῦτα ἢ ἀσύμφορά ἐστιν, σοῦ μέλλω πυνθάνεσθαι; [7] διὰ τί ἐν γραμματικοῖς οὐ λέγεις; ἐνθάδ' οὖν, ὅπου πάντες ἄνθρωποι πλανώμεθα καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μαχόμεθα; [8] διὰ τοῦτο ἡ γυνὴ καλῶς εἶπεν ἡ πέμψαι θέλουσα τῇ Γρατίλλῃ ἐξωρισμένη τὸ πλοῖον τῶν ἐπιμηνίων κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι 'ἀφαιρήσεται αὐτὰ Δομιτιανὸς' 'μᾶλλον θέλω,' φησίν, 'ἵν' ἐκεῖνος αὐτὰ ἀφέλῃται ἢ ἵν' ἐγὼ μὴ πέμψω.'

[9] τί οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ οὕτω συνεχῶς μαντεύεσθαι ἄγει; ἡ δειλία, τὸ φοβεῖσθαι τὰς ἐκβάσεις. διὰ τοῦτο κολακεύομεν τοὺς μάντεις: 'κληρονομήσω, κύριε, τὸν πατέρα;,' 'ἴδωμεν: ἐπεκθυσώμεθα.' 'ναί, κύριε, ὡς ἡ τύχη θέλει.' εἴτ' ἂν εἶπη 'κληρονομήσεις,' ὡς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν κληρονομίαν εἰληφότες εὐχαριστοῦμεν αὐτῷ. διὰ τοῦτο κἀκεῖνοι λοιπὸν ἐμπαίζουσιν ἡμῖν. [10] τί οὖν; δεῖ δίχα ὀρέξεως ἔρχεσθαι καὶ ἐκκλίσεως, ὡς ὁ ὁδοιπόρος πυνθάνεται παρὰ τοῦ ἀπαντήσαντος, ποτέραν τῶν ὁδῶν φέρει, οὐκ ἔχων ὀρεξιν πρὸς τὸ τὴν δεξιὰν μᾶλλον φέρειν ἢ τὴν ἀριστεράν: οὐ γὰρ τούτων τινὰ ἀπελθεῖν θέλει, ἀλλὰ τὴν φέρουσιν. [11] οὕτως ἔδει καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔρχεσθαι ὡς ὁδηγόν, ὡς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς χρώμεθα, οὐ παρακαλοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἵνα τὰ τοιαῦτα μᾶλλον ἡμῖν δεικνύσιν, ἀλλ' οἷα ἐνδείκνυνται τούτων τὰς φαντασίας δεχόμενοι. [12] νῦν δὲ τρέμοντες τὸ ὀρνιθάριον κρατοῦμεν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενοι δεόμεθα αὐτοῦ: [13] 'κύριε, ἐλέησον: ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ἐξελθεῖν.' ἀνδράποδον, ἄλλο γάρ τι θέλεις ἢ τὸ ἄμεινον; ἄλλο οὖν τι ἄμεινον ἢ τὸ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦν; [14] τί τὸ ὅσον ἐπὶ σοὶ διαφθείρεις τὸν κριτὴν, παράγεις τὸν σύμβουλον;

τίς οὐσία τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.

ὁ θεὸς ὠφέλιμος: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰγαθὸν ὠφέλιμον. εἰκὸς οὖν, ὅπου ἡ οὐσία τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐκεῖ εἶναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. [2] τίς οὖν οὐσία θεοῦ; σὰρξ; μὴ γένοιτο. ἀγρός; μὴ γένοιτο. φῆμη; μὴ γένοιτο. νοῦς, ἐπιστήμη, λόγος ὀρθός. [3] ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν ἀπλῶς ζητεῖ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. ἐπεὶ τοι μὴ τι αὐτὴν ἐν φυτῷ ζητεῖς; οὐ. μὴ τι ἐν ἀλόγῳ; οὐ. ἐν λογικῷ οὖν ζητῶν τί ἐτι ἀλλαχθῶ ζητεῖς ἢ ἐν τῇ παραλλαγῇ τῇ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα; [4] τὰ φυτὰ οὐδὲ φαντασίαις χρηστικά ἐστίν: διὰ τοῦτο οὐ λέγεις ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὸ ἀγαθόν. δεῖται οὖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν χρήσεως φαντασιῶν. [5] ἄρα γε μόνης; εἰ γὰρ μόνης, λέγε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις τὰ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ κακοδαιμονίαν. [6] νῦν δ' οὐ λέγεις καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς; εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα χρῆσιν φαντασιῶν ἔχει, ἀλλὰ παρακολούθησιν γε τῇ χρήσει τῶν φαντασιῶν οὐκ ἔχει. καὶ εἰκότως. ὑπηρετικά γὰρ γέγονεν ἄλλοις, οὐκ αὐτὰ προηγούμενα. [7] ὁ ὄνος ἐπεὶ γέγονεν μὴ τι προηγουμένως; οὐ: ἀλλ' ὅτι νότου χρεῖαν. εἵχομεν βαστάζειν τι δυναμένου. ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία καὶ περιπατοῦντος αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν εἵχομεν: διὰ τοῦτο προσεῖληφε καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι φαντασίαις: ἄλλως γὰρ περιπατεῖν οὐκ ἐδύνατο. [8] καὶ λοιπὸν αὐτοῦ που πέπαυται. εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτός που προσειλήφει παρακολούθησιν τῇ χρήσει τῶν φαντασιῶν, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι κατὰ λόγον οὐκέτ' ἂν ἡμῖν ὑπετέτακτο οὐδὲ τὰς χρεῖας ταύτας παρεῖχεν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἂν ἴσος ἡμῖν καὶ ὅμοιος.

[9] οὐ θέλεις οὖν ἐκεῖ ζητεῖν τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, οὐ μὴ παρόντος ἐπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων θέλεις λέγειν τὸ ἀγαθόν; [10] 'τί οὖν; οὐκ ἔστι θεῶν ἔργα κἀκεῖνα;' ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ προηγούμενα οὐδὲ μέρη θεῶν. [11] σὺ δὲ

προηγούμενον εἶ, σὺ ἀπόσπασμα εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ: ἔχεις τι ἐν σεαυτῷ μέρος ἐκείνου. τί οὖν ἀγνοεῖς σου τὴν συγγένειαν; τί οὐκ οἶδας, πόθεν ἐλήλυθας; [12] οὐ θέλεις μεμνησθαι, ὅταν ἐσθίης, τίς ὦν ἐσθίεις καὶ τίνα τρέφεις; ὅταν συνουσία ᾗ, τίς ὦν ᾗ; ὅταν ὁμιλία; ὅταν γυμνάξῃ, ὅταν διαλέγῃ, οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι θεὸν τρέφεις, θεὸν γυμνάζεις; θεὸν περιφέρεις, τάλας, καὶ ἀγνοεῖς. [13] δοκεῖς με λέγειν ἀργυροῦν τινα ἢ χρυσοῦν ἔξωθεν; ἐν σαυτῷ φέρεις αὐτὸν καὶ μολύνων οὐκ αἰσθάνῃ ἀκαθάρτοις μὲν διανοήμασι, ῥυπαραῖς δὲ πράξεισι. [14] καὶ ἀγάματος μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ παρόντος οὐκ ἂν τολμήσῃς τι τούτων ποιεῖν ὦν ποιεῖς. αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ παρόντος ἔσωθεν καὶ ἐφορῶντος πάντα καὶ ἐπακούοντος οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενος καὶ ποιῶν, ἀναίσθητε τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως καὶ θεοχόλωτε; [15]

λοιπὸν ἡμεῖς τί φοβούμεθα ἐκπέμποντες νέον ἐπὶ τινὰς πράξεις ἐκ τῆς σχολῆς, μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσῃ τι, μὴ ἄλλως φάγῃ, μὴ ἄλλως συνουσιάσῃ, μὴ ταπεινώσῃ αὐτὸν ῥάκη περιτεθέντα, μὴ ἐπάρῃ κομψὰ ἱμάτια; [16] οὗτος οὐκ οἶδεν αὐτοῦ θεόν, οὗτος οὐκ οἶδεν, μετὰ τίνος ἀπέρχεται. ἀλλ' ἀνεχόμεθα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ 'σέ ἤθελον ἔχειν;' [17] ἐκεῖ τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἔχεις; εἴτ' ἄλλον τινὰ ζητεῖς ἐκεῖνον ἔχων; [18] ἢ ἄλλα σοι ἐρεῖ ἐκεῖνος ἢ ταῦτα; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἦς τὸ Φειδίου, ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ ἢ ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐμέμνησο ἂν καὶ σαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ τεχνίτου καὶ εἴ τινα αἰσθησιν εἶχες, ἐπειρῶ ἂν μηδὲν ἂν ἀνάξιον ποιεῖν τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος μηδὲ σεαυτοῦ μηδ' ἐν ἀπρεπεῖ σχήματι φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ὁρώσι; [19] νῦν δέ σε ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς πεποίηκεν, διὰ τοῦτο ἀμελεῖς οἶόν τινα δείξεις σεαυτόν; καὶ τί ὁ τεχνίτης τῷ τεχνίτῃ ὁμοῖος ἢ τὸ κατασκευάσμα τῷ κατασκευάσματι; [20] καὶ ποῖον ἔργον τεχνίτου εὐθὺς ἔχει τὰς δυνάμεις ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὥς ἐμφαίνει διὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς; οὐχὶ λίθος ἐστὶν ἢ χαλκὸς ἢ χρυσὸς ἢ ἐλέφας; καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἢ Φειδίου ἅπαξ ἐκτείνασα τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὴν Νίκην ἐπ' αὐτῆς δεξαμένη ἔστηκεν οὕτως ὅλῳ τῷ αἰῶνι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ κινούμενα, ἔμπνοα, χρηστικά φαντασιῶν, δοκιμαστικά. [21] τούτου τοῦ δημιουργοῦ κατασκευάσμα ὦν καταισχύνεις αὐτό; τί δ'; ὅτι οὐ μόνον σε κατεσκεύασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοὶ μόνῳ ἐπίστευσεν καὶ παρακατέθετο, [22] οὐδὲ τούτου μεμνήσῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταισχυνεῖς τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν; εἰ δέ σοι ὀρφανόν τινα ὁ θεὸς παρέθετο, οὕτως ἂν αὐτοῦ ἡμέλεις; [23] παραδέδωκέ σοι σεαυτόν καὶ λέγει 'οὐκ εἶχον ἄλλον πιστότερόν σου: τοῦτόν μοι φύλασσε τοιοῦτον οἶος πέφυκεν, αἰδήμονα, πιστόν, ὑψηλόν, ἀκατάπληκτον, ἀπαθῆ, ἀτάραχον.' εἴτα σὺ οὐ φυλάσσεις;

[24] 'ἀλλ' ἐροῦσιν: 'πόθεν ἡμῖν οὗτος ὄφρυν ἐνήνοχεν καὶ σεμνοπροσωπεῖ;' οὐπω κατ' ἀξίαν. 'ἔτι γὰρ οὐ θαρρῶ οἷς ἔμαθον καὶ συγκατεθέμην: ἔτι τὴν ἀσθένειαν τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ φοβοῦμαι. [25] ἐπεὶ τοι ἄφετέ με θαρρήσαι καὶ τότε ὄψεσθε βλέμμα οἶον δεῖ καὶ σχῆμα οἶον δεῖ, τότε ὑμῖν δεῖξω τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὅταν τελειωθῇ, ὅταν στιλπνωθῇ. [26] τί δοκεῖτε; ὄφρυν; μὴ γένοιτο. μὴ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ὄφρυν ἀνέσπακεν; ἀλλὰ πέπηγεν αὐτοῦ τὸ βλέμμα, οἶον δεῖ εἶναι τοῦ ἐροῦντος

οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάγρετον οὐδ' ἀπατηλόν.

τοιοῦτον ὑμῖν δεῖξω ἑμαυτόν, [27] πιστόν, αἰδήμονα, γενναῖον, ἀτάραχον. [28] μὴ τι οὖν ἀθάνατον ἀγήρων, μὴ τι ἄνοσον; ἀλλ' ἀποθνήσκοντα θεῖως,

νοσοῦντα θείως. ταῦτα ἔχω, ταῦτα δύνamai: τὰ δ' ἄλλα οὐτ' ἔχω οὕτε δύνamai. [29] δείξω ὑμῖν νεῦρα φιλοσόφου. ποῖα νεῦρα; ὀρεξιν ἀναπότηυκτον, ἔκκλισιν ἀπερίπτωτον, ὁρμὴν καθήκουσαν, πρόθεσιν ἐπιμελῆ, συγκατάθεσιν ἀπρόπτωτον. ταῦτα ὄψεσθε.'

ὅτι οὐ δυνάμενοι τὴν ἀνθρώπου ἐπαγγελίαν πληρῶσαι τὴν φιλοσόφου προσλαμβάνομεν.

οὐκ ἔστι τὸ τυχὸν αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνθρώπου ἐπαγγελίαν πληρῶσαι. [2] τί γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος; — ζῶον, φησί, λογικὸν θνητόν. — εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ λογικῷ τίνων χωριζόμεθα; — τῶν θηρίων. — καὶ τίνων ἄλλων; [3] — τῶν προβάτων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων. — ὅρα οὖν μὴ τί πως ὡς θηρίον ποιήσης: εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀπώλεσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ ἐπλήρωσας τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν. ὅρα μὴ τι ὡς πρόβατον: εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ οὕτως ἀπώλετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος. [4] τίνα οὖν ποιοῦμεν ὡς πρόβατα; ὅταν τῆς γαστροῦ ἔνεκα, ὅταν τῶν αἰδοίων, ὅταν εἰκῆ, ὅταν ῥυπαρῶς, ὅταν ἀνεπιστρέπτως, ποῦ ἀπεκλίνωμεν; ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα. [5] τί ἀπώλεσαμεν; τὸ λογικόν. ὅταν μαχίμως καὶ βλαβερῶς καὶ θυμικῶς καὶ ὠστικῶς, ποῦ ἀπεκλίνωμεν; [6] ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία. λοιπὸν οἱ μὲν ἡμῶν μεγάλα θηρία εἰσὶν, οἱ δὲ θηρίδια κακοήθη καὶ μικρά, ἀφ' ὧν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν [7] 'λέων με καὶ φαγέτω.' διὰ πάντων δὲ τούτων ἀπόλλυται ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαγγελία. [8] πότε γὰρ σφάζεται συμπεπλεγμένον; ὅταν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν πληρώσῃ, ὥστε σωτηρία συμπεπλεγμένου ἐστὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀληθῶν συμπεπλέχθαι. πότε διεzeugμένον; ὅταν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν πληρώσῃ. πότε αὐλοί, πότε λύρα, πότε ἵππος, πότε κύων; [9] τί οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὡσαύτως μὲν σφάζεται, ὡσαύτως δ' ἀπόλλυται; [10] αὖξαι δ' ἕκαστον καὶ σφάζει τὰ κατὰλληλα ἔργα: τὸν τέκτονα τὰ τεκτονικά, τὸν γραμματικὸν τὰ γραμματικά. ἂν δ' ἐθήσῃ γράφειν ἀγραμμάτως, ἀνάγκη καταφθεῖρεσθαι καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι τὴν τέχνην. [11] οὕτως τὸν μὲν αἰδήμονα σφάζει τὰ αἰδήμονα ἔργα, ἀπολλύει δὲ τὰ ἀναιδῆ: τὸν δὲ πιστὸν τὰ πιστὰ καὶ τὰ ἐναντία ἀπολλύει. [12] καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους πάλιν ἐπαύξει τὰ ἐναντία: τὸν ἀναίσχυντον ἀναισχυντία, τὸν ἄπιστον ἀπιστία, τὸν λοιδοροῦν λοιδορία, τὸν ὀργίλον ὀργή, τὸν φιλάργυρον αἰ ἀκατάλληλοι λήψεις καὶ δόσεις. [13]

διὰ τοῦτο παραγγέλλουσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι μόνῳ τῷ μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μελέτην προσλαμβάνειν, εἴτα ἄσκησιν. [14] πολλῷ γὰρ χρόνῳ τὰ ἐναντία ποιεῖν εἰθίσμεθα καὶ τὰς ὑπολήψεις τὰς ἐναντίας ταῖς ὀρθαῖς χρηστικὰς ἔχομεν. ἂν οὖν μὴ καὶ τὰς ὀρθὰς χρηστικὰς ποιήσωμεν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἐξηγηταὶ ἐσόμεθα ἀλλοτρίων δογμάτων. [15] ἄρτι γὰρ τίς ἡμῶν οὐ δύναται τεχνολογεῖσθαι περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν; ὅτι τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ, τὰ δὲ κακὰ, τὰ δ' ἀδιάφορα: ἀγαθὰ μὲν οὖν ἀρεταὶ καὶ τὰ μετέχοντα τῶν ἀρετῶν: κακὰ τὰ δ' ἐναντία: ἀδιάφορα δὲ πλοῦτος, ὑγεία, δόξα. [16] εἴτ' ἂν μεταξὺ λεγόντων ἡμῶν ψόφος μείζων γένηται ἢ τῶν παρόντων τις καταγέλαισι ἡμῶν, ἐξεπλάγημεν. [17] ποῦ ἐστίν, φιλόσοφε, ἐκεῖνα ἃ ἔλεγε; πόθεν αὐτὰ προφερόμενος ἔλεγε; ἀπὸ τῶν χειλῶν αὐτόθεν. τί οὖν ἀλλότρια βοηθήματα μολύνεις; τί κυβεύεις περὶ τὰ μέγιστα; [18] ἄλλο γάρ ἐστιν ὡς εἰς ταμιεῖον ἀποθέσθαι ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον, ἄλλο ἐστὶ φαγεῖν. τὸ βρωθὲν ἐπέφθη, ἀνεδόθη, νεῦρα ἐγένετο, σάρκες, ὀστέα, αἷμα, εὐχροια, εὐπνοια. τὰ ἀποκείμενα ὅταν

μὲν θελήσης ἐκ προχείρου λαβὼν δεῖξαι δύνασαι, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δέ σοι ὄφελος οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ μέχρι τοῦ δοκεῖν ὅτι ἔχεις. τί γὰρ διαφέρει ταῦτα ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν ἑτεροδόξων; [19] τεχνολόγει νῦν καθίσας τὰ Ἐπικούρου καὶ τάχα ἐκείνου χρηστικώτερον τεχνολογήσεις. τί οὖν Στωικὸν λέγεις σεαυτόν, τί ἐξαπατᾷς τοὺς πολλούς, τί ὑποκρίνη Ἰουδαῖον ὢν Ἕλληγ; [20] οὐχ ὀρθῶς, πῶς ἕκαστος λέγεται Ἰουδαῖος, πῶς Σύρος, πῶς Αἰγύπτιος; καὶ ὅταν τινὰ ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα ἴδωμεν, εἰώθαμεν λέγειν 'οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰουδαῖος, ἀλλ' ὑποκρίνεται.' ὅταν δ' ἀναλάβῃ τὸ πάθος τὸ τοῦ βεβαμμένου καὶ ἡρημένου, τότε καὶ ἔστι τῷ ὄντι καὶ καλεῖται Ἰουδαῖος. [21] οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς παραβαπτισταί, λόγῳ μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἔργῳ δ' ἄλλο τι, ἀσυμπαθεῖς πρὸς τὸν λόγον, μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἃ λέγομεν, ἐφ' οἷς ὡς εἰδότες αὐτὰ ἐπαιρόμεθα. [22] οὕτως οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαγγελίαν πληρῶσαι δυνάμενοι προσλαμβάνομεν τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου, τηλικοῦτο φορτίον οἶον εἴ τις δέκα λίτρας ἄραι μὴ δυνάμενος τὸν τοῦ Αἵαντος λίθον βαστάζειν ἤθελεν.

πῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων τὰ καθήκοντα ἔστιν εὐρίσκειν.

σκέψαι τίς εἶ. τὸ πρῶτον ἄνθρωπος, τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἔχων κυριώτερον προαιρέσεως, ἀλλὰ ταύτη τὰ ἄλλα ὑποτεταγμένα, αὐτὴν δ' ἀδόουλετον καὶ ἀνυπότακτον. [2] σκόπει οὖν, τίνων κεχώρισαι κατὰ λόγον. κεχώρισαι θηρίων, κεχώρισαι προβάτων. [3] ἐπὶ τούτοις πολίτης εἶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ μέρος αὐτοῦ, οὐχ ἓν τῶν ὑπηρετικῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν προηγουμένων: παρακολουθητικός γὰρ εἶ τῇ θεῇ διοικήσει καὶ τοῦ ἐξῆς ἐπιλογιστικός. [4] τίς οὖν ἐπαγγελία πολίτου; μηδὲν ἔχειν ἰδίᾳ συμφέρον, περὶ μηδενὸς βουλευέσθαι ὡς ἀπόλυτον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἄν, εἰ ἡ χεὶρ ἢ ὁ πούς λογισμὸν εἶχον καὶ παρηκολούθουν τῇ φυσικῇ κατασκευῇ, οὐδέποτ' ἂν ἄλλως ὥρμησαν ἢ ὠρέχθησαν ἢ ἐπανενεγκόντες ἐπὶ τὸ ὅλον. [5] διὰ τοῦτο καλῶς λέγουσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι ὅτι εἰ προῆδει ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ ἐσόμενα, συνήργει ἂν καὶ τῷ νοσεῖν καὶ τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ τῷ πηροῦσθαι, αἰσθανόμενός γε, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ὅλων διατάξεως τοῦτο ἀπονέμεται, κυριώτερον δὲ τὸ ὅλον τοῦ μέρους καὶ ἡ πόλις τοῦ πολίτου. [6] νῦν δ' ὅτι οὐ προγινώσκουμεν, καθήκει τῶν πρὸς ἐκλογὴν εὐφροσύνην ἔχειν, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο γεγόναμεν.

[7] μετὰ τοῦτο μέμνησο, ὅτι ὁ ἰὸς εἶ. τίς τούτου τοῦ προσώπου ἐπαγγελία; πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πατρός, πάντα ὑπακούειν, μηδέποτε ψεῖσαι πρὸς τινὰ μηδὲ βλαβερόν τι αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν ἢ πράξαι, ἐξίστασθαι ἐν πᾶσιν καὶ παραχωρεῖν συνεργοῦντα κατὰ δύναμιν. μετὰ τοῦτο ἴσθι ὅτι καὶ ἀδελφὸς εἶ. [8] καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ὀφείλεται παραχώρησις, εὐπείθεια, εὐφημία, μηδέποτ' ἀντιποιήσασθαι τινος πρὸς ἐαυτὸν τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων, ἀλλ' ἡδέως ἐκεῖνα προίεσθαι, ἴν' ἐν τοῖς προαιρετικοῖς πλεόν ἔχῃς. [9] ὅρα γὰρ οἷόν ἐστιν ἀντὶ θίδρακος, ἂν οὕτως τύχῃ, καὶ καθέδρας αὐτὸν εὐγνωμοσύνην κτήσασθαι, ὅση ἢ πλεονεξία. [10] μετὰ ταῦτα εἰ βουλευτὴς πόλεώς τινος, ὅτι βουλευτής: εἰ νέος, ὅτι νέος: εἰ πρεσβύτερος, ὅτι πρεσβύτερος: εἰ πατήρ, ὅτι πατήρ. [11] αἶε γὰρ ἕκαστον τῶν τοιούτων ὀνομάτων εἰς ἐπιλογισμὸν ἐρχόμενον ὑπογράφει τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔργα. [12] ἐὰν δ' ἀπελθὼν ψέγῃς σου τὸν ἀδελφόν, λέγω σοι 'ἐπελάθου, τίς εἶ καὶ τί σοι ὄνομα.' [13] εἴτα εἰ μὲν χαλκεὺς ὢν ἐχρῶ τῇ σφύρα ἄλλως, ἐπιλελησμένος ἂν ἦς τοῦ χαλκῆως: εἰ δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐπελάθου καὶ ἀντὶ

ἀδελφοῦ ἐχθρὸς ἐγένου, οὐδὲν ἀντ' οὐδενὸς ἠλλάχθαι φανεῖ σεαυτῷ; [14] εἰ δ' ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου, ἡμέρου ζῶου καὶ κοινωνικοῦ, θηρίον γέγονας βλαβερόν, ἐπίβουλον, δηκτικόν, οὐδὲν ἀπολώλεκας; ἀλλὰ δεῖ σε κέρμα ἀπολέσαι, ἵνα ζημιωθῇς, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενὸς ἀπώλεια ζημιῶι τὸν ἄνθρωπον; [15] εἴτα γραμματικὴν μὲν ἀποβαλὼν ἢ μουσικὴν ζημίαν ἂν ἡγοῦ τὴν ἀπώλειαν αὐτῆς; εἰ δ' αἰδῶ καὶ καταστολὴν καὶ ἡμερότητα ἀποβαλεῖς, οὐδὲν ἡγῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα; [16] καίτοι ἐκεῖνα μὲν παρ' ἔξωθέν τινα καὶ ἀπροαίρετον αἰτίαν ἀπόλλυται, ταῦτα δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς; καὶ ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὐτ' ἔχειν καλόν ἐστιν οὐτ' ἀπολλύειν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ταῦτα δὲ καὶ μὴ ἔχειν καὶ ἀπολλύειν καὶ αἰσχρόν ἐστι καὶ ἐπονείδιστον καὶ ἀτύχημα. τί ἀπολλύει ὁ τὰ τοῦ κιναιίδου πάσχων; [17] τὸν ἄνδρα. ὁ δὲ διατιθεῖς; πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸς δ' οὐδὲν ἤττον [18] τὸν ἄνδρα. τί ἀπολλύει ὁ μοιχεύων; τὸν αἰδήμονα, τὸν ἐγκρατῆ, τὸν κόσμιον, τὸν πολίτην, τὸν γείτονα. τί ἀπολλύει ὁ ὀργιζόμενος; ἄλλο τι. ὁ φοβούμενος; [19] ἄλλο τι. οὐδεὶς δίχα ἀπωλείας καὶ ζημίας κακός ἐστιν. λοιπὸν εἰ τὴν ζημίαν ζητεῖς ἐν κέρματι, πάντες οὗτοι ἀβλαβεῖς, ἀζήμιοι, ἂν οὕτως τύχη, καὶ ὠφελούμενοι καὶ κερδαίνοντες, ὅταν διὰ τινος τούτων τῶν ἔργων κέρμα αὐτοῖς προσγένηται. [20] ὅρα δ' εἰ ἐπὶ κερμάτιον πάντα ἀνάγεις, ὅτι οὐδ' ὁ τὴν ῥῖνάν σοι ἀπολλύων ἔσται βεβλαμμένος. — ναί, φησίν, κεκολόβωται γὰρ τὸ σῶμα. [21] — ἄγε, ὁ δὲ τὴν ὀσφρασίαν αὐτὴν ἀπολωλεκώς οὐδὲν ἀπολλύει; ψυχῆς οὖν δύναμις οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία, ἣν ὁ μὲν κτησάμενος ὠφελεῖται, ὁ δ' ἀποβαλὼν ζημιοῦται; [22] — ποῖαν καὶ λέγεις; — οὐδὲν ἔχομεν αἰδήμον φύσει; — ἔχομεν. — ὁ τοῦτο ἀπολλύων οὐ ζημιοῦται, οὐδενὸς στερίσκεται, οὐδὲν ἀποβάλλει τῶν πρὸς αὐτόν; [23] οὐκ ἔχομεν φύσει τι πιστόν, φύσει στερκτικόν, φύσει ὠφελητικόν, ἀλλήλων φύσει ἀνεκτικόν; ὅστις οὖν εἰς ταῦτα περιορᾷ ζημιούμενον ἑαυτόν, οὗτος ἢ ἀβλαβὴς καὶ ἀζήμιος;

[24] τί οὖν; μὴ βλάβῃ τὸν βλάβσαντα; — πρῶτον μὲν ἰδοῦ, τί ἐστὶ βλάβη καὶ μνήσθητι ὧν ἤκουσας παρὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων. [25] εἰ γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν προαιρέσει καὶ τὸ κακὸν ὡσαύτως ἐν προαιρέσει, βλέπε μὴ τοιοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁ λέγεις [26] 'τί οὖν; ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος ἑαυτόν ἔβλαψεν πρὸς ἐμέ τι ἄδικον ποιήσας, ἐγὼ ἑμαυτόν μὴ βλάβω πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἄδικόν τι ποιήσας;' [27] τί οὖν οὐ τοιοῦτόν τι φανταζόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅπου τι σωματικὸν ἐλάττωμα ἢ εἰς κτῆσιν, ἐκεῖ ἢ βλάβη, ὅπου εἰς τὴν προαίρεσιν, οὐδεμία βλάβη; [28] οὕτε γὰρ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀλγεί ὁ ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἢ ἀδικήσας οὕτε τὸν ὀφθαλμόν οὕτε τὸ ἰσχίον οὕτε τὸν ἀγρόν ἀπολλύει. [29] ἡμεῖς δ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐθέλομεν ἢ ταῦτα: τὴν προαίρεσιν δὲ πρότερον αἰδήμονα καὶ πιστὴν ἔχομεν ἢ ἀναίσχυντον καὶ ἄπιστον, οὐδ' ἐγγὺς διαφερόμεθα πλὴν μόνον ἐν τῇ σχολῇ μέχρι τῶν λογαρίων. [30] τοιγαροῦν μέχρι τῶν λογαρίων προκόπτομεν, ἔξω δ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τὸ ἐλάχιστον.

τίς ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας.

ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας παρά γε τοῖς ὡς δεῖ καὶ κατὰ θύραν ἀπτομένοις αὐτῆς συναίσθησις τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀσθενείας καὶ ἀδυναμίας περὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα. [2] ὀρθογωνίου μὲν γὰρ τριγώνου ἢ διέσεως ἡμιτονίου οὐδεμίαν φύσει ἔννοιαν ἤκομεν ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τινος τεχνικῆς παραλήψεως διδασκόμεθα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὴ εἰδότες αὐτὰ οὐδ' οἶονται εἶδέναι. [3] ἀγαθοῦ δὲ καὶ

κακοῦ καὶ καλοῦ καὶ αἰσχροῦ καὶ πρέποντος καὶ ἀπρεποῦς καὶ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ προσήκοντος καὶ ἐπιβάλλοντος καὶ ὃ τι δεῖ ποιῆσαι καὶ ὃ τι οὐ δεῖ ποιῆσαι τίς οὐκ ἔχων ἔμφυτον ἔννοιαν ἐλήλυθεν; [4] διὰ τοῦτο πάντες χρώμεθα τοῖς ὀνόμασιν καὶ ἐφαρμόζειν πειρώμεθα τὰς προλήψεις ταῖς ἐπὶ μέρους οὐσίαις. [5] καλῶς ἐποίησεν, δεόντως, οὐ δεόντως; ἠτύχησεν, εὐτύχησεν; ἄδικός ἐστιν, δίκαιός ἐστιν. τίς ἡμῶν φέειται τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων; τίς ἡμῶν ἀναβάλλεται τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῶν μέχρι μάθῃ καθάπερ τῶν περὶ τὰς γραμμὰς ἢ τοὺς φθόγγους οἱ οὐκ εἰδότες; [6] τούτου δ' αἴτιον τὸ ἦκειν ἤδη τινὰ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως κατὰ τὸν τόπον ὥσπερ δεδιδαγμένους, ἀφ' ὧν ὁρμώμενοι καὶ τὴν οἴησιν προσειλήφαμεν. [7] — † διὰ γάρ, φησίν, οὐκ οἶδα ἐγὼ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρόν; οὐκ ἔχω ἔννοιαν αὐτοῦ; — ἔχεις. — οὐκ ἐφαρμόζω τοῖς ἐπὶ μέρους; — ἐφαρμόζεις. — οὐ καλῶς οὖν ἐφαρμόζω; [8] — ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ τὸ ζήτημα πᾶν καὶ οἴησις ἐνταῦθα προσγίνεται. ἀφ' ὁμολογουμένων γὰρ ὁρμώμενοι τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμφισβητούμενον προάγουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκαταλλήλου ἐφαρμογῆς. [9] ὡς εἴ γε καὶ τοῦτο ἔτι πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐκέκτηντο, τί ἐκώλυεν αὐτοὺς εἶναι τελεῖους; [10] νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ δοκεῖς ὅτι καὶ καταλλήλως ἐφαρμόζεις τὰς προλήψεις τοῖς ἐπὶ μέρους, εἰπέ μοι, πόθεν τοῦτο λαμβάνεις; — ὅτι δοκεῖ μοι. — τουτὶ οὖν ᾧτινι οὐ δοκεῖ, καὶ οἶεται καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφαρμόζειν καλῶς; ἢ οὐκ οἶεται; [11] — οἶεται. — δύνασθε οὖν περὶ ὧν τὰ μαχόμενα δοξάζετε ἀμφοτέρω καταλλήλως ἐφαρμόζειν τὰς προλήψεις; [12] — οὐ δυνάμεθα. — ἔχεις οὖν δεῖξάι τι ἡμῖν πρὸς τὸ αὐτὰς ἐφαρμόζειν ἄμεινον ἀνωτέρω τοῦ δοκεῖν σοι; ὁ δὲ μαινόμενος ἄλλα τινὰ ποιεῖ ἢ τὰ δοκοῦντά οἱ καλὰ; κάκείνῳ οὖν ἄρκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ κριτήριον; — οὐκ ἄρκεῖ. — ἐλθὼν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνωτέρω τοῦ δοκεῖν τί τοῦτό ἐστιν †

[13] ἴδ' ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας; αἴσθησις μάχης τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ζήτησις τοῦ παρ' ὃ γίνεται ἡ μάχη καὶ κατάγνωσις καὶ ἀπιστία πρὸς τὸ ψιλῶς δοκοῦν, ἔρευνα δέ τις περὶ τὸ δοκοῦν εἰ ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ καὶ εὔρεσις κανόνος τινός, οἷον ἐπὶ βαρῶν τὸν ζυγὸν εὔρομεν, οἷον ἐπὶ εὐθέων καὶ στρεβλῶν τὴν στάθμην. [14] — τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας; πάντα καλῶς ἔχει τὰ δοκοῦντα ἅπασι; — καὶ πῶς δυνατόν τὰ μαχόμενα καλῶς ἔχειν; οὐκοῦν οὐ πάντα, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἡμῖν δοκοῦντα. [15] τί μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Σύροις, τί μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Αἰγυπτίοις, τί μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἐμοὶ φαινόμενα ἢ τὰ τῷ δεῖν; — οὐδὲν μᾶλλον. — οὐκ ἄρα ἄρκεῖ τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκάστῳ πρὸς τὸ εἶναι; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ βαρῶν ἢ μέτρων ψιλῇ τῇ ἐμφάσει ἄρκούμεθα, ἀλλὰ κανόνα τινὰ ἐφ' ἐκάστου εὔρομεν. [16] ἐνταῦθ' οὖν οὐδεὶς κανὼν ἀνωτέρω τοῦ δοκεῖν; καὶ πῶς οἷόν τε ἀτέκμαρτα εἶναι καὶ ἀνεύρετα τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα ἐν ἀνθρώποις; — ἔστιν οὖν. [17] — καὶ διὰ τί οὐ ζητοῦμεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνευρίσκομεν καὶ ἀνευρόντες λοιπὸν ἀπαραβάτως χρώμεθα δίχα αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τὸν δάκτυλον ἐκτείνοντες; [18] τοῦτο γάρ, οἶμαι, ἐστὶν ὃ εὐρεθὲν ἀπαλλάσσει μανίας τοὺς μόνῳ τῷ δοκεῖν μέτρῳ πάντων χρωμένους, ἵνα λοιπὸν ἀπὸ τινων γνωρίμων καὶ διευκρινημένων ὁρμώμενοι χρώμεθα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους διηρθρωμένων ταῖς προλήψεσι.

τίς ὑποπέπτωκεν οὐσία περὶ ἧς ζητοῦμεν; [19] — ἡδονή. [20] — ὕπαγε αὐτὴν τῷ κανόνι, βάλε εἰς τὸν ζυγόν. τὸ ἀγαθὸν δεῖ εἶναι τοιοῦτον, ἐφ' ᾧ θαρρεῖν

ἄξιον καὶ ᾧ πεποιθέναι; — δεῖ. — ἀβεβαίῳ οὖν τινι θαρρεῖν ἄξιον; [21] — οὐ.
— μή τι οὖν βέβαιον ἢ ἡδονή; — οὐ. — ἄρον οὖν καὶ βάλε ἔξω ἐκ τοῦ ζυγοῦ
καὶ ἀπέλασον τῆς χώρας τῶν ἀγαθῶν μακράν. [22] εἰ δ' οὐκ ὀξυβλεπτεῖς καὶ ἐν
σοι ζυγὸν οὐκ ἄρκει, φέρε ἄλλο. ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἄξιον ἐπαίρεσθαι; — ναί. —
ἐφ' ἡδονῇ οὖν παρούσῃ ἄξιον ἐπαίρεσθαι; βλέπε μή εἴπῃς ὅτι ἄξιον: εἰ δὲ μή,
οὐκέτι σε οὐδὲ τοῦ ζυγοῦ ἄξιον ἡγήσομαι. [23] οὕτως κρίνεται τὰ πράγματα καὶ
ἴσταιται τῶν κανόνων ἡτοιμασμένων: [24] καὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν τοῦτο ἐστίν,
ἐπισκέπτεσθαι καὶ βεβαιοῦν τοὺς κανόνας, [25] τὸ δ' ἤδη χρῆσθαι τοῖς
ἐγνωσμένοις τοῦτο τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἔργον ἐστίν.

περὶ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι.

ἃ μὲν δεῖ μαθόντα εἰδέναι χρῆσθαι λόγῳ, ἡκρίβωται ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων.
περὶ δὲ τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῶν τὴν προσήκουσαν τελῶς ἀγύμναστοί ἐσμεν. [2] δὸς
γούν ᾧ θέλεις ἡμῶν ιδιώτην τινὰ τὸν προσδιαλεγόμενον: καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκει
χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ μικρὰ κινήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἂν παρὰ σκέλος ἀπαντᾷ
ἐκεῖνος, οὐκέτι δύναται μεταχειρίσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ λοιδορεῖ λοιπὸν ἢ καταγελά
καὶ λέγει 'ιδιώτης ἐστίν: οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ χρῆσασθαι.' [3] ὁ δ' ὀδηγός, ὅταν
λάβῃ τινὰ πλανώμενον, ἡγάγεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν δέουσαν, οὐχὶ καταγελάσας
ἢ λοιδορησάμενος ἀπῆλθεν. [4] καὶ σὺ δεῖξον αὐτῷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ ὅψει ὅτι
ἀκολουθεῖ. μέχρι δ' ἂν οὗ μὴ δεικνύῃς, μὴ ἐκεῖνου καταγέλα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
αἰσθάνου τῆς ἀδυναμίας τῆς αὐτοῦ.

[5] πῶς οὖν ἐποίει Σωκράτης; αὐτὸν ἠνάγκαζεν τὸν προσδιαλεγόμενον
αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενὸς ἐδεῖτο μάρτυρος. τοιγαροῦν ἐξῆν αὐτῷ
λέγειν ὅτι 'τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐὼ χαίρειν, αἰεὶ δὲ τῷ ἀντιλέγοντι ἄρκοῦμαι
μάρτυρι: καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὐκ ἐπισηφίζω, τὸν δὲ προσδιαλεγόμενον
μόνον.' [6] οὕτω γὰρ ἐναργῆ ἐτίθει τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐννοιῶν, ὥστε πάνθ' ὄντιναοῦν
συναισθανόμενον τῆς μάχης ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῆς. [7] 'ἄρά γε ὁ φθονῶν
χαίρει;' — 'οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον λυπεῖται.' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἐκίνησε τὸν
πλησίον. 'τί δ'; ἐπὶ κακοῖς δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι λύπη ὁ φθόνος; καὶ τί ὁ φθόνος ἐστὶ
κακῶν;' [8] οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνον ἐποίησεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι λύπη ἐστὶν ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς ὁ
φθόνος. 'τί δέ; φθονοίῃ ἂν τις τοῖς οὐδὲν πρὸς αὐτόν;' [9] — 'οὐδαμῶς.' καὶ
οὕτως ἐκπεπληρωκῶς τὴν ἐννοιαν καὶ διηρθρωκῶς ἀπηλλάσσετο, οὐ λέγων
ὅτι 'ὀρισαί μοι τὸν φθόνον,' εἶτα ὀρισσαμένου 'κακῶς ὥρίσω: οὐ γὰρ
ἀντακολουθεῖ τῷ κεφαλαιώδει τὸ ὀρικόν:' [10] ῥήματα τεχνικὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
τοῖς ιδιώταις φορτικὰ καὶ δυσπαρακολούθητα, ὧν ἡμεῖς ἀποστήναι οὐ
δυνάμεθα. [11] ἐξ ὧν δ' αὐτὸς ὁ ιδιώτης ἐπακολουθῶν ταῖς αὐτοῦ φαντασίαις
παραχωρῆσαι δύναται ἂν τι ἢ ἀθετῆσαι, οὐδαμῶς διὰ τούτων αὐτὸν κινήσαι
δυνάμεθα. [12] καὶ λοιπὸν εἰκότως συναισθανόμενοι ταύτης ἡμῶν τῆς
ἀδυναμίας ἀπεχόμεθα τοῦ πράγματος, ὅσοις γ' ἐστὶ τι εὐλαβείας. [13] οἱ δὲ
πολλοὶ καὶ εἰκαῖοι συγκαθέντες εἷς τι τοιοῦτον φύρονται καὶ φύρουσι καὶ τὰ
τελευταῖα λοιδορήσαντες καὶ λοιδορηθέντες ἀπέρχονται. [14]

τὸ πρῶτον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα ἴδιον Σωκράτους μηδέποτε παροξυνθῆναι
ἐν λόγῳ, μηδέποτε λοιδοροῦν προενέγκασθαι μηδέν, μηδέποθ' ὕβριστικόν,
ἀλλὰ τῶν λοιδορούντων ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ παύειν μάχην. [15] εἰ θέλετε γνῶναι,
πόσῃ ἐν τούτῳ δύναμιν εἶχεν, ἀνάγνωτε τὸ Ξενοφῶντος Συμπόσιον καὶ

ὄψεσθε πόσας μάχας διαλέλυκεν. [16] διὰ τοῦτο εἰκότως καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἐν μεγίστῳ ἐπαίνῳ λέλεκεται τὸ αἰνῶν τε καὶ μέγα νεῖκος ἐπισταμένως κατέπαυσεν.

[17] τί οὖν; οὐ λίαν ἐστὶ νῦν ἀσφαλὲς τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ μάλιστα ἐν Ῥώμῃ. τὸν γὰρ ποιοῦντα αὐτὸ οὐκ ἐν γωνίᾳ δηλονότι δεήσει ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ προσελθόντα ὑπατικῷ τινι, ἂν οὕτως τύχῃ, πλουσίῳ πυθέσθαι αὐτοῦ [18] ‘ἔχεις μοι εἰπεῖν, ὦ οὗτος, ὃ τινι τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς σεαυτοῦ παρέδωκας;’ ‘ἔγωγε.’ ‘ἄρα τῷ τυχόντι καὶ ἀπειρῷ ἱππικῆς;’ ‘οὐδαμῶς.’ ‘τί δ’;’ ὃ τινι τὸ χρυσίον ἢ τὸ ἀργύριον ἢ τὴν ἐσθῆτα;’ ‘οὐδὲ ταῦτα τῷ τυχόντι.’ [19] ‘τὸ σῶμα δὲ τὸ σαυτοῦ ἤδη τινὶ ἔσκεψαι ἐπιτρέψαι εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ;’ ‘πῶς γὰρ οὐ;’ ‘ἐμπεῖρῳ δηλονότι καὶ τούτῳ ἀλειπτικῆς ἢ ἱατρικῆς;’ ‘πάνυ μὲν οὖν.’ [20] ‘πότερον ταῦτά σοι τὰ κράτιστά ἐστιν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐκτήσω πάντων ἅμεινον;’ ‘ποῖον καὶ λέγεις;’ ‘τὸ αὐτοῖς νῆ Δία τούτοις χρώμενον καὶ δοκιμάζον ἕκαστον καὶ βουλευόμενον.’ [21] ‘ἄρά γε τὴν ψυχὴν λέγεις;’ ‘ὀρθῶς ὑπέλαβες: ταύτην γάρ τοι καὶ λέγω.’ ‘πολὺ νῆ Δία τῶν ἄλλων τοῦτο ἅμεινον δοκῶ μοι κεκτηῖσθαι.’ [22] ‘ἔχεις οὖν εἰπεῖν, ὅτῳ τρόπῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμεμέλῃσαι; οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ χῶς ἔτυχεν εἰκὸς σε οὕτως σοφὸν ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει δόκιμον τὸ κράτιστον τῶν σεαυτοῦ περιορᾶν ἀμελούμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον.’ [23] ‘οὐδαμῶς.’ ‘ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἐπιμεμέλῃσαι αὐτοῦ; πότερον μαθὼν παρὰ τοῦ ἢ εὐρὼν αὐτός;’ ὥδε λοιπὸν ὁ κίνδυνος, μὴ πρῶτον μὲν εἴπῃ [24] ‘τί δέ σοι μέλει, βέλτιστε; κύριός μου εἶ;’ εἴτ’ ἂν ἐπιμείνῃς πράγματα παρέχων, διαράμενος κονδύλους σοι δῶ. [25] τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἤμην ποτὲ ζηλωτὴς καὶ αὐτός, πρὶν εἰς ταῦτα ἐμπεσεῖν.

περὶ τοῦ ἀγωνιᾶν.

ὅταν ἀγωνιῶντα ἴδω ἄνθρωπον, λέγω: οὗτος τί ποτε θέλει; εἰ μὴ τῶν οὐκ ἐφ’ αὐτῷ τι ἦθελεν, πῶς ἂν ἔτι ἡγωνία; [2] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ κιθαρωδὸς μόνος μὲν ἄδων οὐκ ἀγωνιᾷ, εἰς θέατρον δ’ εἰσερχόμενος, κἂν λίαν εὐφρονος ἦ καὶ καλῶς κιθαρίζῃ: οὐ γὰρ ἄσαι μόνον θέλει καλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐδοκιμῆσαι, τοῦτο δ’ οὐκέτι ἐστὶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ. [3] λοιπὸν οὗ μὲν ἡ ἐπιστήμη αὐτῷ πρόσσεστιν, ἐκεῖ τὸ θάρσος: φέρε ὃν θέλεις ιδιώτην καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστρέφεται: ὅπου δ’ οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδὲ μεμελέτηκεν, ἐκεῖ ἀγωνιᾷ. [4] τί δ’ ἔστι τοῦτο; οὐκ οἶδεν, τί ἐστὶν ὄχλος οὐδὲ τί ὄχλου ἔπαινος; ἀλλὰ τὴν νήτην μὲν τύπτειν ἔμαθεν καὶ τὴν ὑπάτην, ἔπαινος δ’ ὁ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν τί ἐστὶ καὶ τίνα δύνάμιν ἔχει ἐν βίῳ οὔτε οἶδεν οὔτε μεμελέτηκεν αὐτό. [5] ἀνάγκη λοιπὸν τρέμειν καὶ ὠχριαῖν. κιθαρωδὸν μὲν οὖν οὐ δύναμαι εἰπεῖν μὴ εἶναι, ὅταν ἴδω τινὰ φοβούμενον, ἄλλο δέ τι δύναμαι εἰπεῖν καὶ οὐδὲ ἓν, ἀλλὰ πολλά. [6] καὶ πρῶτον πάντων ξένον αὐτὸν καλῶ καὶ λέγω: οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ οἶδεν ποῦ τῆς γῆς ἐστὶν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοσούτου χρόνου ἐπιδημῶν ἀγνοεῖ τοὺς νόμους τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τί ἔξεστι καὶ τί οὐκ ἔξεστιν. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ νομικόν τινα παρέλαβεν πώποτε τὸν ἐροῦντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξηγησόμενον τὰ νόμιμα: [7] ἀλλὰ διαθήκη μὲν οὐ γράφει μὴ εἰδὼς πῶς δεῖ γράφειν ἢ παραλαβὼν τὸν εἰδότα οὐδ’ ἐγγύην ἄλλως σφραγίζεται ἢ ἀσφάλειαν γράφει, ὁρέξει δὲ χρῆται δίχα νομικοῦ καὶ ἐκκλίσει καὶ ὁρμῇ καὶ ἐπιβολῇ καὶ προθέσει. [8] πῶς δίχα νομικοῦ; οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι θέλει τὰ μὴ διδόμενα καὶ οὐ θέλει τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ οὐκ οἶδεν οὔτε τὰ ἴδια οὔτε τὰ ἀλλότρια. εἰ δέ γ’ ἦδει, οὐδέποτ’ ἂν ἐνεποδίζετο, οὐδέποτ’ ἐκωλύετο,

οὐκ ἂν ἡγωνία. [9] πῶς γὰρ οὐ; φοβεῖται τις οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν μὴ κακῶν; — οὐ. — τί δ'; ὑπὲρ τῶν κακῶν μὲν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δ' ὄντων ὥστε μὴ συμβῆναι; [10] — οὐδαμῶς. — εἰ οὖν τὰ μὲν ἀπροαίρετα οὐτ' ἀγαθὰ οὔτε κακά, τὰ προαιρετικὰ δὲ πάντα ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ οὐτ' ἀφελέσθαι τις ἡμῶν αὐτὰ δύναται οὔτε περιποιῆσαι ἃ οὐ θέλομεν αὐτῶν, ποῦ ἔτι τόπος ἀγωνίας; [11] ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ σωματίου ἀγωνιῶμεν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτησιδίου, περὶ τοῦ τί δόξει τῷ Καίσαρι, περὶ τῶν ἔσω δ' οὐδενός. μή τι περὶ τοῦ μὴ ψεῦδος ὑπολαβεῖν; — οὐ: ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἔστιν. — μή τι τοῦ ὀρμῆσαι παρὰ φύσιν; — οὐδὲ περὶ τούτου. — ὅταν οὖν ἴδῃς τινὰ ὠχριῶντα, [12] ὥς ὁ ἱατρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ χρώματος λέγει 'τούτου ὁ σπλὴν πέπονθε, τούτου δὲ τὸ ἥπαρ,' οὕτως καὶ σὺ λέγε 'τούτου ὄρεξις καὶ ἑκκλισις πέπονθεν, οὐκ εὐδοεῖ, φλεγμαίνει.' [13] χρῶμα γὰρ οὐ μεταβάλλει οὐδὲν ἄλλο οὐδὲ τρόμον ποιεῖ οὐδὲ ψόφον τῶν ὀδόντων οὐδὲ

μετοκλάζει καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους πόδας ἵζει.

[14] διὰ τοῦτο Ζήνων μὲν Ἀντιγόνῳ μέλλων ἐντυγχάνειν οὐκ ἡγωνία: ἃ γὰρ οὗτος ἐθαύμαζεν, τούτων οὐδενὸς εἶχεν ἐκεῖνος ἐξουσίαν, ὧν δ' εἶχεν ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἐπεστρέφετο οὗτος; [15] Ἀντίγονος δὲ Ζήνωνι μέλλων ἐντυγχάνειν ἡγωνία, καὶ εἰκότως: ἤθελε γὰρ ἀρέσκειν αὐτῷ, τοῦτο δ' ἔξω ἔκειτο: οὗτος δ' ἐκείνῳ οὐκ ἠθελεν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλος τις τεχνίτης τῷ ἀτέχνῳ.

[16] ἐγὼ σοὶ ἀρέσαι θέλω; ἀντί τίνος; οἶδας γὰρ τὰ μέτρα, καθ' ἃ κρίνεται ἄνθρωπος ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου; μεμέλητκέ σοι γνῶναι, τί ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ τί κακὸς καὶ πῶς ἑκάτερον γίγνεται; διὰ τί οὖν σὺ αὐτὸς ἀγαθὸς οὐκ εἶ; [17] — πῶς, φησίν, οὐκ εἰμί; — ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς πενθεῖ οὐδὲ στενάζει, οὐδεὶς οἰμῶζει, οὐδεὶς ὠχρίᾳ καὶ τρέμει οὐδὲ λέγει 'πῶς μ' ἀποδέξεται, πῶς μου ἀκούσει;' [18] ἀνδράποδον, ὥς ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ. τί οὖν σοὶ μέλει περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων; νῦν οὐκ ἐκείνου ἀμάρτημά ἐστι τὸ κακῶς ἀποδέξασθαι τὰ παρὰ σοῦ; — πῶς γὰρ οὐ; — δύναται δ' ἄλλου μὲν εἶναι ἀμάρτημα, ἄλλου δὲ κακόν; — οὐ. — τί οὖν ἀγωνιᾷς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων; [19] — ναί: ἀλλ' ἀγωνιῶ, πῶς ἐγὼ αὐτῷ λαλήσω. — εἰτ' οὐκ ἔξεστι γὰρ ὥς θέλεις αὐτῷ λαλήσαι; — ἀλλὰ δέδοικα μὴ ἐκκρουσθῶ. [20] — μή τι γράφειν μέλλων τὸ Δίωνος ὄνομα δέδοικας μὴ ἐκκρουσθῆς; — οὐδαμῶς. — τί τὸ αἴτιον; οὐχ ὅτι μεμελέτηκας γράφειν; — πῶς γὰρ οὐ; — τί δ'; ἀναγινώσκειν μέλλων οὐχ ὥσαυτως ἂν εἶχες; — ὥσαυτως. — τί τὸ αἴτιον; ὅτι πᾶσα τέχνη ἰσχυρόν τι ἔχει καὶ θαρραλέον ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῆς. [21] λαλεῖν οὖν οὐ μεμελέτηκας; καὶ τί ἄλλο ἐμελέτας ἐν τῇ σχολῇ; — συλλογισμοὺς καὶ μεταπίπτοντας. — ἐπὶ τί; οὐχ ὥστε ἐμπείρως διαλέγεσθαι; τὸ δ' ἐμπείρως ἐστὶν οὐχὶ εὐκαίρως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς καὶ συνετῶς, ἔτι δ' ἀπταιστώς καὶ ἀπαραποδίστως, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τεθαρρηκότως; — ναί. [22] — ἱππεὺς οὖν ὧν εἰς πεδίον ἐληλυθὼς πρὸς πεζὸν ἀγωνιᾷς, ὅπου σὺ μεμελέτηκας, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἀμελέτητός ἐστιν; — ναί: ἀλλὰ ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἀποκτεῖναί με. [23] — λέγε οὖν τὰ ἀληθῆ, δύστηνε, καὶ μὴ ἀλαζονεύου μηδὲ φιλόσοφος εἶναι ἀξίου μηδὲ ἀγνόει σου τοὺς κυρίους, ἀλλὰ μέχρις ἂν ἔχῃς ταύτην τὴν λαβὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἀκολουθεῖ παντὶ τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ. [24] λέγειν δὲ Σωκράτης ἐμελέτα ὁ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους οὕτως διαλεγόμενος, ὁ πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς, ὁ ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ. λέγειν Διογένης μεμελετήκει ὁ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον οὕτως λαλῶν, ὁ πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὁ πρὸς τοὺς

πειρατάς, ὁ πρὸς τὸν ὠνησάμενον αὐτόν ... ἐκείνοις, οἷς μεμέλετηκεν, τοῖς θαρροῦσι: [25;26] σὺ δ' ἐπὶ τὰ σαυτοῦ βάδιζε καὶ ἐκείνων ἀποστῆς μηδέποτε: εἰς τὴν γωνίαν ἀπελθὼν κάθησο καὶ πλέκε συλλογισμοὺς καὶ ἄλλω πρότεινε: “

οὐκ ἔστι δ' ἐν σοὶ πόλεος ἡγεμὼν ἀνὴρ.” [27]
πρὸς Νάσωνα.

εἰσελθόντος τινὸς τῶν Ῥωμαικῶν μετὰ υἱοῦ καὶ ἐπακούοντος ἐνὸς ἀναγνώσματος Οὗτος, ἔφη, ὁ τρόπος ἐστὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ ἀπεσιώπησεν. [2] ἀξιοῦντος δ' ἐκείνου εὐρεῖν τὰ ἐξῆς Κόπον ἔχει, ἔφη, πᾶσα τέχνη τῷ ιδιώτῃ καὶ ἀπείρῳ αὐτῆς, ὅταν παραδιδῶται. [3] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν γινόμενα τὴν τε χρεῖαν εὐθὺς ἐνδείκνυται πρὸς ὃ γέγονεν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα αὐτῶν ἔχει τι καὶ ἀγωγὸν καὶ ἐπίχαρι. [4] καὶ γὰρ σκυτεὺς πῶς μὲν μαθάνει τις παρῆναι καὶ παρακολουθεῖν ἀτερπές, τὸ δ' ὑπόδημα χρήσιμον καὶ ἰδεῖν ἄλλως οὐκ ἀηδές. [5] καὶ τέκτονος ἢ μὲν μάθησις ἀνιαρὰ μάλιστα τῷ ιδιώτῃ παρατυγχάνοντι, τὸ δ' ἔργον ἐπιδείκνυσιν τὴν χρεῖαν τῆς τέχνης. [6] πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ μουσικῆς ὅψει αὐτό: ἂν γὰρ παρῆς τῷ διδασκομένῳ, φανεῖται σοι πάντων ἀτερπέστατον τὸ μάθημα, τὰ μέντοι ἀπὸ τῆς μουσικῆς ἡδέα καὶ ἐπιτερπὴ τοῖς ιδιώταις ἀκούειν. [7] καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ μὲν ἔργον τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦντος τοιοῦτόν τι φανταζόμεθα, ὅτι δεῖ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν συναρμόσαι τοῖς γινομένοις, ὥς μήτε τι τῶν γινομένων ἀκόντων ἡμῶν γίνεσθαι μήτε τῶν μὴ γινομένων θελόντων ἡμῶν μὴ γίνεσθαι. [8] ἐξ οὗ περίεστι τοῖς συστησαμένοις αὐτὸ ἐν ὀρέξει μὴ ἀποτυγχάνειν, ἐν ἐκκλίσει δὲ μὴ περιπίπτειν, ἀλύπως, ἀφόβως, ἀταράχως διεξάγειν καθ' αὐτόν μετὰ τῶν κοινωνῶν τηροῦντα τὰς σχέσεις τὰς τε φυσικὰς καὶ ἐπιθέτους, τὸν υἱόν, τὸν πατέρα, τὸν ἀδελφόν, τὸν πολίτην, τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν γυναῖκα, τὸν γείτονα, τὸν σύνοδον, τὸν ἄρχοντα, τὸν ἀρχόμενον. [9]

τὸ ἔργον τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦντος τοιοῦτόν τι φανταζόμεθα. λοιπὸν ἐφεξῆς τοῦτ' αὖ ζητοῦμεν, πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο. ὁρῶμεν οὖν ὅτι ὁ τέκτων μαθὼν τινα γίνεται τέκτων, [10] ὁ κυβερνήτης μαθὼν τινα γίνεται κυβερνήτης. μή ποτ' οὖν καὶ ἐνθάδε οὐκ ἀπαρκεῖ τὸ βούλεσθαι καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι, χρεῖα δὲ καὶ μαθεῖν τινα; ζητοῦμεν οὖν τίνα ταῦτα. [11] λέγουσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ὅτι μαθεῖν δεῖ πρῶτον τοῦτο, ὅτι ἔστι θεὸς καὶ προνοεῖ τῶν ὅλων καὶ οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν αὐτόν οὐ μόνον ποιοῦντα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ διανοοῦμενον ἢ ἐνθυμούμενον: εἴτα ποιοί τινες εἰσίν. [12] οἷοι γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνοι εὐρεθῶσιν, τὸν ἐκεῖνοις ἀρέσοντα καὶ πεισθησόμενον ἀνάγκη πειρᾶσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν ἐξομοιοῦσθαι ἐκείνοις: [13] εἰ πιστόν ἐστι τὸ θεῖον, καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι πιστόν: εἰ ἐλεύθερον, καὶ τοῦτον ἐλεύθερον: εἰ εὐεργετικόν, καὶ τοῦτον εὐεργετικόν: εἰ μεγαλόφρον, καὶ τοῦτον μεγαλόφρον: ὥς θεοῦ τοίνυν ζηλωτὴν τὰ ἐξῆς πάντα καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν.

πόθεν οὖν ἄρξασθαι δεῖ; [14] — ἂν συγκαθῆς, ἐρῶ σοι ὅτι πρῶτον δεῖ σε τοῖς ὀνόμασι παρακολουθεῖν. — ὥστ' ἐγὼ νῦν οὐ παρακολουθῶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν; [15] — οὐ παρακολουθεῖς. — πῶς οὖν χρῶμαι αὐτοῖς; — οὕτως ὥς οἱ ἀγράμματοι ταῖς ἐγγραμμαῖταις φωναῖς, ὥς τὰ κτήνη ταῖς φαντασίαις: ἄλλο γάρ ἐστι χρῆσις, ἄλλο παρακολούθησις. [16] εἰ δ' οἶε παρακολουθεῖν, φέρε ὃ

θέλεις ὄνομα καὶ βασανίσωμεν αὐτούς, εἰ παρακολουθοῦμεν. [17] — ἀλλ' ἀνιαρὸν τὸ ἐξελέγχεσθαι πρεσβύτερον ἄνθρωπον ἤδη καὶ οὕτως τύχη τὰς τρεῖς στρατείας ἐστρατευμένον. [18] — οἶδα καὶ γὰρ. νῦν γὰρ σὺ ἐλήλυθας πρὸς ἐμὲ ὡς μηδενὸς δεόμενος. τίνος δ' ἂν καὶ φαντασθῇς ὡς ἐνδέοντος; πλουτεῖς, τέκνα ἔχεις τυχὸν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ οἰκέτας πολλούς, ὁ Καῖσάρ σε οἶδεν, ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλοὺς φίλους κέκτησαι, τὰ καθήκοντα ἀποδίδως, οἶδας τὸν εὖ ποιοῦντα ἀντευποιῆσαι καὶ τὸν κακῶς ποιοῦντα κακῶς ποιῆσαι. [19] τί σοι λείπει; ἂν οὖν σοι δείξω, ὅτι τὰ ἀναγκασιότατα καὶ μέγιστα πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ὅτι μέχρι δεῦρο πάντων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν προσηκόντων ἐπιμεμέλησαι, καὶ τὸν κολοφῶνα ἐπιθῶ: οὔτε τί θεός ἐστιν οἶδας οὔτε τί ἄνθρωπος οὔτε τί ἀγαθὸν οὔτε τί κακόν, [20] καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἴσως ἀνεκτόν, ὅτι δ' αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀγνοεῖς, πῶς δύνασαι ἀνασχέσθαι μου καὶ ὑποσχεῖν τὸν ἔλεγχον καὶ παραμεῖναι; [21] οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπαλλάσσει χαλεπῶς ἔχων. καίτοι τί σοι ἐγὼ κακὸν πεποίηκα; εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸ ἔσοπτρον τῷ αἰσχρῷ, ὅτι δεικνύει αὐτὸν αὐτῷ οἷός ἐστιν: εἰ μὴ καὶ ὁ ἱατρὸς τὸν νοσοῦντα ὅταν αὐτὸν ὑβρίζει, ὅταν εἴπῃ αὐτῷ 'ἄνθρωπε, δοκεῖς μηδὲν ἔχειν, πυρέσσεις δέ: ἀσίτησον σήμερον, ὕδωρ πίε:' καὶ οὐδεὶς λέγει 'ὦ δεινῆς ὕβρεως.' [22] ἐὰν δέ τι εἴπῃς 'αἱ ὀρέξεις σου φλεγμαίνουσιν, αἱ ἐκκλίσεις ταπειναί εἰσιν, αἱ ἐπιβολαὶ ἀνομολογούμεναι, αἱ ὁρμαὶ ἀσύμφωνοι τῇ φύσει, αἱ ὑπολήψεις εἰκαῖαι καὶ ἐψευσμένοι,' εὐθὺς ἐξελθὼν λέγει 'ὑβρίσέν με.'

[23] τοιαῦτα ἐστὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ὡς ἐν πανηγύρει. τὰ μὲν κτήνη παραθησόμενα ἄγεται καὶ οἱ βόες, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν ὠνησόμενοι οἱ δὲ πωλήσοντες: ὀλίγοι δὲ τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ κατὰ θεὸν ἐρχόμενοι τῆς πανηγύρεως, πῶς τοῦτο γίνεται καὶ διὰ τί καὶ τίνες οἱ τιθέντες τὴν πανηγυρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι. [24] οὕτως καὶ ἐνθάδ' ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει ταύτῃ: οἱ μὲν τινες ὡς κτήνη οὐδὲν πλέον πολυπραγμονοῦσι τοῦ χόρτου: ὅσοι γὰρ περὶ κτήσιν καὶ ἀγροῦς καὶ οἰκέτας καὶ ἀρχάς τινας ἀναστρέφεσθε, ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ χόρτος ἐστίν: [25] ὀλίγοι δ' εἰσιν οἱ πανηγυρίζοντες ἄνθρωποι φιλοθεάμονες. τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμος, τίς αὐτὸν διοικεῖ. οὐδεὶς; [26] καὶ πῶς οἷόν τε πόλιν μὲν ἢ οἶκον μὴ δύνασθαι διαμένειν μηδ' ὀλιγοστὸν χρόνον δίχα τοῦ διοικοῦντος καὶ ἐπιμελομένου, τὸ δ' οὕτως μέγα καὶ καλὸν κατασκευάσμα εἰκῇ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν οὕτως εὐτάκτως οἰκονομεῖσθαι; [27] ἔστιν οὖν ὁ διοικῶν. ποῖός τις καὶ πῶς ὁ διοικῶν; ἡμεῖς δὲ τινες ὄντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονάμεν καὶ πρὸς τί ἔργον; ἄρά γ' ἔχομέν τινα ἐπιπλοκὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ σχέσιν ἢ οὐδεμίαν; [28] ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἃ πάσχουσιν οὗτοι οἱ ὀλίγοι: καὶ λοιπὸν τούτῳ μόνῳ σχολάζουσιν τῷ τὴν πανηγυρίαν ἱστορήσαντας ἀπελθεῖν. [29] τί οὖν; καταγελῶνται ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ οἱ θεαταὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων: καὶ εἰ τὰ κτήνη συναίσθησιν τινα εἶχεν, κατεγέλα τῶν ἄλλο τι τεθναυμακώτων ἢ τὸν χόρτον.

πρὸς τοὺς σκληρῶς τισιν ὦν ἔκριναν ἐμμένοντας.

ὅταν ἀκούσωσί τινες τούτων τῶν λόγων, ὅτι βέβαιον εἶναι δεῖ καὶ ἡ μὲν προαίρεσις ἐλευθέρου φύσει καὶ ἀνανάγκαστον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα κωλυτά, ἀναγκαστά, δοῦλα, ἀλλότρια, φαντάζονται ὅτι δεῖ παντὶ τῷ κριθέντι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπαρabaτῶς ἐμμένειν. [2] ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ὑγιὲς εἶναι δεῖ τὸ κεκριμένον. θέλω γὰρ εἶναι τόνους ἐν σώματι, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑγιαίνοντι, ὡς ἀθλοῦντι: [3] ἂν δὲ

μοι φρενιτικοῦ τόνους ἔχων ἐνδεικνύης καὶ ἀλαζονεῦῃ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, ἐρῶ σοι ὅτι ‘ἄνθρωπε, ζῆται τὸν θεραπεύσοντα. τοῦτο οὐκ εἰσὶ τόνοι, ἀλλ’ ἀτονία.’ [4] ἕτερον τρόπον τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πάσχουσιν οἱ παρακούοντες τῶν λόγων τούτων. οἷον καὶ ἐμός τις ἐταῖρος ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἔκρινεν ἀποκαρτερεῖν. [5] ἔγνων ἐγὼ ἤδη τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀποχῆς καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐπυνθανόμην τί ἐγένετο. [6] — κέκρικα, φησίν. — ἀλλ’ ὅμως τί σε ἦν τὸ ἀναπεῖσαν; εἰ γὰρ ὀρθῶς ἔκρινας, ἰδοὺ παρακαθήμεθά σοι καὶ συνεργοῦμεν, ἵν’ ἐξέλθῃς; εἰ δ’ ἀλόγως ἔκρινας, μετάθου. [7] — τοῖς κριθεῖσιν ἐμμένειν δεῖ. — τί ποιεῖς, ἄνθρωπε; οὐ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὀρθῶς. ἐπεὶ παθὼν ἄρτι ὅτι νύξ ἐστίν, ἂν σοι δοκῇ, μὴ μετατίθεσο, ἀλλ’ ἐμμενε καὶ λέγε ὅτι τοῖς κριθεῖσιν ἐμμένειν δεῖ. [8] τί ποιεῖς, ἄνθρωπε; οὐ πᾶσιν. οὐ θέλεις τὴν ἀρχὴν στήσαι καὶ τὸν θεμέλιον, τὸ κρίμα σκέψασθαι πότερον ὑγιὲς ἢ οὐχ ὑγιὲς, καὶ οὕτως λοιπὸν ἐποικοδομεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν εὐτονίαν, τὴν ἀσφάλειαν; [9] ἂν δὲ σαπρὸν ὑποστήσῃ καὶ καταπίπτον, οὐκ † οἰκοδόμημά τι ὄν, ὅσῳ δ’ ἂν πλείονα καὶ ἰσχυρότερα ἐπιθῇς, τοσοῦτω θάττον θάττον κατενεχθήσεται. [10] ἄνευ πάσης αἰτίας ἐξάγεις ἡμῖν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν φίλον καὶ συνήθη, τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως πολίτην καὶ τῆς μεγάλης καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς; [11] εἴτα φόνον ἐργαζόμενος καὶ ἀπολλύων ἄνθρωπον μηδὲν ἡδικοκῶτα λέγεις ὅτι τοῖς κριθεῖσιν ἐμμένειν δεῖ. [12] εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ ἡλθὲν σοὶ πὼς ποτ’ ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνει, ἔδει σε ἐμμένειν τοῖς κριθεῖσιν;

[13] ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν μόγις μετεπεῖσθη. τῶν δὲ νῦν τινὰς οὐκ ἔστι μεταθεῖναι. ὥστε μοι δοκῶ ὁ πρότερον ἠγνόουν νῦν εἰδέναι, τί ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ λεγόμενον: μωρὸν οὔτε πῆσαι οὔτε ῥῆξαι ἔστιν. [14] μὴ μοι γένοιτο φίλον ἔχειν σοφὸν μωρόν. δυσμεταχειριστότερον οὐδὲν ἐστίν. ‘κέκρικα.’ καὶ γὰρ οἱ μαινόμενοι: ἀλλ’ ὅσῳ βεβαιότερον κρίνουνσι τὰ οὐκ ὄντα, τοσοῦτω πλείονος ἐλλεβόρου δέονται. [15] οὐ θέλεις τὰ τοῦ νοσοῦντος ποιεῖν καὶ τὸν ἱατρὸν παρακαλεῖν; ‘νοσῶ, κύριε: βοήθησόν μοι. τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν σκέψαι: ἐμόν ἐστι πειθεσθαί σοι.’ [16] οὕτως καὶ ἐνταῦθ’. ‘ἂ δεῖ με ποιεῖν οὐκ οἶδα, ἐλήλυθα δὲ μαθησόμενος.’ οὐ, ἀλλὰ ‘περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μοι λέγε. [17] τοῦτο δὲ κέκρικα.’ περὶ ποίων ἄλλων; τί γάρ ἐστι μείζον ἢ προὔργιαίτερον τοῦ πεισθῆναι σε, ὅτι οὐκ ἄρκεῖ τὸ κεκρικέναι καὶ τὸ μὴ μεταθέσθαι; [18] οὗτοι οἱ μανικοὶ τόνοι, οὐχ ὑγιεινοί. ‘ἀποθανεῖν θέλω, ἂν με τοῦτο ἀναγκάσῃς.’ διὰ τί, ἄνθρωπε; τί ἐγένετο; ‘κέκρικα.’ ἐσώθην, ὅτι οὐ κέκρικας ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνειν. [19] ‘ἀργύριον οὐ λαμβάνω.’ διὰ τί; ‘κέκρικα.’ ἴσθι ὅτι ᾧ τόνῳ νῦν χρῆ πρὸς τὸ μὴ λαμβάνειν, οὐδὲν κωλύει σε ἀλόγως ποτὲ ῥέψαι πρὸς τὸ λαμβάνειν καὶ πάλιν λέγειν ὅτι [20] ‘κέκρικα,’ ὥσπερ ἐν νοσοῦντι καὶ ρευματιζομένῳ σώματι ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ποτὲ δ’ ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνα ῥέπει τὸ ρεῦμα. οὕτως καὶ ἀσθενὴς ψυχὴ, ὅπου μὲν κλίνει, ἄδῃλον ἔχει: ὅταν δὲ καὶ τόνος προσῇ τῷ κλίματι τούτῳ καὶ τῇ φορᾷ, τότε γίνεται τὸ κακὸν ἀβοήθητον καὶ ἀθεράπευτον.

ὅτι οὐ μελετῶμεν χρῆσθαι τοῖς περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν δόγμασιν.

ποῦ τὸ ἀγαθόν; — ἐν προαιρέσει. — ποῦ τὸ κακόν; — ἐν προαιρέσει. — ποῦ τὸ οὐδέτερον; — ἐν τοῖς ἀπροαιρέτοις. [2] — τί οὖν; μέμνηται τις ἡμῶν ἔξω τούτων τῶν λόγων; μελετᾷ τις αὐτὸς ἐφ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀποκρίνεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ὥς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρωτημάτων: ‘ἄρα γε ἡμέρα ἐστίν;’ ‘ναί.’ ‘τί δέ; νύξ ἐστίν;’ ‘οὐ.’ ‘τί δ’;’ ἄρτιοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀστέρες;’ ‘οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν.’

[3] ὅταν σοι προφαίνηται ἀργύριον, μεμελέτηκας ἀποκρίνεσθαι τὴν δέουσαν ἀπόκρισιν, ὅτι ‘οὐκ ἀγαθόν;’ ἥσκηκας ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν ἢ πρὸς μόνον: τὰ σοφίσματα; [4] τί οὖν θαυμάζεις, εἰ, ὅπου μὲν μεμελέτηκας, ἐκεῖ κρείττων γένῃ σεαυτοῦ, ὅπου δ’ ἀμελετήτως ἔχεις, ἐκεῖ δ’ ὁ αὐτὸς διαμένεις; [5] ἐπεὶ διὰ τί ὁ ῥήτωρ εἰδὼς ὅτι γέγραφε καλῶς, ὅτι ἀνείληφε τὰ γεγραμμένα, φωνὴν εἰσφέρων ἡδεῖαν ὅμως ἐτι ἀγωνιᾷ; ὅτι οὐκ ἀρκεῖται τῷ μελετῆσαι. [6] τί οὖν θέλεις; ἐπαινεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ δύνασθαι μελετᾶν ἥσκηται, πρὸς ἔπαινον δὲ καὶ ψόγον οὐκ ἥσκηται. [7] πότε γὰρ ἤκουσεν παρά τινος, τί ἐστὶν ἔπαινος, τί ἐστὶ ψόγος, τίς ἐκατέρου φύσις; τοὺς ποίους τῶν ἐπαίνων διωκτέον ἢ τοὺς ποίους τῶν ψόγων φευκτέον; πότε δ’ ἐμελέτησεν ταύτην τὴν μελέτην ἀκόλουθον τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις; [8] τί οὖν ἐτι θαυμάζεις, εἰ, ὅπου μὲν ἔμαθεν, ἐκεῖ διαφέρει τῶν ἄλλων, ὅπου δ’ οὐ μεμελέτηκεν, ἐκεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν; [9] ὥς ὁ κιθαρωδὸς οἶδεν κιθαρίζειν, ἄδει καλῶς, στατὸν ἔχει καλὸν καὶ ὅμως εἰσερχόμενος τρέμει: ταῦτα γὰρ οἶδεν, ὄχλος δὲ τί ἐστὶν οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδ’ ὄχλου βοῇ οὐδὲ κατάγελως. [10] ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγωνιᾶν τί ἐστὶν οἶδεν, πότερον ἡμέτερον ἔργον ἐστὶν ἢ ἀλλότριον, ἔστιν αὐτὸ παῦσαι ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν. διὰ τοῦτο ἐὰν μὲν ἐπαινεθῇ, φυσηθεὶς ἐξήλθεν: ἐὰν δὲ καταγελασθῇ, τὸ φυσημάτιον ἐκεῖνο ἐκεντήθη καὶ προσεκάθισεν.

[11] τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἡμεῖς πάσχομεν. τίνα θαυμάζομεν; τὰ ἐκτός. περὶ τίνα σπουδάζομεν; περὶ τὰ ἐκτός. εἴτ’ ἀποροῦμεν, πῶς φοβούμεθα ἢ πῶς ἀγωνιῶμεν; [12] τί οὖν ἐνδέχεται, ὅταν τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα κακὰ ἡγώμεθα; οὐ δυνάμεθα μὴ φοβεῖσθαι, οὐ δυνάμεθα μὴ ἀγωνιᾶν. [13] εἴτα λέγομεν ‘κύριε ὁ θεός, πῶς μὴ ἀγωνιῶ;’ μωρὲ, χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχεις; οὐκ ἐποίησέν σοι αὐτὰς ὁ θεός; εὐχου νῦν καθήμενος, ὅπως αἱ μύξαι σου μὴ ῥέωσιν: ἀπόμυξαι μᾶλλον καὶ μὴ ἐγκάλει. [14] τί οὖν; ἐνταυθὰ σοι οὐδὲν δέδωκεν; οὐ δέδωκέ σοι καρτερίαν, οὐ δέδωκέ σοι μεγαλοψυχίαν, οὐ δέδωκεν ἀνδρείαν; τηλικαύτας ἔχων χεῖρας ἐτι ζητεῖς τὸν ἀπομύζοντα; [15] ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μελετῶμεν ταῦτα οὐδ’ ἐπιστρεφόμεθα. ἐπεὶ δότε μοι ἓνα, ὃ μέλει πῶς τι ποιήσῃ, ὃς ἐπιστρέφεται οὐ τοῦ τυχεῖν τινος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας τῆς αὐτοῦ: τίς περιπατῶν τῆς ἐνεργείας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρέφεται; τίς βουλευόμενος αὐτῆς τῆς βουλῆς, οὐχὶ δὲ τοῦ τυχεῖν ἐκείνου περὶ οὗ βουλευέται; [16] κἂν μὲν τύχη, ἐπῆρται καὶ λέγει ‘πῶς γὰρ ἡμεῖς καλῶς ἐβουλευσάμεθα; οὐκ ἔλεγόν σοι, ἀδελφέ, ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἡμῶν τι σκεψαμένων μὴ οὕτως ἐκβῆναι;’ ἂν δ’ ἐτέρως χωρήσῃ, τεταπεινῶνται τάλας, οὐχ εὐρίσκει οὐδὲ τί εἴπῃ περὶ τῶν γεγονότων. τίς ἡμῶν τούτου ἕνεκα μάντιν παρέλαβεν; [17] τίς ἡμῶν † οὐκ ἐνεκοιμήθη † ὑπὲρ ἐνεργείας; τίς; ἓνα μοι δότε, ἵνα ἴδω τοῦτον, ὃν ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου ζητῶ, τὸν ταῖς ἀληθείαις εὐγενῇ καὶ εὐφυῶ: εἴτε νέον εἴτε πρεσβύτερον, δότε. [18]

τί οὖν ἐτι θαυμάζομεν εἰ περὶ μὲν τὰς ὕλας τετρίμμεθα, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐνεργείαις ταπεινοί, ἀσχήμονες, οὐδενὸς ἄξιοι, δειλοί, ἀταλαίπωροι, ὅλοι ἀτυχήματα; οὐ γὰρ μεμέληκεν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ μελετῶμεν. [19] εἰ δὲ μὴ τὸν θάνατον ἢ τὴν φυγὴν ἐφοβούμεθα, ἀλλὰ τὸν φόβον, ἐμελετῶμεν ἂν ἐκείνοις μὴ περιπίπτειν ἃ φαίνεται ἡμῖν κακά. [20] νῦν δ’ ἐν μὲν τῇ σχολῇ γοργοὶ καὶ κατάγλωσσοι, κἂν ζητημάτιον ἐμπέσῃ περὶ τινος τούτων, ἱκανοὶ τὰ ἐξῆς

ἐπελθεῖν: ἔλκυσον δ' εἰς χρήσιν καὶ εὐρήσεις τάλανας ναυαγούς. προσπεσέτω φαντασία ταρακτική καὶ γνώση, τί ἐμελετῶμεν καὶ πρὸς τί ἐγυμναζόμεθα. [21] λοιπὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμελετησίας προσεπισωρεῖομεν αἰεὶ τινα καὶ προσπλάσσομεν μείζονα τῶν καθεστῶτων. εὐθὺς ἐγώ, [22] ὅταν πλέω, κατακύψας εἰς τὸν βυθὸν ἢ τὸ πέλαγος περιβλεψάμενος καὶ μὴ ἰδὼν γῆν ἐξίσταμαι καὶ φανταζόμενος, ὅτι ὅλον με δεῖ τὸ πέλαγος τοῦτο ἐκπλεῖν, ἂν ναυαγῇσω, οὐκ ἐπέρχεται μοι, ὅτι μοι τρεῖς ξέσται ἀρκοῦσιν. τί οὖν με ταρασσει; τὸ πέλαγος; οὐ, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόγμα. [23] πάλιν ὅταν σεισμὸς γένηται, φαντάζομαι ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιτίπτει μοι μέλλει: οὐ γὰρ ἄρκει μικρὸν λιθάριον, ἴν' ἔξω μου τὸν ἐγκέφαλον βάλλῃ;

[24] τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ βαροῦντα καὶ ἐξιστάντα ἡμᾶς; τίνα γὰρ ἄλλα ἢ τὰ δόγματα; τὸν γὰρ ἐξιόντα καὶ ἀπαλαττόμενον τῶν συνήθων καὶ ἐταίρων καὶ τόπων καὶ συναναστροφῆς τί ἐστὶ τὸ βαροῦν ἄλλο ἢ δόγμα; [25] τὰ γοῦν παιδία εὐθὺς ὅταν κλαύσῃ μικρὰ τῆς τιτθῆς ἀπελθούσης, πλακοῦντιον λαβόντα ἐπιέλησται. [26] θέλεις οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖς παιδίοις ὁμοιωμεν; οὐ, νῆ τὸν Δία. οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ πλακουντίου τοῦτο πάσχειν ἀξιῶ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δογμάτων ὀρθῶν. [27] τίνα δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα; ἃ δεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν μελετῶντα μηδενὶ προσπάσχειν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, μὴθ' ἐταίρω μήτε τόπῳ μήτε γυμνασίοις, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ τῷ σώματι τῷ αὐτοῦ, μεμνήσθαι δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦτον πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχειν. τίς δ' ὁ νόμος ὁ θεῖος; [28] τὰ ἴδια τηρεῖν, τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μὴ ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ διδομένοις μὲν χρῆσθαι, μὴ διδόμενα δὲ μὴ ποθεῖν, ἀφαιρουμένους δὲ τινος ἀποδιδόναι εὐλύτως καὶ αὐτόθεν, χάριν εἰδότα οὐ ἐχρήσατο χρόνου, εἰ θέλεις μὴ κλάειν τὴν τιτθὴν καὶ μάμμην. [29] τί γὰρ διαφέρει, τίνος ἦττων ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκ τίνος κρέματα; τί κρεῖττων εἶ τοῦ διὰ κοράσιον κλάοντος, εἰ διὰ γυμνασίδιον καὶ στωΐδια καὶ νεανισκάρια καὶ τοιαύτην διατριβὴν πενθεῖς; [30] ἄλλος ἐλθὼν ὅτι οὐκέτι τὸ τῆς Δίρκης ὕδωρ πίνειν μέλλει. τὸ γὰρ Μάρκιον χειρόν ἐστὶ τοῦ τῆς Δίρκης; 'ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι σύνηθες ἦν.' [31] καὶ τοῦτο πάλιν ἔσται σοι σύνηθες. εἴτ' ἂν μὲν τοιοῦτῳ προσπάθῃς, καὶ τοῦτο πάλιν κλαῖε καὶ ζήτηι στίχον ὅμοιον τῷ Εὐριπίδου ποιῆσαι

θερμάς τε τὰς Νέρωνος Μάρκιόν θ' ὕδωρ.

ἶδε πῶς τραγωδία γίνεται, ὅταν εἰς μωροὺς ἀνθρώπους πράγματα τὰ τυγχάνοντ' ἐμπέσῃ.

[32] 'πότε οὖν Ἀθήνας πάλιν ὄψομαι καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν;' τάλας, οὐκ ἄρκει σοι ἃ βλέπεις καθ' ἡμέραν; κρεῖττόν τι ἔχεις ἢ μείζον ἰδεῖν τοῦ ἡλίου, τῆς σελήνης, τῶν ἄστρον, τῆς γῆς ὅλης, τῆς θαλάσσης; [33] εἰ δὲ δὴ παρακολουθεῖς τῷ διοικοῦντι τὰ ὅλα κἀκεῖνον ἐν σαντῷ περιφέρεις, ἔτι ποθεῖς λιθάρια καὶ πέτραν κομψήν; ὅταν οὖν μέλλῃς ἀπολιπεῖν αὐτὸν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, τί ποιήσεις; [34] κλαύσεις καθήμενος ὥς τὰ παιδία; τί οὖν ἐν τῇ σχολῇ ἐποίεις, τί ἤκουες, τί ἐμάνθανες; τί σαντὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπέγραφες ἐξὸν τὰ ὄντα ἐπιγράφειν; ὅτι 'εἰσαγωγὰς ἔπραξάς τινας καὶ Χρυσίππεια ἀνέγων, φιλοσόφου δ' οὐδὲ θύραν παρῆλθον. [35] ποῦ γὰρ μοι μέτεστι τούτου τοῦ πράγματος, οὐ Σωκράτει μετὴν τῷ οὕτως ἀποθανόντι, οὕτως ζήσαντι; οὐ Διογένηι μετῆν;' ἐπινοεῖς τούτων τινα κλάοντα ἢ ἀγανακτοῦντα, [36] ὅτι τὸν δεῖνα οὐ μέλλει βλέπειν οὐδὲ τὴν δεῖνα οὐδ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἔσεσθαι ἢ ἐν

Κορίνθω, ἀλλ', ἂν οὕτως τύχη, ἐν Σούσοις ἢ ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις; [37] ὃ γὰρ ἕξεσιν ἐξελεῖν, ὅταν θέλῃ, τοῦ συμποσίου καὶ μηκέτι παίζειν, ἔτι οὗτος ἀνιάται μένων; οὐχὶ δ' ὥς παιδιᾷ παραμένει, μέχρις ἂν ψυχαγωγῇται; [38] ταχύ γ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος ὑπομῖναι φυγὴν τινα φυγεῖν εἰς ἅπαντα ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακριθεῖς. [39]

οὐ θέλεις ἤδη ὡς τὰ παιδιά ἀπογαλακτισθῆναι καὶ ἄπτεσθαι τροφῆς στερεωτέρας μηδὲ κλάειν μάμμας καὶ τιθάς, γραῶν ἀποκλαύματα; [40] 'ἀλλ' ἐκείνας ἀπαλλασσόμενος ἀνιάσω.' σὺ αὐτὰς ἀνιάσεις; οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ὅπερ καὶ σέ, τὸ δόγμα. τί οὖν ἔχεις ποιῆσαι; ἔξελε, τὸ δ' ἐκείνων, ἂν εὖ ποιῶσιν, αὐταὶ ἐξελοῦσιν: εἰ δὲ μή, οἰμώξουσιν δι' αὐτάς. [41] ἄνθρωπε, τὸ λεγόμενον τοῦτο ἀπονοήθητι ἤδη ὑπὲρ εὐροίας, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, ὑπὲρ μεγαλοψυχίας. ἀνάτεινόν ποτε τὸν τράχηλον ὡς ἀπηλλαγμένος δουλείας, [42] τόλμησον ἀναβλέψας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'χρῶ μοι λοιπὸν εἰς ὃ ἂν θέλῃς: ὁμογνωμονῶ σοι, ἰσὸς εἰμι: οὐδὲν παραιτοῦμαι τῶν σοὶ δοκούντων: ὅπου θέλεις, ἄγε: ἦν θέλεις ἐσθῆτα περίθεσ. ἄρχειν με θέλεις, ἰδιωτεύειν, μένειν, φεύγειν, πένεσθαι, πλουτεῖν; ἐγὼ σοι ὑπὲρ πάντων τούτων πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπολογήσομαι: δείξω τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν οἷα ἐστίν.' [43] οὐ: [44] ἀλλ' ἐν βοδὸς κοιλίᾳ καθήμενος ἐκδέχου σου τὴν μάμμη, μέχρις σε χορτάσῃ. ὁ Ἡρακλῆς εἰ τοῖς ἐν οἴκῳ παρεκάθητο, τίς ἂν ἦν; Εὐρυσθεὺς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἡρακλῆς. ἄγε, πόσους δὲ περιερχόμενος τὴν οἰκουμένην συνήθεις ἔσχεν, φίλους; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν φίλτερον τοῦ θεοῦ: διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιστεύθη Διὸς υἱὸς εἶναι καὶ ἦν. ἐκείνῳ τοίνυν πειθόμενος περιήει καθάρων ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀνομίαν. [45] ἀλλ' οὐκ εἴ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ οὐ δύνασαι καθαίρειν τὰ ἀλλότρια κακά, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Θησεύς, ἵνα τὰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καθάρῃς: τὰ σαυτοῦ κάθαρον. ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ τῆς διανοίας ἔκβαλε ἀντὶ Προκρούστου καὶ Σκίρωνος λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, φθόνον, ἐπιχαιρεκακίαν, φιλαργυρίαν, μαλακίαν, ἀκρασίαν. [46] ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως ἐκβαλεῖν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς μόνον τὸν θεὸν ἀποβλέποντα, ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ προσπεπονθότα, τοῖς ἐκείνου προστάγμασι καθωσιωμένον. ἂν δ' ἄλλο τι θέλῃς, [47] οἰμώζων καὶ στένων ἀκολουθήσεις τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ ἔξω ζητῶν ἀεὶ τὴν εὐροίαν καὶ μηδέποτ' εὐροεῖν δυνάμενος. ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτὴν ζητεῖς, οὐ μὴ ἔστιν, ἀφείς ἐκεῖ ζητεῖν, ὅπου ἔστιν.

πῶς ἐφαρμοστέον τὰς προλήψεις τοῖς ἐπὶ μέρους.

τί πρῶτόν ἐστιν ἔργον τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦντος; ἀποβαλεῖν οἷσιν: ἀμήχανον γάρ, ἃ τις εἰδέναι οἶεται, ταῦτα ἄρξασθαι μαθάνειν. [2] τὰ μὲν οὖν ποιητέα καὶ οὐ ποιητέα καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακά καὶ καλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ πάντες ἄνω καὶ κάτω λαλοῦντες ἐρχόμεθα πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσόφους, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπαινοῦντες ψέγοντες, ἐγκαλοῦντες μεμφόμενοι, περὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων καλῶν καὶ αἰσχυρῶν ἐπικρίνοντες καὶ διαλαμβάνοντες. [3] τίνος δ' ἔνεκα προσερχόμεθα τοῖς φιλοσόφοις; † ἃ οὐκ οἰόμεθα εἰδέναι. τίνα δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα; τὰ θεωρήματα. ἃ γὰρ λαλοῦσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι, μαθεῖν θέλομεν ὡς κομψὰ καὶ δριμέα, οἱ δ', ἵν' ἀπ' αὐτῶν περιποιήσωνται. [4] γελοῖον οὖν τὸ οἶεσθαι, ὅτι ἄλλα μὲν τις μαθεῖν βούλεται, ἄλλα δὲ μαθήσεται, ἢ λοιπὸν ὅτι προκόψει τις ἐν οἷς οὐ μαθάνει. [5] τὸ δ' ἐξαπατῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὅπερ καὶ Θεόπομπον τὸν ῥήτορα, ὅπου καὶ Πλάτωνι ἐγκαλεῖ ἐπὶ τῷ βούλεσθαι ἕκαστα ὀρίζεσθαι. [6] τί γὰρ

λέγει; ‘οὐδείς ἡμῶν πρὸ σοῦ ἔλεγεν ἀγαθὸν ἢ δίκαιον; ἢ μὴ παρακολουθοῦντες τί ἐστὶ τούτων ἕκαστον ἀσήμεως καὶ κενῶς [7] ἐφθεγγόμεθα τὰς φωνάς;’ τίς γάρ σοι λέγει, Θεόπομπε, ὅτι ἐννοίας οὐκ εἶχομεν ἑκάστου τούτων φυσικὰς καὶ προλήψεις; ἀλλ’ οὐχ οἷόν τ’ ἐφαρμόζειν τὰς προλήψεις ταῖς καταλλήλοις οὐσίαις μὴ διαρθρώσαντα αὐτάς καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο σκεψάμενον, ποίαν τινὰ ἑκάστη αὐτῶν οὐσίαν ὑποτακτέον. [8] ἐπεὶ τοιαῦτα λέγε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἰατρούς: ‘τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐκ ἔλεγεν ὑγιεινόν τι καὶ νοσερόν, πρὶν Ἰπποκράτη γενέσθαι; ἢ κενῶς τὰς φωνὰς ταύτας ἀπηχούμεν;’ [9] ἔχομεν γάρ τινα καὶ ὑγιεινοῦ πρόληψιν, ἀλλ’ ἐφαρμόσαι οὐ δυνάμεθα. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν λέγει ‘ἀνάτεινον,’ ὁ δὲ λέγει ‘δὸς τροφήν:’ καὶ ὁ μὲν λέγει ‘φλεβοτόμησον,’ ὁ δὲ λέγει ‘σικύασον.’ τί τὸ αἷτιον; ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι τὴν τοῦ ὑγιεινοῦ πρόληψιν οὐ δύναται καλῶς ἐφαρμόσαι τοῖς ἐπὶ μέρους;

[10] οὕτως ἔχει καὶ ἐνθάδ’ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον. ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν καὶ συμφέρον καὶ ἀσύμφορον τίς ἡμῶν οὐ λαλεῖ; τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐκ ἔχει τούτων ἑκάστου πρόληψιν; ἄρ’ οὖν διηρθρωμένην καὶ τελείαν; [11] τοῦτο δεῖξον. ‘πῶς δεῖξω;’ ἐφάρμοσον αὐτὴν καλῶς ταῖς ἐπὶ μέρους οὐσίαις. εὐθὺς τοὺς ὅρους Πλάτων μὲν ὑποτάσσει τῇ τοῦ χρησίου προλήψει, σὺ δὲ τῇ τοῦ ἀχρήστου. [12] δυνατόν οὖν ἐστὶν ἀμφοτέρους ὑμᾶς ἐπιτυγχάνειν; πῶς οἷόν τε; τῇ δὲ τοῦ πλούτου οὐσίᾳ οὐχ ὁ μὲν τις ἐφαρμόζει τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πρόληψιν, ὁ δ’ οὐ; τῇ δὲ τῆς ἡδονῆς, τῇ δὲ τῆς ὑγείας; [13] καθόλου γὰρ εἰ πάντες οἱ τὰ ὀνόματα λαλοῦντες μὴ κενῶς ἴσμεν ἕκαστα τούτων καὶ μηδεμιᾶς ἐπιμελείας περὶ τὴν διάρθρωσιν τῶν προλήψεων δεόμεθα, τί διαφερόμεθα, τί πολεμοῦμεν, τί ψέγομεν ἀλλήλους; [14]

καὶ τί μοι νῦν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχην παραφέρειν καὶ ταύτης μεμνησθαι; σὺ αὐτὸς εἰ ἐφαρμόξεις καλῶς τὰς προλήψεις, διὰ τί δυσροεῖς, διὰ τί ἐμποδίζῃ; [15] ἀφῶμεν ἄρτι τὸν δεῦτερον τρόπον τὸν περὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς καὶ τὴν κατὰ ταύτας περὶ τὸ καθήκον φιλοτεχνίαν. ἀφῶμεν καὶ τὸν τρίτον τὸν περὶ τὰς συγκαταθέσεις. [16] χαρίζομαι σοι ταῦτα πάντα. στῶμεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ σχεδὸν αἰσθητὴν παρέχοντος τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ μὴ ἐφαρμόζειν καλῶς τὰς προλήψεις. [17] νῦν σὺ θέλεις τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ τὰ σοὶ δυνατό; τί οὖν ἐμποδίζῃ; διὰ τί δυσροεῖς; νῦν οὐ φεύγεις τὰ ἀναγκαῖα; διὰ τί οὖν περιπίπτεις τινί, διὰ τί δυστυχεῖς; διὰ τί θέλοντός σου τι οὐ γίνεται καὶ μὴ θέλοντος γίνεται; [18] ἀπόδειξις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δυσροίας καὶ κακοδαιμονίας. θέλω τι καὶ οὐ γίνεται: καὶ τί ἐστὶν ἀθλιώτερον ἐμοῦ; οὐ θέλω τι καὶ γίνεται: καὶ τί ἐστὶν ἀθλιώτερον ἐμοῦ; [19]

τοῦτο καὶ ἡ Μήδεια οὐχ ὑπομείνασα ἤλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι τὰ τέκνα. μεγαλοφυῶς κατὰ γε τοῦτο. εἶχε γὰρ ἦν δεῖ φαντασίαν, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ ἃ θέλει τινὶ μὴ προχωρεῖν. [20] ‘εἵτα οὕτως τιμωρήσομαι τὸν ἀδικήσαντά με καὶ ὑβρίσαντα. καὶ τί ὄφελος τοῦ κακῶς οὕτως διακειμένου; πῶς οὖν γένηται; ἀποκτείνω μὲν τὰ τέκνα. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμα [21] ὑτὴν τιμωρήσομαι. καὶ τί μοι μέλει;’ τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ἔκπτωσις ψυχῆς μεγάλη νεῦρα ἐχούσης. οὐ γὰρ ᾗδαι, ποῦ κεῖται τὸ ποιεῖν ἃ θέλομεν, ὅτι τοῦτο οὐκ ἔξωθεν δεῖ λαμβάνειν οὐδὲ τὰ πράγματα μετατιθέντα καὶ μεθαρμοζόμενον. [22] μὴ θέλε τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ οὐδὲν ὦν θέλεις οὐ γίνεται. μὴ θέλε αὐτὸν ἐξ ἅπαντός σοι συνοικεῖν, μὴ θέλε μένειν

ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ ἀπλῶς μηδὲν ἄλλο θέλει ἢ ὁ ὁ θεὸς θέλει. καὶ τίς σε κωλύσει, τίς ἀναγκάσει; οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Δία. [23]

ὅταν τοιοῦτον ἔχῃς ἡγεμόνα καὶ τοιοῦτῳ συνθέλῃς καὶ συνορέῃ, τί φοβῇ ἔτι μὴ ἀποτύχῃς; [24] χάρισαι σου τὴν ὄρεξιν καὶ τὴν ἔκκλισιν πενία καὶ πλούτῳ: ἀποτεύξῃ, περιπεσῇ. ἀλλ' ὑγίειά: δυστυχήσεις; ἀρχαῖς, τιμαῖς, πατρίδι, φίλοις, τέκνοις, ἀπλῶς ἂν τινι τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων. ἀλλὰ τῷ Διὶ χάρισαι αὐτά [25] ὧς, τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς: ἐκείνοις παράδος, ἐκεῖνοι κυβερνάτωσαν, μετ' ἐκείνων τετάχθωσαν: καὶ ποῦ ἔτι δυσροήσεις; [26] εἰ δὲ φθονεῖς, ἀταλαίπωρε, καὶ ἐλεεῖς καὶ ζηλοτυπεῖς καὶ τρέμεις καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν οὐ διαλείπεις, ἐν ἧ οὐ κατακλᾷεις καὶ σαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν, καὶ τί ἔτι λέγεις πεπαιδεῦσθαι; [27] ποίαν παιδεῖαν, ἄνθρωπε; ὅτι συλλογισμοὺς ἔπραξας, μεταπίπτοντας; οὐ θέλεις ἀπομαθεῖν, εἰ δυνατόν, πάντα ταῦτα καὶ ἄνωθεν ἄρξασθαι συναισθανόμενος ὅτι μέχρι νῦν οὐδ' ἤψω τοῦ πράγματος, [28] καὶ λοιπὸν ἔνθεν ἀρξάμενος προσοικοδομεῖν τὰ ἐξῆς, πῶς μηδὲν ἔσται σοῦ μὴ θέλοντος, θέλοντος μηδὲν οὐκ ἔσται; [29]

δοτε μοι ἓνα νέον κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἐληλυθότα εἰς σχολήν, τοῦτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀθλητὴν γενόμενον καὶ λέγοντα ὅτι 'ἐμοὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα χαίρετω, ἀρκεῖ δ' εἰ ἐξέσται ποτὲ ἀπαραποδίστῳ καὶ ἀλύτῳ διαγαγεῖν καὶ ἀνατεῖναι τὸν τράχηλον πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ὡς ἐλεύθερον καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβλέπειν ὡς φίλον τοῦ θεοῦ μηδὲν φοβούμενον τῶν συμβῆναι δυναμένων.' δειξάτω τις ὑμῶν αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον, ἵνα εἴπω: [30] ἔρχου, νεανίσκε, εἰς τὰ σά: σοὶ γὰρ εἴμαρται κοσμεῖσαι φιλοσοφίαν, σά ἐστι ταῦτα τὰ κτήματα, σὰ τὰ βιβλία, σοὶ οἱ λόγοι. [31] εἴθ', ὅταν τοιοῦτον ἐκπονήσῃ καὶ καταθλήσῃ τὸν τόπον, πάλιν ἐλθὼν μοι εἰπάτω 'ἐγὼ θέλω μὲν καὶ ἀπαθῆς εἶναι καὶ ἀτάραχος, θέλω δ' ὡς εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ ἐπιμελὴς εἰδέναι τί μοι πρὸς θεοὺς ἐστι καθῆκον, τί πρὸς γονεῖς, τί πρὸς ἀδελφούς, τί πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα, τί πρὸς ξένους.' [32] ἔρχου καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν δεῦτερον τόπον: σός ἐστι καὶ οὗτος. [33] 'ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τὸν δεῦτερον τόπον ἐκμεμελέτηκα. ἤθελον δ' ἀσφαλῶς καὶ ἀσειστος καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐγρηγορώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθεύδων καὶ οἰνωμένος καὶ ἐν μελαγχολίᾳ.' σὺ θεὸς εἶ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ μεγάλας ἔχεις ἐπιβολάς.

οὐ: ἀλλ' [34] 'ἐγὼ θέλω γνῶναι, τί λέγει Χρῦσιππος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Ψευδομένου.' οὐκ ἀπάγξῃ μετὰ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ταύτης, τάλας; καὶ τί σοι ὄφελος ἔσται; πενθῶν ἅπαν ἀναγνώσῃ καὶ τρέμων πρὸς ἄλλους ἐρεῖς. [35] οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε. 'θέλεις ἀναγνῶ σοι, ἀδελφέ;' 'καὶ σὺ ἐμοί.' 'θαυμαστῶς, ἄνθρωπε, γράφεις;' καὶ 'σὺ μεγάλως εἰς τὸν Ξενοφῶντος χαρακτηῖρα,' 'σὺ εἰς τὸν Πλάτωνα,' [36] 'σὺ εἰς τὸν Ἀντισθένη.' εἴτ' ἀλλήλοις ὀνείρους διηγησάμενοι πάλιν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπανέρχεσθε: ὡσαύτως ὀρέγεσθε, ὡσαύτως ἐκκλίνετε, ὁμοίως ὀρμάτε, ἐπιβάλλεσθε, προστίθεσθε, ταῦτα εὐχεσθε, περὶ ταῦτα σπουδάζετε. εἴτα οὐδὲ ζητεῖτε τὸν ὑπομνήσοντα ὑμᾶς, [37] ἀλλ' ἄχθεσθε, ἐὰν ἀκούητε τούτων. εἴτα λέγετε 'ἀφιλόστοργος γέρων: ἐξερχομένου μου οὐκ ἐκλαυσεν οὐδ' εἶπεν 'ἰεὶς οἷαν περίστασιν ἀπέρχῃ μοι, τέκνον: ἂν σωθῇς, ἄψω λύχνους'.' ταῦτ' ἐστι τὰ τοῦ φιλοστόργου; [38] μέγα σοι ἀγαθὸν ἔσται σωθέντι τοιοῦτῳ καὶ λύχνων ἄξιον. ἀθάνατον γὰρ εἶναι σε δεῖ καὶ ἄνοσον.

[39] ταύτην οὖν, ὅπερ λέγω, τὴν οἴησιν τὴν τοῦ δοκεῖν εἰδέναι τι τῶν

χρησίμων ἀποβάλλοντας ἔρχεσθαι δεῖ πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ὥς πρὸς τὰ γεωμετρικὰ προσάγομεν, ὡ [40] ς πρὸς τὰ μουσικά: εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδ' ἐγγὺς ἐσόμεθα τῷ προκόψει, κἂν πάσας τὰς εἰσαγωγὰς καὶ τὰς συντάξεις τὰς Χρυσίππου μετὰ τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Ἀρχεδήμου διέλθωμεν.

πῶς ἀγωνιστέον πρὸς τὰς φαντασίας.

πάσα ἕξις καὶ δύναμις ὑπὸ τῶν καταλλήλων ἔργων συνέχεται καὶ αὐξεται, ἡ περιπατητικὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ περιπατεῖν, ἡ τροχαστικὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ τρέχειν. [2] ἂν θέλῃς ἀναγνωστικός εἶναι, ἀναγίνωσκε: ἂν γραφικός, γράφε. ὅταν δὲ τριάκοντα ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρας μὴ ἀναγνῶς, ἀλλ' ἄλλο τι πράξῃς, γνώσῃ τὸ γινόμενον. [3] οὕτως κἂν ἀναπέσης δέκα ἡμέρας, ἀναστὰς ἐπιχειρήσον μακροτέραν ὁδὸν περιπατήσαι καὶ ὄψει, πῶς σου τὰ σκέλη παραλύεται. [4] καθόλου οὖν εἴ τι ποιεῖν ἐθέλῃς, ἐκτικὸν ποιεῖ αὐτό: εἴ τι μὴ ποιεῖν ἐθέλῃς, μὴ ποίει αὐτό, ἀλλ' ἔθισον ἄλλο τι πράττειν μᾶλλον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. [5] οὕτως ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ψυχικῶν: ὅταν ὀργισθῇς, γίνωσκε ὅτι οὐ μόνον σοι τοῦτο γέγονεν κακόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἑξιν ἠΰξῃσας καὶ ὥς πυρὶ φρύγανα παρέβαλεις. [6] ὅταν ἡττηθῇς τινος ἐν συνουσίᾳ, μὴ τὴν μίαν ἡτταν ταύτην λογίζου, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀκρασίαν σου τέτροφας, ἐπηύξῃσας. [7] ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν καταλλήλων ἔργων μὴ καὶ τὰς ἑξεις καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς μὲν ἐμφύεσθαι μὴ πρότερον οὕσας, τὰς δ' ἐπιτείνεσθαι καὶ ἰσχυροποιεῖσθαι. [8]

οὕτως ἀμέλει καὶ τὰ ἀρρωστήματα ὑποφύεσθαι λέγουσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι. ὅταν γὰρ ἅπαξ ἐπιθυμῆσης ἀργυρίου, ἂν μὲν προσαχθῇ λόγος εἰς αἴσθησιν ἄξιον τοῦ κακοῦ, πέπαυταί τε ἡ ἐπιθυμία καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ ἐξαρχῆς ἀποκατέστη: [9] ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲν προσαγάγῃς εἰς θεραπείαν, οὐκέτι εἰς ταῦτα ἐπάνεισιν, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἐρεθισθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς καταλλήλου φαντασίας θάπτειν ἢ πρότερον ἐξήφθη πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. καὶ τούτου συνεχῶς γινομένου τυλοῦται λοιπὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρρώστημα βεβαιοῖ τὴν φιλαργυρίαν. [10] ὁ γὰρ πυρέξας, εἴτα παυσάμενος οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔχει τῷ πρὸ τοῦ πυρέξει, ἂν μὴ τι θεραπευθῇ εἰς ἅπαν. [11] τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς παθῶν γίνεται. ἵχνη τινὰ καὶ μώλωπες ἀπολείπονται ἐν αὐτῇ, οὓς εἰ μὴ τις ἐξαλείψῃ καλῶς, πάλιν κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν μαστιγωθεὶς οὐκέτι μώλωπας, ἀλλ' ἔλκη ποιεῖ. εἰ οὖν θέλεις μὴ εἶναι ὀργίλος, [12] μὴ τρέφε σου τὴν ἑξιν, μηδὲν αὐτῇ παράβαλλε αὐξητικόν. τὴν πρώτην ἡσύχασον καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἀριθμει ἅς οὐκ ὠργίσθῃς. [13] 'καθ' ἡμέραν εἰώθειν ὀργίζεσθαι, νῦν παρ' ἡμέραν, εἴτα παρὰ δύο, εἴτα παρὰ τρεῖς.' ἂν δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα παραλίπῃς, ἐπίθυσον τῷ θεῷ. ἡ γὰρ ἑξις ἐκλύεται τὴν πρώτην, εἴτα καὶ παντελῶς ἀναιρεῖται. [14] 'σήμερον οὐκ ἐλυπήθην οὐδ' αὔριον οὐδ' ἐφεξῆς διμήνῳ καὶ τριμήνῳ: ἀλλὰ προσέσχον γενομένων τινῶν ἐρεθιστικῶν.' γίνωσκε ὅτι κομπῶς σοί ἐστιν. [15] 'σήμερον καλὸν ἰδὼν ἢ καλὴν' οὐκ εἶπον αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ ὅτι 'ὄφελόν τις μετὰ ταύτης ἐκοιμήθῃ' καὶ 'μακάριος ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς:' ὁ γὰρ τοῦτ' εἰπὼν 'μακάριος' καὶ [16] 'ὁ μοιχός:' οὐδὲ τὰ ἐξῆς ἀναζωγραφῶ, παροῦσαν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποδουομένην καὶ παρακατακλινομένην. [17] καταψῶ τὴν κορυφὴν μου καὶ λέγω: εὖ, Ἐπίκτητε, κομπὸν σοφισμάτιον ἔλυσας, πολλῷ κομπότερον τοῦ Κυριεύοντος. [18] ἂν δὲ καὶ βουλομένου τοῦ γυναικαρίου καὶ νεύοντος καὶ προσπέμποντος, ἂν δὲ καὶ ἀπτομένου καὶ συνεγγίζοντος ἀπόσχωμαι καὶ νικήσω, τοῦτο μὲν ἤδη τὸ

σόφισμα ὑπὲρ τὸν Ψευδόμενον, ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἡσυχάζοντα. ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν ἄξιον, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Κυριεύοντα ἐρωτῆσαι.

[19] πῶς οὖν γένηται τοῦτο; θέλησον ἀρέσαι αὐτός ποτε σεαυτῷ, θέλησον καλὸς φανῆναι τῷ θεῷ: ἐπιθύμησον καθαρὸς μετὰ καθαροῦ σαυτοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. [20] εἴθ' ὅταν προσπίπτῃ σοὶ τις φαντασία τοιαύτη, Πλάτων μὲν ὅτι ἴθι ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδιοπομπήσεις, ἴθι ἐπὶ θεῶν ἀποτροπαίων ἱερὰ ἱκέτης: [21] ἀρκεῖ κἂν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν συνουσίας ἀποχωρήσας πρὸς τούτῳ γίνῃ ἀντεξετάζων, ἂν τε τῶν ζώντων τινὰ ἔχῃς ἂν τε τῶν ἀποθανόντων. [22] ἄπελθε πρὸς Σωκράτη καὶ ἶδε αὐτὸν συγκατακείμενον Ἀλκιβιάδῃ καὶ διαπαίζοντα αὐτοῦ τὴν ὥραν. ἐνθυμήθητι οἷαν νίκην ποτὲ ἔγνω ἐκεῖνος νενικηκότα ἑαυτόν, οἷα Ὀλύμπια, πόστος ἂν Ἡρακλέους ἐγένετο: ἵνα τις, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, δικαίως ἀσπάξῃται αὐτὸν 'χαῖρε, παράδοξε,' οὐχὶ τοὺς σαπροὺς τούτους πύκτας καὶ παγκρατιαστάς οὐδὲ τοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς, τοὺς μονομάχους. [23] ταῦτα ἀντιθεῖς νικήσεις τὴν φαντασίαν, οὐχ ἔλκυσθήσῃ ὑπ' αὐτῆς. [24] τὸ πρῶτον δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ὀξύτητος μὴ συναρπασθῆς, ἀλλ' εἰπὲ 'ἐκδεξαί με μικρόν, φαντασία: ἄφες ἴδω τίς εἶ καὶ περὶ τίνος, ἄφες σε δοκιμάσω.' [25] καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ ἐφῆς αὐτῇ προάγειν ἀναζωγραφοῦση τὰ ἐξῆς. εἰ δὲ μή, οἴχεται σε ἔχουσα ὅπου ἂν θέλῃ. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἄλλην τινὰ ἀντεισάγαγε καλὴν καὶ γενναίαν φαντασίαν καὶ ταύτην τὴν ῥυπαρὰν ἔκβαλε. [26] κἂν ἐθισθῇς οὕτως γυμνάζεσθαι, ὅψει, οἷοι ὦμοι γίνονται, οἷα νεῦρα, οἷοι τόνοι: νῦν δὲ μόνον τὰ λογάρια καὶ πλέον οὐδὲ ἓν. [27]

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἀσκητῆς ὁ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας φαντασίας γυμνάζων ἑαυτόν. [28] μείνον, τάλας, μὴ συναρπασθῆς. μέγας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν, θεῖον τὸ ἔργον, ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, ὑπὲρ εὐροίας, ὑπὲρ ἀταραξίας. [29] τοῦ θεοῦ μέμνησο, ἐκεῖνον ἐπικαλοῦ βοηθὸν καὶ παραστάτην ὡς τοὺς Διοσκόρους ἐν χειμῶνι οἱ πλέοντες. ποῖος γὰρ μείζων χειμῶν ἢ ὁ ἐκ φαντασιῶν ἰσχυρῶν καὶ ἐκκρουστικῶν τοῦ λόγου; αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ χειμῶν τί ἄλλο ἐστίν ἢ φαντασία; [30] ἐπεὶ τοι ἄρον τὸν φόβον τοῦ θανάτου καὶ φέρε ὅσας θέλεις βροντὰς καὶ ἀστραπὰς καὶ γνώσῃ, ὅση γαλήνῃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ καὶ εὐδία. [31] ἂν δ' ἅπαξ ἡττηθεῖς εἴπῃς ὅτι ὕστερον νικήσεις, εἴτα πάλιν τὸ αὐτό, ἴσθι ὅτι οὕτως ποθ' ἐξεῖς κακῶς καὶ ἀσθενῶς, ὥστε μηδ' ἐφιστάνειν ὕστερον ὅτι ἀμαρτάνεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπολογίας ἄρξῃ πορίζειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πράγματος: [32] καὶ τότε βεβαιώσεις τὸ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου, ὅτι ἀληθές ἐστιν

αἰεὶ δ' ἀμβολιεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἄτησι παλαίει.

πρὸς τοὺς μέχρι λόγου μόνον ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων.

ὁ κυριεύων λόγος ἀπὸ τοιούτων τινῶν ἀφορμῶν ἠρωτῆσθαι φαίνεται: κοινῆς γὰρ οὐσης μάχης τοῖς τρισὶ τούτοις πρὸς ἄλληλα, τῷ τὸ πᾶν παρεληλυθὸς ἀληθές ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ τῷ ἀδυνατῷ ἀδύνατον μὴ ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τῷ * * δυνατόν εἶναι ὁ οὗτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθές οὗτ' ἔσται, συνιδὼν τὴν μάχην ταύτην ὁ Διόδωρος τῇ τῶν πρώτων δυεῖν πιθανότητι συνεχρήσατο πρὸς παράστασιν τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι δυνατόν, ὁ οὗτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθές οὗτ' ἔσται. [2] λοιπὸν ὁ μὲν τις ταῦτα τηρήσει τῶν δυεῖν, ὅτι ἐστὶ τέ τι δυνατόν, ὁ οὗτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθές οὗτ' ἔσται, καὶ δυνατῷ ἀδύνατον οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ: οὐ πᾶν δὲ παρεληλυθὸς ἀληθές

ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, καθάπερ οἱ περὶ Κλεάνθην φέρεσθαι δοκοῦσιν, οἷς ἐπὶ πολὺ
συνηγόρησεν Ἀντίπατρος. [3] οἱ δὲ τᾶλλα δύο, ὅτι δυνατόν τ' ἐστίν, ὃ οὐτ'
ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς οὐτ' ἔσται, καὶ πᾶν παρεληλυθὸς ἀληθὲς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν,
δυνατῷ δ' ἀδύνατον ἀκολουθεῖ. [4] τὰ τρία δ' ἐκεῖνα τηρῆσαι ἀμήχανον διὰ τὸ
κοινὴν εἶναι αὐτῶν μάχην.

ἂν οὖν τίς μου πύθηται [5] 'σὺ δὲ ποῖα αὐτῶν τηρεῖς;' ἀποκρινοῦμαι πρὸς
αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐκ οἶδα: παρείληφα δ' ἱστορίαν τοιαύτην, ὅτι Διόδωρος μὲν ἐκεῖνα
ἐτήρει, οἱ δὲ περὶ Πανθοίδην οἶμαι καὶ Κλεάνθην τὰ ἄλλα, οἱ δὲ περὶ
Χρύσιππον τὰ ἄλλα. [6] 'σὺ οὖν τί;' οὐδὲ γέγονα πρὸς τοῦτω, τῷ βασιανίσει
τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ φαντασίαν καὶ συγκρῖναι τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ δόγμα τι ἑμαυτοῦ
ποιήσασθαι κατὰ τὸν τόπον. διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν διαφέρω τοῦ γραμματικοῦ. [7]
'τίς ἦν ὁ τοῦ Ἑκτορος πατήρ;' 'Πρίαμος.' 'τίνες ἀδελφοί;' 'Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ
Δηίφοβος.' 'μήτηρ δ' αὐτῶν τίς;' 'Ἑκάβη. παρείληφα ταύτην τὴν ἱστορίαν.'
'παρὰ τίνος;' 'παρ' Ὀμήρου. γράφει δὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δοκῶ καὶ Ἑλλάνικος
καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τοιοῦτος.' [8] κἀγὼ περὶ τοῦ Κυριεύοντος τί ἄλλο ἔχω
ἀνωτέρω; ἀλλ' ἂν ὃ κενός, μάλιστα ἐπὶ συμποσίῳ καταπλήσσομαι τοὺς
παρόντας ἐξαριθμοῦμενος τοὺς γεγραφότας. [9] 'γέγραφεν δὲ καὶ Χρύσιππος
θαυμαστῶς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Δυνατῶν. καὶ Κλεάνθης δ' ἰδίᾳ γέγραφεν περὶ
τούτου καὶ Ἀρχέδημος. γέγραφεν δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος, οὐ μόνον δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ
Δυνατῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Κυριεύοντος. [10] οὐκ
ἀνέγνωκας τὴν σύνταξιν;' 'οὐκ ἀνέγνωκα.' 'ἀνάγνωθι.' καὶ τί ὠφεληθήσεται;
φλυαρότερος ἔσται καὶ ἀκαιρότερος ἢ νῦν ἐστίν. σοὶ γὰρ τί ἄλλο προσγέγονεν
ἀναγνόντι; ποῖον δόγμα πεποιῆσαι κατὰ τὸν τόπον; ἀλλ' ἐρεῖς ἡμῖν Ἑλένην
καὶ Πρίαμον καὶ τὴν τῆς Καλυψοῦς νῆσον τὴν οὔτε γενομένην οὐτ' ἐσομένην.

[11] καὶ ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐδὲν μέγα τῆς ἱστορίας κρατεῖν, ἴδιον δὲ δόγμα μηδὲν
πεποιῆσθαι. ἐπὶ τῶν ἠθικῶν δὲ ἀσχομεν αὐτὸ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ τούτων. [12]
'εἰπέ μοι περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν.' 'ἄκουε:

Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασεν.

τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, [13] τὰ δὲ κακὰ, τὰ δ' ἀδιάφορα. ἀγαθὰ μὲν
οὖν αἰ ἀρεταὶ καὶ τὰ μετέχοντα αὐτῶν, κακὰ δὲ κακίαι καὶ τὰ μετέχοντα
κακίας, ἀδιάφορα δὲ τὰ μεταξὺ τούτων, πλοῦτος, υἱία, ζωὴ, θάνατος, ἡδονή,
πόνος.' [14] 'πόθεν οἶδας;' 'Ἑλλάνικος λέγει ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς.' τί γὰρ
διαφέρει τοῦτο εἰπεῖν ἢ ὅτι Διογένης ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ ἢ Χρύσιππος ἢ Κλεάνθης;
βεβασάνικας οὖν τι αὐτῶν καὶ δόγμα σεαυτοῦ πεποιῆσαι; [15] δείκνυε πῶς
εἴωθας ἐν πλοίῳ χειμάζεσθαι. μέμνησαι ταύτης τῆς διαίρεσεως, ὅταν φορήσῃ
τὸ ἱστίον καὶ ἀνακραυγᾶσαντί σοι κακόσχυλός πως παραστὰς εἴπῃ 'λέγε μοι
τοὺς θεοὺς σοὶ ἂ πρώην ἔλεγε: μὴ τι κακίας ἐστὶ τὸ ναυαγῆσαι, μὴ τι κακίας
μετέχον;' [16] οὐκ ἄρας ξύλον ἐνσεῖσεις αὐτῷ; 'τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, ἄνθρωπε;
ἀπολλύμεθα καὶ σὺ ἐλθὼν παίζεις.' [17] ἂν δέ σε ὁ Καῖσαρ μεταπέμνηται
κατηγορούμενον, μέμνησαι τῆς διαίρεσεως, ἂν τίς σοι εἰσιόντι καὶ ὠχρίωντι
ἅμα καὶ τρέμοντι προσελθὼν εἴπῃ 'τί τρέμεις, ἄνθρωπε; περὶ τίνων σοὶ ἐστὶν ὁ
λόγος; μὴ τι ἔσω ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν τοῖς εἰσερχομένοις δίδωσι;' [18]
'τί μοι ἐμπαίζεις καὶ σὺ πρὸς τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς;' 'ὅμως, φιλόσοφε, εἰπέ μοι, τί

τρέμεις; οὐχὶ θάνατός ἐστι τὸ κινδυνεύομενον ἢ δεσμοτήριον ἢ πόνος τοῦ σώματος ἢ φυγὴ ἢ ἀδοξία; τί γὰρ ἄλλο; μὴ τι κακία, μὴ τι μέτοχον κακίας; [19] σὺ οὖν τίνα ταῦτα ἔλεγες; ’ τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, ἄνθρωπε; ἀρκεῖ ἐμοὶ τὰ ἐμὰ κακά.’ καὶ καλῶς λέγεις. ἀρκεῖ γάρ σοι τὰ σὰ κακά, ἡ ἀγέννητα, ἡ δειλία, ἡ ἀλαζονεία, ἣν ἡλαζονεύου ἐν τῇ σχολῇ καθήμενος. τί τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐκαλλωπίζου; τί Στωικὸν ἔλεγες σεαυτόν; [20]

Τηρεῖτε οὕτως ἑαυτοὺς ἐν οἷς ἐπράσσετε καὶ εὐρήσετε τίνος ἔσθ’ αἰρέσεως. τοὺς πλείστους ὑμῶν Ἐπικουρεῖους εὐρήσετε, ὀλίγους τινὰς Περιπατητικοὺς καὶ τούτους ἐκλελυμένους. [21] ποῦ γὰρ ἴν’ ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἴσην ἢ καὶ κρείττονα ἔργῳ ὑπολάβητε; Στωικὸν δὲ δεῖξατέ μοι, εἴ τίνα ἔχτε. [22] ποῦ ἢ πῶς; ἀλλὰ τὰ λογάρια τὰ Στωικὰ λέγοντας μυρίους. τὰ γὰρ Ἐπικούρεια αὐτοῖς οὗτοι χεῖρον λέγουσι; τὰ γὰρ Περιπατητικὰ οὐ καὶ αὐτὰ ὁμοίως ἀκριβοῦσιν; [23] τίς οὖν ἐστὶ Στωικός; ὥς λέγομεν ἀνδριάντα Φειδιακὸν τὸν τετυπωμένον κατὰ τὴν τέχνην τὴν Φειδίου, οὕτως τινὰ μοι δεῖξατε κατὰ τὰ δόγματα ἃ λαλεῖ τετυπωμένον. [24] δεῖξατέ μοι τίνα νοσοῦντα καὶ εὐτυχοῦντα, κινδυνεύοντα καὶ εὐτυχοῦντα, ἀποθνήσκοντα καὶ εὐτυχοῦντα, πεφυγαδευμένον καὶ εὐτυχοῦντα, ἀδοξοῦντα καὶ εὐτυχοῦντα. δεῖξατ’· ἐπιθυμῶ τίνα νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἰδεῖν Στωικόν. [25] ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔχετε τὸν τετυπωμένον δεῖξαι; τὸν γε τυπούμενον δεῖξατε, τὸν ἐπὶ ταῦτα κεκλικότα. εὐεργετήσατέ με: μὴ φθονήσῃτε ἀνθρώπῳ γέροντι ἰδεῖν θέαμα, ὃ μέχρι νῦν οὐκ εἶδον. [26] οἴεσθε ὅτι τὸν Δία τὸν Φειδίου δεῖξετε ἢ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἐλεφάντινον καὶ χρυσοῦν κατασκευάσμα. ψυχὴν δεῖξάτω τις ὑμῶν ἀνθρώπου θέλοντος ὁμογνωμονῆσαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ μηκέτι μήτε θεὸν μήτ’ ἄνθρωπον μέμφεσθαι, μὴ ἀποτυχεῖν τινος, μὴ περιπεσεῖν τινι, μὴ ὀργισθῆναι, μὴ φθονῆσαι, μὴ ζηλοτυπῆσαι (τί γὰρ δεῖ περιπλέκειν; [27]), θεὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἐπιθυμοῦντα γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ σωματίῳ τούτῳ τῷ νεκρῷ περὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Δία κοινωνίας βουλευόμενον. δεῖξατε. ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἔχετε. τί οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐμπαίζετε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κυβεύετε; [28] καὶ περιθέμενοι σχῆμα ἀλλότριον περιπατεῖτε κλέπται καὶ λωποδύται τούτων τῶν οὐδὲν προσηκόντων ὀνομάτων καὶ πραγμάτων;

[29] καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν παιδευτὴς εἰμι ὑμέτερος, ὑμεῖς δὲ παρ’ ἐμοὶ παιδεύεσθε. κἀγὼ μὲν ἔχω ταύτην τὴν ἐπιβολὴν, ἀποτελέσαι ὑμᾶς ἀκωλύτους, ἀναναγκάστους, ἀπαραποδίστους, ἐλευθέρους, εὐροοῦντας, εὐδαιμονοῦντας, εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀφορῶντας ἐν παντὶ καὶ μικρῷ καὶ μεγάλῳ: ὑμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα μαθησόμενοι καὶ μελετήσοντες πάρεστε. [30] διὰ τί οὖν οὐκ ἀνύετε τὸ ἔργον, εἰ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔχετε’ ἐπιβολὴν οἷαν δεῖ κἀγὼ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιβολῇ καὶ παρασκευὴν οἷαν δεῖ; [31] τί τὸ λειπόν ἐστιν; ὅταν ἴδω τέκτονα, ὅτ’ ὕλη πάρεστιν παρακειμένη, ἐκδέχομαι τὸ ἔργον. καὶ ἐνθάδε τοίνυν ὁ τέκτων ἐστίν, ἡ ὕλη ἐστίν: τί ἡμῖν λείπει; [32] οὐκ ἔστι διδακτὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα; διδακτόν. οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν ἐφ’ ἡμῖν; μόνον μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων πάντων. οὔτε πλοῦτός ἐστιν ἐφ’ ἡμῖν οὔθ’ ὑγίεια οὔτε δόξα οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἀπλῶς πλὴν ὀρθῇ χρῆσις φαντασιῶν. τοῦτο ἀκώλυτον φύσει μόνον, τοῦτο ἀνεμπόδιστον. [33] διὰ τί οὖν οὐκ ἀνύετε; εἵπατέ μοι τὴν αἰτίαν. ἢ γὰρ παρ’ ἐμὲ γίνεται ἢ παρ’ ὑμᾶς ἢ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ πράγματος. αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνδεχόμενον καὶ μόνον ἐφ’ ἡμῖν. λοιπὸν οὖν ἢ παρ’ ἐμὲ ἐστὶν

ἢ παρ' ὑμᾶς ἢ, ὅπερ ἀληθέστερον, παρ' ἀμφοτέρους. τί οὖν; [34] θέλετε ἀρξώμεθα ποτε τοιαύτην ἐπιβολὴν κομίζειν ἐνταῦθα; τὰ μέχρι νῦν ἀφῶμεν. ἀρξώμεθα μόνον, πιστεύσατέ μοι, καὶ ὄψεσθε.

πρὸς Ἐπικουρείους καὶ Ἀκαδημαίους.

τοῖς ὑγίεισι καὶ ἐναργέσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες προσχρῶνται. καὶ σχεδὸν τοῦτο μέγιστον ἂν τις ποιήσαιτο τεκμήριον τοῦ ἐναργέος τι εἶναι, τὸ ἐπάναγκες εὐρίσκεσθαι καὶ τῷ ἀντιλέγοντι συγχρήσασθαι αὐτῷ: οἷον εἴ τις ἀντιλέγοι τῷ εἶναι τι καθολικὸν ἀληθές, [2] δῆλον ὅτι τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀπόφασιν οὗτος ὀφείλει ποιήσασθαι: οὐδὲν ἐστὶ καθολικὸν ἀληθές. ἀνδράποδον, οὐδὲ τοῦτο. [3] τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἢ οἷον εἴ τι ἐστὶ καθολικόν, ψευδὸς ἐστίν; [4] πάλιν ἂν τις παρελθὼν λέγῃ 'γίγνωσκε, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶ γνωστόν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀτέκμαρτα' ἢ ἄλλος ὅτι 'πίστευσόν μοι καὶ ὠφελήθησιν: οὐδὲν δεῖ ἀνθρώπων πιστεῦειν' ἢ πάλιν ἄλλος 'μάθε παρ' ἐμοῦ, ἄνθρωπε, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐνδέχεται μαθεῖν: ἐγὼ σοι λέγω τοῦτο καὶ διδάξω σε, ἐὰν θέλῃς.' [5] τίνοι οὖν τούτων διαφέρουσιν οὗτοι — τίνες ποτέ; — οἱ Ἀκαδημαίους αὐτοὺς λέγοντες; 'ὦ ἄνθρωποι, συγκατάθεσθε ὅτι οὐδεὶς συγκατατίθεται: πιστεύσατε ἡμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς πιστεῦει οὐδενί.'

[6] οὕτως καὶ Ἐπίκουρος, ὅταν ἀναιρεῖν θέλῃ τὴν φυσικὴν κοινωνίαν ἀνθρώποις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, αὐτῷ τῷ ἀναιρουμένῳ συγχρῆται. [7] τί γὰρ λέγει; 'μὴ ἐξαπατᾶσθε, ἄνθρωποι, μηδὲ παράγεσθε μηδὲ διαπίπτετε: οὐκ ἐστὶ φυσικὴ κοινωνία τοῖς λογικοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους: πιστεύσατέ μοι. οἱ δὲ τὰ ἕτερα λέγοντες ἐξαπατῶσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ παραλογίζονται.' [8] τί οὖν σοι μέλει; ἄφες ἡμᾶς ἐξαπατηθῆναι. μή τι χεῖρον ἀπαλλάξεις, ἂν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι πεισθῶμεν, ὅτι φυσικὴ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν κοινωνία πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ταύτην δεῖ παντὶ τρόπῳ φυλάσσειν; καὶ πολὺ κρεῖσσον καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον. [9] ἄνθρωπε, τί ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν φροντίζεις, τί δι' ἡμᾶς ἀγρυπνεῖς, τί λύχνον ἄπτεις, τί ἐπανάστασαι, τί τηλικαῦτα βιβλία συγγράφεις; μή τις ἡμῶν ἐξαπατηθῇ περὶ θεῶν ὡς ἐπιμελουμένων ἀνθρώπων ἢ μή τις ἄλλην οὐσίαν ὑπολάβῃ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ ἡδονῇ; [10] εἰ γὰρ οὕτως ταῦτα ἔχει, βαλὼν κάθευδε καὶ τὰ τοῦ σκώληκος ποίει, ὣν ἄξιον ἔκρινας σεαυτόν: ἐσθιε καὶ πῖνε καὶ συνουσίαζε καὶ ἀφόδευε καὶ ῥέγκε. [11] τί δὲ σοὶ μέλει, πῶς οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπολήψονται περὶ τούτων, πότερον ὑγιῶς ἢ οὐχ ὑγιῶς; τί γὰρ σοὶ καὶ ἡμῖν; τῶν γὰρ προβάτων σοὶ μέλει, ὅτι παρέχει ἡμῖν αὐτὰ καρησόμενα καὶ ἀμελχθησόμενα καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον κατακοπησόμενα; [12] οὐχὶ δ' εὐκταῖον ἦν, εἰ ἐδύναντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι κατακληθέντες καὶ ἐπασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Στωικῶν ἀπονυστάζειν καὶ παρέχειν σοὶ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις καρησομένους καὶ ἀμελχθησομένους ἑαυτούς; [13] πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς Συνεπικουρείους ἔδει σε ταῦτα λέγειν, οὐχὶ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνους † ἀποκρύπτεσθαι, πολὺ μάλιστ' ἐκείνους πρὸ πάντων ἀναπείθειν, ὅτι φύσει κοινωνικοὶ γεγόναμεν, ὅτι ἀγαθὸν ἢ ἐγκράτεια, ἵνα σοὶ πάντα τηρῇται; [14] ἢ πρὸς τινὰς μὲν δεῖ φυλάττειν ταύτην τὴν κοινωνίαν, πρὸς τινὰς δ' οὐ; πρὸς τινὰς οὖν δεῖ τηρεῖν; πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιτιροῦντας ἢ πρὸς τοὺς παραβατικῶς αὐτῆς ἔχοντας; καὶ τίνες παραβατικώτερον αὐτῆς ἔχουσιν ὑμῶν τῶν ταῦτα διειληφόντων; [15]

Τί οὖν ἦν τὸ ἐγεῖρον αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων καὶ ἀναγκάζον γράφειν ἃ

ἔγραφεν; τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ τὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἰσχυρότατον, ἡ φύσις ἔλκουσα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτῆς βούλημα ἄκοντα καὶ στένοντα; [16] ‘ὅτι γὰρ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦτα τὰ ἀκοινώνητα, γράψον αὐτὰ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀπόλιπε καὶ ἀγρύπνησον δι’ αὐτὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔργῳ κατήγορος γενοῦ τῶν σαυτοῦ δογμάτων.’ [17] εἶτα Ὁρέστην μὲν ὑπὸ Ἑρινύων ἐλαυνόμενον φῶμεν ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων ἐξεγείρεσθαι: τοῦτ’ ὁ οὐ χαλεπώτεροι αἱ Ἑρινύες καὶ Ποιναί; ἐξήγειρον καθεύδοντα καὶ οὐκ εἶων ἡρεμεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἠνάγκαζον ἐξαγγέλλειν τὰ αὐτοῦ κακὰ ὥσπερ τοὺς Γάλλους ἢ μανία καὶ ὁ οἶνος. [18] οὕτως ἰσχυρόν τι καὶ ἀνίκητόν ἐστιν ἡ φύσις ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη. πῶς γὰρ δύναται ἄμπελος μὴ ἀμπελικῶς κινεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐλαϊκῶς, ἢ ἐλαία πάλιν μὴ ἐλαϊκῶς, ἀλλ’ ἀμπελικῶς; ἀμήχανον, ἀδιανόητον. [19] οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ’ ἀνθρωπον οἶόν τε παντελῶς ἀπολέσαι τὰς κινήσεις τὰς ἀνθρωπικὰς καὶ οἱ ἀποκοπτόμενοι τὰς γε προθυμίας τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποκόψασθαι οὐ δύνανται. [20] οὕτως καὶ Ἐπίκουρος τὰ μὲν ἀνδρὸς πάντ’ ἀπεκόψατο καὶ τὰ οἰκοδεσπότου καὶ πολίτου καὶ φίλου, τὰς δὲ προθυμίας τὰς ἀνθρωπικὰς οὐκ ἀπεκόψατο: οὐ γὰρ ἡδύνατο, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ἀταλαίπωροι Ἀκαδημαῖκοι τὰς αἰσθήσεις τὰς αὐτῶν ἀποβαλεῖν ἢ ἀποτυφλῶσαι δύνανται καίτοι τοῦτο μάλιστα πάντων ἐσπουδακότες.

[21] † τίς ἡ ἀτυχίας; λαβὼν τις παρὰ τῆς φύσεως μέτρα καὶ κανόνας εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας οὐ προσφιλοτεχνεῖ τοῦτοις προσθεῖναι καὶ προσεξεργάσασθαι τὰ λείποντα, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῦναντίον, εἴ τι καὶ ἔχει γνωριστικὸν τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐξαίρειν πειράται καὶ ἀπολλύειν. [22] τί λέγεις, φιλόσοφε; τὸ εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ ὅσιον ποῖόν τί σοι φαίνεται; ‘ἂν θέλῃς, κατασκευάσω ὅτι ἀγαθόν.’ ναι κατασκεύασον, ἴν’ οἱ πολῖται ἡμῶν ἐπιστραφέντες τιμῶσι τὸ θεῖον καὶ παύσωνται ποτε ῥαθυμοῦντες περὶ τὰ μέγιστα. ‘ἔχεις οὖν τὰς κατασκευάς;’ ἔχω καὶ χάριν οἶδα. [23] ‘ἐπεὶ οὖν ταῦτά σοι λίαν ἀρέσκει, λάβε τὰ ἐναντία: ὅτι θεοὶ οὗτ’ εἰσίν, εἴ τε καὶ εἰσίν, οὐκ ἐπιμελοῦνται ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ κοινόν τι ἡμῖν ἐστι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τό τ’ εὐσεβὲς τοῦτο καὶ ὅσιον παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις λαλούμενον κατάψευσμά ἐστιν ἀλαζόνων ἀνθρώπων καὶ σοφιστῶν ἢ νῆ Δία νομοθετῶν εἰς φόβον καὶ ἐπίσχεσιν τῶν ἀδικούντων.’ [24] εὖ, φιλόσοφε: ὠφέλησας ἡμῶν τοὺς πολίτας, ἀνεκτίσω τοὺς νέους ῥέποντας ἤδη πρὸς καταφρόνησιν τῶν θεῶν. [25] ‘τί οὖν; οὐκ ἀρέσκει σοι ταῦτα; λάβε νῦν, πῶς ἡ δικαιοσύνη οὐδέν ἐστιν, πῶς ἡ αἰδώς μωρία ἐστίν, πῶς πατήρ οὐδέν ἐστιν, πῶς ὁ υἱὸς οὐδέν ἐστιν.’ [26] εὖ, φιλόσοφε: ἐπίμενε, πείθε τοὺς νέους, ἵνα πλείονας ἔχωμεν ταῦτά σοι πεπονθότας καὶ λέγοντας. ἐκ τούτων τῶν λόγων ηὐξήθησαν ἡμῖν αἱ εὐνομούμεναι πόλεις, Λακεδαιμίων διὰ τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἐγένετο, Λυκούργος ταῦτα τὰ πείσματα ἐνεποίησεν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν νόμων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς παιδείας, ὅτι οὕτε τὸ δουλεύειν αἰσχρόν ἐστι μᾶλλον ἢ καλὸν οὕτε τὸ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καλὸν μᾶλλον ἢ αἰσχρόν, οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀποθανόντες διὰ ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἀπέθανον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν διὰ ποίους ἄλλους λόγους ἀπέλιπον; [27] εἶτα οἱ λέγοντες ταῦτα γαμοῦσι καὶ παιδοποιοῦνται καὶ πολιτεύονται καὶ ἱερεῖς καθιστᾶσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ προφήτας. τίνων; τῶν οὐκ ὄντων: καὶ τὴν Πυθίαν ἀνακρίνουσιν αὐτοί, ἵνα τὰ ψευδῆ πύθωνται, καὶ ἄλλοις τοὺς χρησμούς ἐξηγοῦνται. ὦ μεγάλης ἀναισχυντίας καὶ γοητείας.

[28] ἄνθρωπε, τί ποιεῖς; αὐτὸς σεαυτὸν ἐξελέγχεις καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ οὐ θέλεις ἀφεῖναι τὰ ψυχρὰ ταῦτα ἐπιχειρήματα; ἐσθίων ποῦ φέρεις τὴν χεῖρα; εἰς τὸ στόμα ἢ εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν; λουόμενος ποῦ ἐμβαίνεις; πότε τὴν χύτρην εἶπες λουπάδα ἢ τὴν τορύνην ὀβελίσκον; [29] εἴ τινος αὐτῶν δοῦλος ἤμην, εἰ καὶ ἔδει με καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκδέρεσθαι, ἐγὼ ἂν αὐτὸν ἐστρέβλουν. 'βάλε ἐλάδιον, παιδάριον, εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον.' ἔβαλον ἂν γάριον καὶ ἀπελθὼν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ κατέχεον. 'τί τοῦτο;' 'φαντασία μοι ἐγένετο ἐλαίου ἀδιάκριτος, ὁμοιοτάτη, νῆ τὴν σὴν τύχην.' [30] 'δὸς ᾧδε τὴν πισάνην.' ἤνεγκα ἂν αὐτῷ γεμίσας παροψίδα ὀξογάρου. 'οὐκ ἤτησα τὴν πισάνην;' 'ναὶ κύριε: τοῦτο πισάνη ἐστίν.' 'τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ὀξόγαρον;' 'τί μᾶλλον ἢ πισάνη;' 'λάβε καὶ ὀσφράνθητι, λάβε καὶ γεῦσαι.' 'πόθεν οὖν οἶδας, εἰ αἱ αἰσθήσεις ἡμᾶς ψεύδονται;' [31] τρεῖς, τέσσαρας τῶν συνδούλων εἰ ἔσχον ὁμονοοῦντας, ἀπάγξασθαι ἂν αὐτὸν ἐποίησα ῥηγνύμενον ἢ μεταθέσθαι. νῦν δ' ἐντροφῶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς μὲν παρὰ τῆς φύσεως διδομένοις πᾶσι χρώμενοι, λόγῳ δ' αὐτὰ ἀναιροῦντες.

[32] εὐχάριστοί γ' ἄνθρωποι καὶ αἰδήμονες. εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο καθ' ἡμέραν ἄρτους ἐσθίοντες τολμῶσι λέγειν ὅτι 'οὐκ οἶδαμεν, εἰ ἔστι τις Δημήτηρ ἢ Κόρη ἢ Πλούτων:' ἵνα μὴ λέγω, [33] ὅτι νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἀπολαύοντες καὶ μεταβολῶν τοῦ ἔτους καὶ ἄστρον καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ γῆς καὶ τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώπων συνεργείας ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τούτων οὐδὲ κατὰ ποσὸν ἐπιστρέφονται, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐξεμέσαι τὸ προβληματίον ζητοῦσι καὶ τὸν στόμαχον γυμνάσαντες ἀπελθεῖν εἰς βαλανεῖον. [34] τί δ' ἐροῦσι καὶ περὶ τίνων ἢ πρὸς τίνας καὶ τί ἔσται αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν λόγων τούτων, οὐδὲ κατὰ βραχὺ πεφροντίκασι: μὴ τι νέος εὐγενῆς ἀκούσας τῶν λόγων τούτων πάθῃ τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἢ καὶ παθὼν πάντ' ἀπολέσῃ τὰ τῆς εὐγενείας σπέρματα: [35] μὴ τι μοιχεύοντι ἀφορμὰς παράσχωμεν τοῦ ἀπαναισχυντῆσαι πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα: μὴ τις τῶν νοσφιζομένων τὰ δημόσια εὐρεσιλογίας τινὸς ἐπιλάβηται ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων: μὴ τις τῶν αὐτοῦ γονέων ἀμελῶν θράσος τι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων προσλάβῃ. τί οὖν κατὰ σέ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν, [36] αἰσχρὸν ἢ καλόν; ταῦτα ἢ ταῦτα; τί οὖν; ἔτι τούτων τις ἀντιλέγει τινὶ ἢ λόγον δίδωσιν ἢ λαμβάνει ἢ μεταπέθειν πειρᾶται; [37] πολὺ νῆ Δία μᾶλλον τοὺς κιναιδούς ἐλπῖσαι τις ἂν μεταπέσειν ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀποκεκωφωμένους καὶ ἀποτετυφλωμένους.

περὶ ἀνομολογίας.

τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς κακῶν τὰ μὲν ῥαδίως ὁμολογοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, τὰ δ' οὐ ῥαδίως. οὐδεὶς οὖν ὁμολογήσει ὅτι ἄφρων ἐστὶν ἢ ἀνόητος, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῦναντίον πάντων ἀκούσεις λεγόντων 'ὄφελον ὥς φρένας ἔχω οὕτως καὶ τύχην εἶχον.' [2] δειλοὺς δὲ ῥαδίως ἑαυτοὺς ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ λέγουσιν 'ἐγὼ δειλότερός εἰμι, ὁμολογῶ: τὰ δ' ἄλλ' οὐχ εὐρήσεις με μωρὸν ἄνθρωπον.' [3] ἀκρατὴ οὐ ῥαδίως ὁμολογήσει τις, ἄδικον οὐδ' ὄλως, φθονερὸν οὐ πάνυ ἢ περίεργον, ἐλεήμονα οἱ πλείστοι. [4] τί οὖν τὸ αἴτιον; τὸ μὲν κυριώτατον ἀνομολογία καὶ ταραχὴ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, ἄλλοις δ' ἄλλα αἴτια καὶ σχεδὸν ὅσα ἂν αἰσχρὰ φαντάζονται, ταῦτα οὐ πάνυ ὁμολογοῦσι: [5] τὸ δὲ δειλὸν εἶναι εὐγνώμονος ἡθους φαντάζονται καὶ τὸ ἐλεήμονα, τὸ δ' ἡλίθιον εἶναι παντελῶς ἀνδραπόδου: καὶ τὰ περὶ κοινωνίαν δὲ πλημμελήματα οὐ

πάνυ προσίενται. [6] ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πλείστων ἀμαρτημάτων κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα φέρονται ἐπὶ τὸ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτά, ὅτι φαντάζονται τι ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶναι ἀκούσιον καθάπερ ἐν τῷ δειλῷ καὶ ἐλεήμονι. [7] καὶ ἀκρατῇ που παρομολογῇ τις αὐτόν, ἔρωτα προσέθηκεν, ὥστε συγγνωσθῆναι ὡς ἐπ' ἀκούσιῳ. τὸ δ' ἄδικον οὐδαμῶς φαντάζονται ἀκούσιον. ἐνι τι καὶ τῷ ζηλοτύπῳ, ὡς οἴονται, τοῦ ἀκούσιου: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τοῦτου παρομολογοῦσιν.

[8] ἐν οὖν τοιούτοις ἀνθρώποις ἀναστρεφόμενον, οὕτως τεταραγμένοις, οὕτως οὐκ εἰδόσιν οὐθ' ὅ τι λέγουσιν οὐθ' ὅ τι ἔχουσιν κακὸν ἢ εἰ ἔχουσιν ἢ παρὰ τί ἔχουσιν ἢ πῶς παύσονται αὐτῶν, καὶ αὐτὸν οἶμαι ἐφιστάνειν ἄξιον συνεχῆς [9] 'μή που καὶ αὐτὸς εἷς εἰμι ἐκείνων; τίνα φαντασίαν ἔχω περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ; πῶς ἑμαυτῷ χρῶμαι; μή τι καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς φρονίμῳ, μή τι καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐγκρατεῖ; μή καὶ αὐτὸς λέγω ποτὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐπιὸν πεπαίδευμαι; [10] ἔχω ἦν δεῖ συναισθῆσιν τὸν μηδὲν εἰδότα, ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶδα; ἔρχομαι πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ χρηστήρια πείθεσθαι παρεσκευασμένος; ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς κορύζης μεστὸς εἰς τὴν σχολὴν εἰσέρχομαι μόνην τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθησόμενος καὶ τὰ βιβλία νοήσων, ἃ πρότερον οὐκ ἐνόουν, ἂν δ' οὕτως τύχη, καὶ ἄλλοις ἐξηγησόμενος;' [11] ἄνθρωπ', ἐν οἴκῳ διαπεπύκτευκας τῷ δουλαρίῳ, τὴν οἰκίαν ἀνάστατον πεποίηκας, τοὺς γείτονας συντετάραχας; καὶ ἔρχῃ μοι καταστολὰς ποιήσας ὡς σοφὸς καὶ καθήμενος κρίνεις, πῶς ἐξηγησάμην τὴν λέξιν, πῶς τί ποτ' ἐφλυάρησα τὰ ἐπελθόντα μοι; [12] φθονῶν ἐλήλυθας, τεταπεινωμένος, ὅτι σοι ἐξ οἴκου φέρεται οὐδέν, καὶ κάθη μεταξὺ λεγομένων τῶν λόγων αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐνθυμούμενος ἢ πῶς ὁ πατὴρ τὰ πρὸς σε ἢ πῶς ὁ ἀδελφός; [13] 'τί λέγουσιν οἱ ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωποι περὶ ἐμοῦ; νῦν οἴονται με προκόπτειν καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι 'Ἰῆξει ἐκεῖνος πάντα εἰδώς' [14] 2. ἡθελὸν πῶς ποτε πάντα μαθὼν ἐπανελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ πόνου χρεῖα καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν πέμπει καὶ ἐν Νικοπόλει σαπρῶς λούει τὰ βαλανεῖα καὶ ἐν οἴκῳ κακῶς καὶ ὧδε κακῶς.'

εἴτα λέγουσιν [15] 'οὐδεὶς ὠφελεῖται ἐκ τῆς σχολῆς.' τίς γὰρ ἔρχεται εἰς σχολὴν, τίς γάρ, ὡς θεραπευθησόμενος; τίς ὡς παρέξων αὐτοῦ τὰ δόγματα ἐκκαθαρθησόμενα, τίς συναισθησόμενος τίνων δεῖται; [16] τί οὖν θαυμάζεις, εἰ ἃ φέρεις εἰς τὴν σχολὴν, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἀποφέρετε πάλιν; οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἀποθησόμενοι ἢ ἐπανορθώσοντες ἢ ἄλλ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ληψόμενοι ἔρχεσθε. [17] πόθεν; οὐδ' ἐγγύς. ἐκεῖνο γοῦν βλέπετε μᾶλλον, εἰ ἐφ' ὃ ἔρχεσθε τοῦτο ὑμῖν γίνεται. θέλετε λαλεῖν περὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων. τί οὖν; οὐ φιλαρότεροι γίνεσθε; οὐχὶ δὲ παρέχει τινὰ ὕλην ὑμῖν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὰ θεωρημάτια; οὐ συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύετε, μεταπίπτοντας; οὐκ ἐφοδεύετε Ψευδομένου λήμματα, ὑποθετικούς; τί οὖν ἔτι ἀγανακτεῖτε εἰ ἐφ' ἃ πάρεστε, ταῦτα λαμβάνετε; [18] 'ναί: ἀλλ' ἂν ἀποθάνῃ μοι τὸ παιδίον ἢ ὁ ἀδελφός ἢ ἐμὲ ἀποθνήσκων δέῃ ἢ στρεβλοῦσθαι, τί με τὰ τ[19] οιαῦτα ὠφελήσει;' μὴ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἦλθες, μὴ γὰρ τοῦτου ἕνεκά μοι παρακάθησαι, μὴ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτό ποτε λύχνον ἦψας ἢ ἡγρύπνησας; ἢ εἰς τὸν περίπατον ἐξελθὼν προέβαλές ποτε σαντῷ φαντασίαν τινὰ ἀντὶ συλλογισμοῦ καὶ ταύτην κοινῇ ἐφωδεύσατε; [20] ποῦ ποτε; εἴτα λέγετε 'ἄχρηστα τὰ θεωρήματα.' τίσιν; τοῖς οὐχ ὡς δεῖ χρωμένοις. τὰ γὰρ κολλύρια οὐκ ἄχρηστα τοῖς ὅτε δεῖ καὶ ὡς δεῖ ἐγγρισμένοις,

τὰ μαλάγματα δ' οὐκ ἄχρηστα, οἱ ἀλτῆρες οὐκ ἄχρηστοι, ἀλλὰ τισὶν ἄχρηστοι, τισὶν πάλιν χρήσιμοι. [21] ἂν μου πυνθάνῃ νῦν 'χρήσιμοί εἰσιν οἱ συλλογισμοί;' ἐρῶ σοι ὅτι χρήσιμοι, κἂν θέλῃς, ἀποδείξω, πῶς. 'ἐμὲ οὖν τι ὠφελήκασιν;' ἄνθρωπε, μὴ γὰρ ἐπύθου, εἰ σοὶ χρήσιμοι, ἀλλὰ καθόλου; [22] πυθέσθω μου καὶ ὁ δυσεντερικός, εἰ χρήσιμον ὄξος, ἐρῶ ὅτι χρήσιμον. 'ἐμοὶ οὖν χρήσιμον;' ἐρῶ 'οὐ.' ζήτησον πρῶτον σταλῆναί σου τὸ ρεύμα, τὰ ἐλκύδρια ἀποουλωθῆναι. καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἄνδρες, τὰ ἔλκη πρῶτον θεραπεύετε, τὰ ρεύματα ἐπιστήσατε, ἡρεμήσατε τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀπερίσπαστον αὐτὴν ἐνέγκατε εἰς τὴν σχολήν: καὶ γνῶσεσθε οἷαν ἰσχὺν ὁ λόγος ἔχει.

Περὶ φιλίας.

Περὶ ἧ τις ἐσπούδακεν, φιλεῖ ταῦτα εἰκότως. μή τι οὖν περὶ τὰ κακὰ ἐσπουδάκασιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι; οὐδαμῶς. ἀλλὰ μή τι περὶ τὰ μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτούς; οὐδὲ περὶ ταῦτα. [2] ὑπολείπεται τοίνυν περὶ μόνᾳ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐσπουδακέναι αὐτούς; εἰ δ' ἐσπουδακέναι, καὶ φιλεῖν ταῦτα. [3] ὅστις οὖν ἀγαθὸν ἐπιστήμων ἐστίν, οὗτος ἂν καὶ φιλεῖν εἰδείῃ: ὁ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενος διακρίνειν τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν καὶ τὰ οὐδέτερα ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων πῶς ἂν ἔτι οὗτος φιλεῖν δύναιτο; τοῦ φρονίμου τοίνυν ἐστὶ μόνου τὸ φιλεῖν.

[4] καὶ πῶς; φησὶν: ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄφρων ὢν ὅμως φιλῶ μου τὸ παιδίον. [5] — θαυμάζω μὲν νῆ τοὺς θεούς, πῶς καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὁμολόγηκας ἄφρονα εἶναι σεαυτόν. τί γάρ σοι λείπει; οὐ χρῆ αἰσθήσει, οὐ φαντασίας διακρίνεις, οὐ τροφὰς προσφέρει τὰς ἐπιτηδείους τῷ σώματι, οὐ σκέπην, οὐκ οἴκησιν; [6] πόθεν οὖν ὁμολογεῖς ἄφρων εἶναι; ὅτι νῆ Δία πολλάκις ἐξίστασαι ὑπὸ τῶν φαντασιῶν καὶ ταράττῃ καὶ ἡττῶσίν σε αἱ πιθανότητες αὐτῶν: καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ ὑπολαμβάνεις, εἴτα ἐκεῖνα αὐτὰ κακὰ, ὕστερον δ' οὐδέτερα: καὶ ὅλως λυπῇ, φοβῇ, φθονεῖς, ταράσσει, μεταβάλλῃ: διὰ ταῦτα ὁμολογεῖς ἄφρων εἶναι. [7] ἐν δὲ τῷ φιλεῖν οὐ μεταβάλλῃ; ἀλλὰ πλοῦτον μὲν καὶ ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀπλῶς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ποτὲ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ὑπολαμβάνεις εἶναι, ποτὲ δὲ κακὰ: ἀνθρώπους δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς οὐχὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἀγαθοὺς, ποτὲ δὲ κακοὺς καὶ ποτὲ μὲν οἰκείως ἔχεις, ποτὲ δ' ἐχθρῶς αὐτοῖς καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἐπαινεῖς, ποτὲ δὲ ψέγεις; — ναὶ καὶ ταῦτα πάσχω. [8] — τί οὖν; ὁ ἐξηπατημένος περὶ τίνος δοκεῖ σοι φίλος εἶναι αὐτοῦ; — οὐ πάνυ. — οὐδ' ὁ μεταπτώτως ἐλόμενος αὐτὸν εἶναι εὖνους αὐτῷ; — οὐδ' οὗτος. — ὁ δὲ νῦν λοιδορῶν μὲν τινα, ὕστερον δὲ θαυμάζων; [9] — οὐδ' οὗτος. — τί οὖν; κυνάρια οὐδέποτ' εἶδες σαίνοντα καὶ προσπαιζοντα ἀλλήλοις, ἴν' εἴπῃς 'οὐδὲν φιλικώτερον;' ἄλλ' ὅπως ἴδῃς, τί ἐστὶ φιλία, βάλε κρέας εἰς μέσον καὶ γνώσῃ. [10] βάλε καὶ σοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδίου μέσον ἀγρίδιον καὶ γνώσῃ, πῶς σὲ τὸ παιδίον ταχέως κατορύξαι θέλει καὶ σὺ τὸ παιδίον εὖχῃ ἀποθανεῖν. εἴτα σὺ πάλιν 'οἷον ἐξέθρεψα τεκνίον: πάλαι ἐκφέρει.' [11] βάλε κορασίδιον κομψὸν καὶ αὐτὸ ὁ γέρων φίλει κάκεῖνος ὁ νέος; ἂν δέ, δοξάριον. ἂν δὲ κινδυνεῦσαι δέῃ, ἐρεῖς τὰς φωνὰς τὰς τοῦ Ἀδμήτου πατρός:

χαίρεις ὀρῶν φῶς, πατέρα δ' οὐ χαίρειν δοκεῖς;

θέλεις βλέπειν φῶς, πατέρα δ' οὐ θέλειν δοκεῖς;

οἶει ὅτι ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἐφίλει τὸ ἴδιον παιδίον, [12] ὅτε μικρὸν ἦν, οὐδὲ πυρέσσοντος αὐτοῦ ἡγωνία οὐδ' ἔλεγεν πολλάκις ὅτι 'ὄφελον ἐγὼ μᾶλλον

ἐπύρεσσον;’ εἶτα ἐλθόντος τοῦ πράγματος καὶ ἐγγίσαντος ὄρα οἷας φωνὰς ἀφ’ ἑαυτῶν. [13] ὁ Ἑτεοκλῆς καὶ ὁ Πολυνείκης οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς; οὐκ ἦσαν συντετραμμένοι, συμβεβηκότες, συμπεπωκότες, συγκεκοιμημένοι, πολλάκις ἀλλήλους καταπεφιληκότες; ὥστ’ εἴ τις οἶμαι εἶδεν αὐτούς, κατεγέλασεν ἂν τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐφ’ οἷς περὶ φιλίας παραδοξολογοῦσιν. [14] ἀλλ’ ἐμπεσούσης εἰς τὸ μέσον ὥσπερ κρέως τῆς τυραννίδος ὄρα οἷα λέγουσι:

ποῦ ποτε στήση πρὸ πύργων; — ὥς τί μ’ ἔρωτᾷς τῷδ’ ἔτι; —

ἀντιτάξομαι κτενὼν σε. — κάμῃ τοῦδ’ ἔρωσ ἔχει.

καὶ εὖχονται εὐχὰς τοιάσδε.

[15] καθόλου γάρ — μὴ ἐξαπατᾷσθε — πᾶν ζῶον οὐδενὶ οὕτως ὀκείωται ὡς τῷ ἰδίῳ συμφέροντι. ὅ τι ἂν οὖν πρὸς τοῦτο φαίνεται αὐτῷ ἐμποδίζειν, ἂν τ’ ἀδελφὸς ἢ τοῦτο ἂν τε πατήρ ἂν τε τέκνον ἂν τ’ ἐρώμενος ἂν τ’ ἐραστής, μισεῖ, προβάλλεται, καταρᾶται. [16] οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως φιλεῖν πέφυκεν ὡς τὸ αὐτοῦ συμφέρον: τοῦτο πατήρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ πατρὶς καὶ θεός. ὅταν γοῦν εἰς τοῦτο ἐμποδίζειν ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ δοκῶσιν, [17] κάκεινους λοιδοροῦμεν καὶ τὰ ἰδρύματα αὐτῶν καταστρέφομεν καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς ἐμπιπρῶμεν, ὥσπερ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκέλευσεν ἐμπρησθῆναι τὰ Ἀσκληπεία ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἐρωμένου. [18] διὰ τοῦτο ἂν μὲν ἐν ταῦτ’ τις θῇ τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ ὅσιον καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ πατρίδα καὶ γονεῖς καὶ φίλους, σφίζεται ταῦτα πάντα: ἂν δ’ ἀλλαχοῦ μὲν τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον, οἴχεται πάντα ταῦτα καταβαρούμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος. [19] ὅπου γὰρ ἂν τὸ ‘ἐγὼ’ καὶ τὸ ‘ἐμόν,’ ἐκεῖ ἀνάγκη ῥέπειν τὸ ζῶον: εἰ ἐν σαρκί, ἐκεῖ τὸ κυριεῦον εἶναι: εἰ ἐν προαιρέσει, ἐκεῖνο εἶναι: εἰ ἐν τοῖς ἐκτός, ἐκεῖνο. [20] εἰ τοίνυν ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐγώ, ὅπου ἢ προαίρεσις, οὕτως μόνως καὶ φίλος ἔσομαι οἷος δεῖ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ πατήρ. τοῦτο γάρ μοι συνοίσει τηρεῖν τὸν πιστόν, τὸν αἰδήμονα, τὸν ἀνεκτικόν, τὸν ἀφεκτικόν καὶ συνεργητικόν, φυλάσσειν τὰς σχέσεις. [21] ἂν δ’ ἀλλαχοῦ μὲν ἐμαυτὸν θῶ, ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ τὸ καλόν, οὕτως ἰσχυρὸς γίνεται ὁ Ἐπικούρου λόγος, ἀποφαίνων ἢ μηδὲν εἶναι τὸ καλὸν ἢ εἰ ἄρα τὸ ἐνδοξον. [22]

Διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἄγνοιαν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διεφέροντο καὶ Θηβαῖοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους καὶ μέγας βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μακεδόνες πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους καὶ νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς Γέτας καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τὰ ἐν Ἰλίῳ διὰ ταῦτα ἐγένετο. [23] ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ Μενελάου ξένος ἦν, καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοὺς εἶδεν φιλοφρονουμένους ἀλλήλους, ἠπίστησεν ἂν τῷ λέγοντι οὐκ εἶναι φίλους αὐτούς. ἀλλ’ ἐβλήθη εἰς τὸ μέσον μερίδιον, κομψὸν γυναικάριον, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ πόλεμος. [24] καὶ νῦν ὅταν ἴδῃς φίλους, ἀδελφοὺς ὁμονοεῖν δοκοῦντας, μὴ αὐτόθεν ἀποφῆναι περὶ τῆς φιλίας τι αὐτῶν μηδ’ ἂν ὁμνύωσιν μηδ’ ἂν ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν λέγωσιν ἀπηλλάχθαι ἀλλήλων. [25] οὐκ ἔστι πιστόν τὸ τοῦ φαύλου ἡγεμονικόν: ἀβεβαίον ἐστίν, ἄκριτον, ἄλλοθ’ ὑπ’ ἄλλης φαντασίας νικώμενον. [26] ἀλλ’ ἐξέτασον μὴ ταῦθ’ ἃ οἱ ἄλλοι, εἰ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γονέων καὶ ὁμοῦ ἀνατετραμμένοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ παιδαγωγῷ, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο μόνον, ποῦ τὸ συμφέρον αὐτοῖς τίθεται, πότερον ἐκτός ἢ ἐν προαιρέσει. [27] ἂν ἐκτός, μὴ εἴπῃς φίλους οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ πιστοὺς ἢ βεβαίους ἢ θαρραλέους ἢ

ἐλευθέρους, ἀλλὰ μὴδ' ἀνθρώπους, εἰ νοῦν ἔχεις. [28] οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπικὸν δόγμα ἐστὶ τὸ ποιοῦν δάκνειν ἀλλήλους καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς ἐρημίας καταλαμβάνειν ἢ τὰς ἀγορὰς † ὥς τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὰ ληστῶν: οὐδὲ τὸ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ μοιχοὺς καὶ φθορεῖς ἀπεργαζόμενον οὐδ' ὅς' ἄλλα πλημμελοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι κατ' ἀλλήλων δι' ἐν καὶ μόνον τοῦτο δόγμα, τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀπροαιρέτοις τίθεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν. [29] ἂν δ' ἀκούσης, ὅτι ταῖς ἀληθείαις οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκεῖ μόνον οἶονται τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὅπου προαίρεσις, ὅπου χρῆσις ὀρθὴ φαντασιῶν, μηκέτι πολυπραγμονήσης μήτ' εἰ υἱὸς καὶ πατήρ ἐστὶ μήτ' εἰ ἀδελφοὶ μήτ' εἰ πολὺν χρόνον συμπεφοιτηκότες καὶ ἐταῖροι, ἀλλὰ μόνον αὐτὸ τοῦτο γνοὺς θαρρῶν ἀποφαίνου, ὅτι φίλοι, ὥσπερ ὅτι πιστοί, ὅτι δίκαιοι. [30] ποῦ γὰρ ἄλλαχού φιλία ἢ ὅπου πίστις, ὅπου αἰδώς, ὅπου δόσις τοῦ καλοῦ, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδενός;

[31] 'ἀλλὰ θεράπευκέ με τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ: καὶ οὐκ ἐφίλει με;' πόθεν οἶδας, ἀνδράποδον, εἰ οὕτως θεράπευκεν ὥς τὰ ὑποδήματα σπογγίζει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, ὥς τὸ κτῆνος; πόθεν οἶδας, εἰ τὴν χρεῖαν σ' ἀποβαλόντα τὴν τοῦ σκευαρίου ρίψει ὥς κατεαγὸς πινάκιον; [32] 'ἀλλὰ γυνή μου ἐστὶ καὶ τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ συμβεβιώκαμεν.' πόσῳ δ' ἡ Ἐριφύλη μετὰ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τέκνων μήτηρ καὶ πολλῶν; [33] ἀλλ' ὄρμος ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ μέσον. τί δ' ἐστὶν ὄρμος; τὸ δόγμα τὸ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων. ἐκεῖνο ἦν τὸ θηριῶδες, ἐκεῖνο τὸ διακόπτον τὴν φιλίαν, τὸ οὐκ ἔδῳ εἶναι γυναῖκα γαμετήν, τὴν μητέρα μητέρα. [34] καὶ ὑμῶν ὅστις ἐσπούδακεν ἢ αὐτὸς τινι εἶναι φίλος ἢ ἄλλον κτήσασθαι φίλον, ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἐκκοπέτω, ταῦτα μισησάτω, ταῦτα ἐξελασάτω ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ. [35] καὶ οὕτως ἔσται πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ μὴ λοιδορούμενος, μὴ μαχόμενος, μὴ μετανοῶν, μὴ βασανίζων ἑαυτόν: [36] ἔπειτα καὶ ἐτέρῳ, τῷ μὲν ὁμοίῳ παντὶ ἀπλῶς, τοῦ δ' ἀνομοίου ἀνεκτικός, πρῶτος πρὸς αὐτόν, ἡμερος, συγγνωμονικός ὥς πρὸς ἀγνοοῦντα, ὥς πρὸς διαπίπτοντα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων: οὐδενὶ χαλεπός, ἅτ' εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ὅτι πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἄκουσα στέρεται τῆς ἀληθείας. [37] εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πράξετε πάντα ὅσα οἱ φίλοι καὶ συμπεῖσθε καὶ συσκηνήσετε καὶ συμπλεύσετε καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγενημένοι ἔσεσθε: καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄφεις: φίλοι δ' οὐτ' ἐκεῖνοι οὐθ' ὑμεῖς, μέχρις ἂν ἔχητε τὰ θηριώδη ταῦτα καὶ μιὰ δόγματα.

περὶ τῆς τοῦ λέγειν δυνάμεως.

βιβλίον πᾶς ἂν ἥδιον ἀναγνῇ καὶ ῥᾶον τὸ εὐσημότεροις γράμμασι γεγραμμένον οὐκοῦν καὶ λόγους πᾶς ἂν τις ῥᾶον ἀκούσειε τοὺς εὐσχήμοσιν ἅμα καὶ εὐπρεπέσιν ὀνόμασι σεσημασμένους. [2] οὐκ ἄρα τοῦτο ῥητέον, ὥς οὐδεμία δύναμις ἐστὶν ἀπαγγελτική: τοῦτο γὰρ ἅμα μὲν ἀσεβοὺς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου, ἅμα δὲ δειλοῦ. ἀσεβοὺς μὲν, ὅτι τὰς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτας ἀτιμάζει, ὥσπερ εἰ ἀνήρει τὴν εὐχρηστίαν τῆς ὁρατικῆς ἢ τῆς ἀκουστικῆς δυνάμεως ἢ αὐτῆς τῆς φωνητικῆς. [3] εἰκῇ οὖν σοι ὁ θεὸς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔδωκεν, εἰκῇ πνεῦμα ἐνεκέρασεν αὐτοῖς οὕτως ἰσχυρὸν καὶ φιλότεχνον, ὥστε μακρὰν ἐξικνούμενον ἀναμάσσεσθαι τοὺς τύπους τῶν ὁρωμένων; [4] καὶ ποῖος ἄγγελος οὕτως ὠκύς καὶ ἐπιμελής; εἰκῇ δὲ καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ ἀέρα οὕτως ἐνεργὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ ἔντονον, ὥστε δι' αὐτοῦ τεινομένου πῶς διυκνεῖσθαι τὴν ὄρασιν; εἰκῇ δὲ φῶς ἐποίησεν, οὗ μὴ παρόντος οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ὄφελος ἦν;

[5] ἄνθρωπε, μήτ' ἀχάριστος ἴσθι μήτε πάλιν ἀμνήμων τῶν κρείσσων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ νῆ Δία ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τῶν συνεργῶν πρὸς αὐτό, ὑπὲρ καρπῶν ξηρῶν, ὑπὲρ οἴνου, ὑπὲρ ἐλαίου εὐχαρίσται τῷ θεῷ: [6] μέμνησο δ' ὅτι ἄλλο τί σοι δέδωκεν κρεῖττον ἀπάντων τούτων, τὸ χρησόμενον αὐτοῖς, τὸ δοκιμάσον, τὸ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστου λογιούμενον. [7] τί γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἀποφαινόμενον ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης τούτων τῶν δυνάμεων, πόσου τις ἀξία ἐστὶν αὐτῶν; μή τι αὐτὴ ἐκάστη ἡ δύναμις; μή τι τῆς ὁρατικῆς ποτ' ἤκουσας λεγούσης τι περὶ ἑαυτῆς, μή τι τῆς ἀκουστικῆς; μή τι πυρῶν; μή τι κριθῶν; μή τι ἵππου; μή τι κυνός; ἀλλ' ὥς διάκονοι καὶ δοῦλοι τεταγμένοι εἰσὶν ὑπηρετεῖν τῇ χρηστικῇ τῶν φαντασιῶν. [8] κἂν πύθῃ, πόσου ἕκαστον ἄξιόν ἐστιν, τίνος πυνθάνῃ; τίς σοι ἀποκρίνεται; πῶς οὖν δύνатаί τις ἄλλη δύναμις κρείσσων εἶναι ταύτης, ἢ καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς διακόνοις χρῆται καὶ δοκιμάζει αὐτὴ ἕκαστα καὶ ἀποφαίνεται; [9] τίς γὰρ ἐκείνων οἶδεν, τίς ἐστὶν αὐτὴ καὶ πόσου ἀξία; τίς ἐκείνων οἶδεν, ὅποτε δεῖ χρῆσθαι αὐτῇ καὶ πότε μή; τίς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνοίγουσα καὶ κλείουσα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἀφ' ὧν δεῖ ἀποστρέφουσα, τοῖς δὲ προσάγουσα; ἡ ὁρατικὴ; οὐ, ἀλλ' ἡ προαιρετικὴ. τίς ἡ τὰ ὦτα ἐπικλείουσα καὶ ἀνοίγουσα; [10] τίς, καθ' ἣν περίεργοι καὶ πευθῆνες ἢ πάλιν ἀκίνητοι ὑπὸ λόγου; ἡ ἀκουστικὴ; [11] οὐκ ἄλλη ἢ ἡ προαιρετικὴ δύναμις. εἴτ' αὐτὴ ἰδοῦσα, ὅτι ἐν τυφλαῖς καὶ κωφαῖς ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις δυνάμεσιν ἐστὶ μηδέ τι ἄλλο συνορᾶν δυναμέναις πλὴν αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἔργα, ἐφ' οἷς τεταγμένοι εἰσὶ διακονεῖν ταύτῃ καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν, αὐτὴ δὲ μόνη ὁξὺ βλέπει καὶ τάς τ' ἄλλας καθορᾷ, πόσου ἐκάστη ἀξία, καὶ αὐτήν, μέλλει ἡμῖν ἄλλο τι ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸ κράτιστον εἶναι ἢ αὐτήν; [12] καὶ τί ποιεῖ ἄλλο ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνοιχθεὶς ἢ ὁρᾷ; εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὴν τοῦ τινος ἰδεῖν γυναῖκα καὶ πῶς, τίς λέγει; [13] ἡ προαιρετικὴ. εἰ δὲ δεῖ πιστεῦσαι τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἢ ἀπιστῆσαι καὶ πιστεῦσαντα ἐρεθισθῆναι ἢ μή, τίς λέγει; [14] οὐχ ἡ προαιρετικὴ; ἡ δὲ φραστικὴ αὕτη καὶ καλλωπιστικὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων, εἰ τις ἄρα ἰδία δύναμις, τί ἄλλο ποιεῖ ἢ, ὅταν ἐμπέσῃ λόγος περὶ τινος, καλλωπίζει τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ συντίθησιν ὥσπερ οἱ κομμωταὶ τὴν κόμην; [15] πότερον δ' εἰπεῖν ἄμεινον ἢ σιωπῆσαι καὶ οὕτως ἄμεινον ἢ ἐκείνως καὶ τοῦτο πρέπον ἢ οὐ πρέπον, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκάστου καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν τίς ἄλλη λέγει ἢ ἡ προαιρετικὴ; θέλεις οὖν αὐτὴν παρελθοῦσαν αὐτῆς καταψηφίσασθαι;

[16] 'τί οὖν;,' φησίν, 'εἰ οὕτως τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔχει, καὶ δύνатаι τὸ διακονοῦν κρεῖσσον εἶναι ἐκείνου ᾧ διακονεῖ, ὁ ἵππος τοῦ ἵππεως ἢ ὁ κύων τοῦ κυνηγοῦ ἢ τὸ ὄργανον τοῦ κιθαριστοῦ ἢ οἱ ὑπηρεταὶ τοῦ βασιλέως.' — τί ἐστὶ τὸ χρώμενον; [17] προαίρεσις. τί ἐπιμελεῖται πάντων; προαίρεσις. τί ὅλον ἀναιρεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ποτὲ μὲν λιμῷ, ποτὲ δ' ἀγχόνῃ, ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ κρημνοῦ; προαίρεσις. [18] εἴτα τούτου τί ἰσχυρότερον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐστίν; καὶ πῶς οἶόν τε τοῦ ἀκωλύτου τὰ κωλύόμενα; τὴν ὁρατικὴν δύναμιν τίνα πέφυκεν ἐμποδίζειν; [19] καὶ προαίρεσις καὶ ἀπροαίρετα. τὴν ἀκουστικὴν ταῦτά, τὴν φραστικὴν ὡσαύτως. προαίρεσιν δὲ τί ἐμποδίζειν πέφυκεν; ἀπροαίρετον οὐδέν, αὐτὴ δ' ἑαυτὴν διαστραφεῖσα. διὰ τοῦτο κακία μόνη αὕτη γίνεται ἢ ἀρετὴ μόνη. [20]

εἴτα τηλικαύτῃ δύναμει οὔσα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτεταγμένη

παρελθοῦσα ἡμῖν λεγέτω κράτιστον εἶναι τῶν ὄντων τὴν σάρκα. οὐδὲ εἰ αὐτὴ ἢ σὰρξ ἑαυτὴν ἔλεγεν εἶναι κράτιστον, ἠνέσχετο ἂν τις αὐτῆς. [21] νῦν δὲ τί ἐστιν, Ἐπίκουρε, τὸ ταῦτα ἀποφαινόμενον; τὸ περὶ Τέλους συγγεγραφός, τὸ τὰς Φυσικάς, τὸ περὶ Κανόνος; τὸ τὸν πῶγονα καθεικός; τὸ γράφον, ὅτε ἀπέθνησκεν, ὅτι ‘τὴν τελευταίαν ἄγοντες ἅμα καὶ μακαρίαν ἡμέραν;’ [22] ἢ σὰρξ ἢ ἡ προαίρεσις; εἶτα τούτου τι κρεῖσσον ἔχειν ὁμολογεῖς καὶ οὐ μαΐνη; οὕτως τυφλὸς ταῖς ἀληθείαις καὶ κωφὸς εἶ;

[23] τί οὖν; ἀτιμάζει τις τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις; μὴ γένοιτο. λέγει τις μηδεμίαν εἶναι χρεῖαν ἢ προαγωγὴν ... τῆς προαιρετικῆς δυνάμεως; μὴ γένοιτο. ἀνόητον, ἀσεβές, ἀχάριστον πρὸς τὸν θεόν. ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστω ἀποδίδωσιν. [24] ἔστι γάρ τις καὶ ὄνου χρεῖα, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἡλικία βοός; ἔστι καὶ κυνός, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἡλικία οἰκέτου; ἔστι καὶ οἰκέτου, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἡλικία τῶν πολιτῶν; ἔστι καὶ τούτων, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἡλικία τῶν ἀρχόντων. [25] οὐ μέντοι διὰ τὸ ἄλλα εἶναι κρεῖττονα καὶ ἣν παρέχει τὰ ἕτερα χρεῖαν ἀτιμαστέον. ἔστι τις ἀξία καὶ τῆς φραστικῆς δυνάμεως, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἡλικία τῆς προαιρετικῆς. [26] ὅταν οὖν ταῦτα λέγω, μὴ τις οἰέσθω ὅτι ἀμελεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ φράσεως: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν οὐδ’ ὥτων οὐδὲ χειρῶν οὐδὲ ποδῶν οὐδ’ ἐσθῆτος οὐδ’ ὑποδημάτων. [27] ἀλλ’ ἂν μου πυνθάνῃ ‘τί οὖν ἐστι κράτιστον τῶν ὄντων;,’ τί εἴπω; τὴν φραστικὴν; οὐ δύναμαι: ἀλλὰ τὴν προαιρετικὴν, ὅταν ὀρθὴ γένηται. [28] τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ κάκεῖναι χρώμενον καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πάσαις καὶ μικραῖς καὶ μεγάλαις δυνάμεσιν: τούτου κατορθωθέντος ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθὸς γίνεται, ἀποτυχεθέντος κακὸς ἄνθρωπος γίνεται: [29] παρ’ ὃ ἀτυχοῦμεν, εὐτυχοῦμεν, μεμφόμεθ’ ἀλλήλους, εὐαρεστοῦμεν, ἀπλῶς ὃ λεληθὸς μὲν κακοδαιμονίαν ποιεῖται, τυχὸν δ’ ἐπιμελείας εὐδαιμονίαν. [30]

τὸ δ’ αἶρειν τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φραστικῆς καὶ λέγειν μὴ εἶναι μηδεμίαν ταῖς ἀληθείαις οὐ μόνον ἀχαρίστου ἐστὶ πρὸς τοὺς δεδωκότας, ἀλλὰ καὶ δειλοῦ. [31] ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος φοβεῖσθαι μοι δοκεῖ, μὴ, εἴπερ ἐστὶ τις δύναμις κατὰ τὸν τόπον, οὐ δυνηθῶμεν αὐτῆς καταφρονῆσαι. [32] τοιοῦτοὶ εἰσι καὶ οἱ λέγοντες μηδεμίαν εἶναι παραλλαγὴν κάλλους πρὸς αἴσχος. εἶτα ὁμοίως ἦν κινήθηναί τὸν Θερσίτην ἰδόντα καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα; ὁμοίως τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ ἦν ἔτυχε γυναῖκα; [33] καὶ ταῦτα μωρὰ καὶ ἄγροικα καὶ οὐκ εἰδότεων τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν, ἀλλὰ φοβουμένων μὴ ἂν τις αἰσθηται τῆς διαφορᾶς, εὐθὺς συναρπασθεὶς καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀπέλθῃ. [34] ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγα τοῦτο, ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκάστω τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἣν ἔχει καὶ ἀπολιπόντα ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ὄντων καταμαθεῖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐν παντὶ μεταδιώκειν, περὶ τοῦτο ἐσπουδακέναι, πάρεργα τᾶλλα πρὸς τοῦτο πεποιημένον, οὐ μέντοι ἀμελοῦντα οὐδ’ ἐκείνων κατὰ δύναμιν. [35] καὶ γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπιμελητέον, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὥς τοῦ κρατίστου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων διὰ τὸ κράτιστον: ὅτι ἐκεῖνο οὐκ ἄλλως ἔξει κατὰ φύσιν εἰ μὴ ἐν τούτοις εὐλογιστοῦν καὶ τὰ ἕτερα παρὰ τὰ ἕτερα αἰρούμενον.

[36] τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον; οἷον εἰ τις ἀπιὼν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ διοδεύων πανδοκεῖον καλὸν ἀρέσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πανδοκείου καταμένον ἐν τῷ πανδοκείῳ. [37] ἄνθρωπε, ἐπελάθου σου τῆς προθέσεως: οὐκ εἰς τοῦτο ὤδευες, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτου. ‘ἀλλὰ κομψὸν τοῦτο.’ πόσα δ’ ἄλλα πανδοκεῖα

κομψά, πόσοι δὲ λειμῶνες· ἀπλῶς ὡς δίοδος. [38] τὸ δὲ προκείμενον ἐκέينو· εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανελθεῖν, τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπαλλάξαι δέους, αὐτὸν τὰ τοῦ πολίτου ποιεῖν, γῆμαι, παιδοποιεῖσθαι, ἄρξαι τὰς νομιζομένας ἀρχάς. [39] οὐ γὰρ τοὺς κομψότερους ἡμῖν τόπους ἐκλεξόμενος ἐλήλυθας, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἐγένου καὶ ὧν κατατέταξαι πολίτης, ἐν τούτοις ἀναστραφησόμενος. τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον. [40] ἐπεὶ διὰ λόγου καὶ τοιαύτης παραδόσεως ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον δεῖ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἐκκαθαῖραι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν χρηστικὴν τῶν φαντασιῶν ὀρθὴν κατασκευάσαι, ἀνάγκη δὲ τὴν παράδοσιν γίνεσθαι διὰ τινων θεωρημάτων καὶ διὰ λέξεως ποιᾶς καὶ μετὰ τινος ποικιλίας καὶ δριμύτητος τῶν θεωρημάτων, [41] ὑπ' αὐτῶν τινες τούτων ἀλίσκόμενοι καταμένουσιν αὐτοῦ, ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς λέξεως, ὁ δ' ὑπὸ συλλογισμῶν, ὁ δ' ὑπὸ μεταπιπτόντων, ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς τοιούτου πανδοκείου, καὶ προσμείναντες κατασῆπονται ὡς παρὰ ταῖς Σειρήσιν.

[42] ἄνθρωπε, τὸ προκείμενον ἦν σοι κατασκευάσαι σαντὸν χρηστικὸν ταῖς προσπιπτούσαις φαντασίαις κατὰ φύσιν, ἐν ὁρέξει ἀναπότευκτον, ἐν δ' ἐκκλίσει ἀπερίπτωτον, μηδέποτ' ἀτυχοῦντα, μηδέποτε δυστυχοῦντα, ἐλεύθερον, ἀκώλυτον, ἀνανάγκαστον, συναρμόζοντα τῇ τοῦ Διὸς διοικήσει, ταύτῃ πειθόμενον, ταύτῃ εὐαρεστοῦντα, μηδένα μεμφόμενον, μηδέν' αἰτιώμενον, δυνάμενον εἰπεῖν τούτους τοὺς στίχους ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς

ἄγου δέ μ', ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ σύ γ' ἡ Πεπρωμένη.

[43] εἴτα τοῦτο τὸ προκείμενον ἔχων ἀρεσάντός σοι λεξειδίου, ἀρεσάντων θεωρημάτων τινῶν αὐτοῦ καταμένεις καὶ κατοικεῖν προαιρῇ ἐπιλαθόμενος τῶν ἐν οἴκῳ καὶ λέγεις 'ταῦτα κομψά ἐστιν,' τίς γὰρ λέγει μὴ εἶναι αὐτὰ κομψά; [44] ἀλλ' ὡς δίοδον, ὡς πανδοκεῖα. τί γὰρ κωλύει φράζοντα ὡς Δημοσθένους ἀτυχεῖν; τί δὲ κωλύει συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύοντα ὡς Χρύσιππος ἄθλιον εἶναι, πενθεῖν, φθονεῖν, ἀπλῶς ταρασσεσθαι, κακοδαιμονεῖν; [45] οὐδὲ ἔν. ὁρᾷς οὖν ὅτι πανδοκεῖα ἦν ταῦτα οὐδενὸς ἄξια, τὸ δὲ προκείμενον ἄλλο ἦν. [46] ταῦτα ὅταν λέγω πρὸς τινας, οἶονταί με καταβάλλειν τὴν περὶ τὸ λέγειν ἐπιμέλειαν ἢ τὴν περὶ τὰ θεωρήματα. ἐγὼ δ' οὐ ταύτην καταβάλλω, ἀλλὰ τὸ περὶ ταῦτ' ἀκαταληκτικῶς ἔχειν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τίθεσθαι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐλπίδας. [47] εἴ τις τοῦτο παριστὰς βλάπτει τοὺς ἀκούοντας, κάμει τίθεσθε ἓνα τῶν βλαπτόντων. οὐ δύναμαι δ' ἄλλο βλέπων τὸ κράτιστον καὶ τὸ κυριώτατον ἄλλο λέγειν εἶναι, ἢν ὑμῖν χάρισωμαι.

πρὸς τина τῶν οὐκ ἡξιωμένων ὑπ' ἐρ αὐτοῦ.

εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τινος ὅτι Πολλάκις ἐπιθυμῶν σου ἀκοῦσαι ἦλθον πρὸς σε καὶ οὐδέποτέ μοι ἀπεκρίνω· καὶ νῦν, [2] εἰ δυνατόν, παρακαλῶ σε εἰπεῖν τί μοι, Δοκεῖ σοι, ἔφη, καθάπερ ἄλλου τινὸς εἶναι τέχνη οὕτως δὲ καὶ τοῦ λέγειν, ἦν ὁ μὲν ἔχων ἐμπείρως ἐρεῖ, ὁ δὲ μὴ ἔχων ἀπείρως; [3] — δοκεῖ. — οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν διὰ τοῦ λέγειν αὐτός τε ὠφελοῦμενος καὶ ἄλλους οἷός τε ὦν ὠφελεῖν οὗτος ἐμπείρως ἂν λέγοι, ὁ δὲ βλαπτόμενος μᾶλλον καὶ βλάπτων οὗτος ἄπειρος ἂν εἴη τῆς τέχνης ταύτης τῆς τοῦ λέγειν; εὖροις ἂν τοὺς μὲν βλαπτομένους τοὺς δ' ὠφελουμένους. [4] οἱ δ' ἀκούοντες πάντες ὠφελοῦνται ἀφ' ὧν ἀκούουσιν ἢ καὶ τούτων εὖροις ἂν τοὺς μὲν ὠφελουμένους τοὺς δὲ βλαπτομένους; — καὶ τούτων, ἔφη. — οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὅσοι μὲν ἐμπείρως ἀκούουσιν

ὠφελοῦνται, ὅσοι δ' ἀπείρως βλάπτονται; [5] — ὠμολόγει. — ἔστιν ἄρα τις ἐμπειρία καθάπερ τοῦ λέγειν οὕτως καὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν; — ἔοικεν. [6] — εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ οὕτως σκέψαι αὐτό. τὸ μουσικῶς ἄσπασθαι τίνος σοι δοκεῖ; — μουσικοῦ. — τί δέ; [7] τὸν ἀνδριάντα ὡς δεῖ κατασκευάσαι τίνος σοι φαίνεται; — ἀνδριαντοποιοῦ. — τὸ ἰδεῖν ἐμπείρως οὐδεμιᾶς σοι προσδεῖσθαι φαίνεται τέχνης; — προσδεῖται καὶ τοῦτο. [8] — οὐκοῦν εἰ καὶ τὸ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ τοῦ ἐμπείρου ἐστίν, ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν ὠφελίμως τοῦ ἐμπείρου ἐστίν; [9] καὶ τὸ μὲν τελείως καὶ ὠφελίμως, εἰ βούλει, πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀφῶμεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μακράν ἐσμεν ἀμφοτέρω παντὸς τοῦ τοιούτου: [10] ἐκεῖνο δὲ πᾶς ἂν τις ὁμολογήσῃ μοι δοκεῖ, ὅτι ποσῆς γέ τινος τριβῆς περὶ τὸ ἀκούειν προσδεῖται ὁ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀκουσόμενος. ἢ γὰρ οὐ;

[11] περὶ τίνος οὖν λέγω πρὸς σέ; δεῖξόν μοι. περὶ τίνος ἀκοῦσαι δύνασαι; περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν; τίνος; ἄρα γε ἵππου; — οὐ. — ἀλλὰ βοός; — οὐ. — τί οὖν; [12] ἀνθρώπου; — ναί. — οἶδαμεν οὖν, τί ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, τίς ἢ φύσις αὐτοῦ, τίς ἢ ἔννοια; ἔχομεν καὶ κατὰ ποσὸν περὶ τοῦτο τὰ ὅτα τετρημένα; ἀλλὰ φύσις τί ἐστὶν ἔννοεῖς ἢ δύνασαι καὶ κατὰ ποσὸν ἀκολουθεῖσθαι μοι λέγοντι; [13] ἀλλ' ἀποδείξει χρήσομαι πρὸς σέ; πῶς; παρακολουθεῖς γὰρ αὐτῷ τούτῳ, τί ἐστὶν ἀποδείξεις ἢ πῶς τι ἀποδείκνυται ἢ διὰ τίνων; ἢ τίνα ὅμοια μὲν ἀποδείξει ἐστίν, ἀποδείξεις δ' οὐκ ἔστιν; [14] τί γάρ ἐστιν ἀληθὲς οἶδας ἢ τί ἐστι ψεῦδος; τί τίνι ἀκολουθεῖ, τί τίνι μάχεται ἢ ἀνομολογούμενόν ἐστιν ἢ ἀσύμφωνον; [15] ἀλλὰ κινῶ σε πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν; πῶς παραδεικνύω σοι τὴν μάχην τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, καθ' ἣν διαφέρονται περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν καὶ συμφερόντων καὶ ἀσυμφόρων, αὐτὸ τοῦτο τί ἐστὶ μάχη οὐκ εἰδότε; δεῖξον οὖν μοι, τί περὶ αὐτῶν διαλεγόμενός σοι. κίνησόν μοι προθυμίαν. [16] ὡς ἢ κατάλληλος πόα τῷ προβάτῳ φανεῖσα προθυμίαν αὐτῷ κινεῖ πρὸς τὸ φαγεῖν, ἂν δὲ λίθον ἢ ἄρτον παραθῇς, οὐ κινήσεται, οὕτως εἰσὶ τινες ἡμῖν φυσικαὶ προθυμίαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ λέγειν, ὅταν ὁ ἀκουσόμενος φανῇ τις, ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐρεθίσῃ. ἂν δ' ὡς λίθος ἢ χόρτος ἢ παρακείμενος, πῶς δύναται ἀνθρώπῳ ὀρεξίν κινήσαι; [17] ἢ ἄμπελος μή τι λέγει τῷ γεωργῷ 'ἐπιμελοῦ μου;' ἀλλ' αὐτὴ δι' αὐτῆς ἐμφαίνουσα, ὅτι ἐπιμεληθέντι λυσιτελήσει αὐτῷ, ἐκκαλεῖται πρὸς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. [18] τὰ παιδία τὰ πιθανὰ καὶ δριμύα τίνα οὐκ ἐκκαλεῖται πρὸς τὸ συμπαίζειν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέρπειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ συμπελλίζειν; ὄνῳ δὲ τίς προθυμεῖται συμπαίζειν ἢ συνογκᾶσθαι; καὶ γὰρ εἰ μικρόν, ὅμως ὀνάριόν ἐστιν.

Τί οὖν μοι οὐδὲν λέγεις; [19] — ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἔχω σοι εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ὁ ἀγνοῶν, τίς ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τί γέγονεν καὶ ἐν τίνι τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ μετὰ τίνων κοινωνῶν καὶ τίνα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ κακὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχροῦ, καὶ μήτε λόγῳ παρακολουθῶν μήτ' ἀποδείξει, μήτε τί ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς ἢ τί ψεῦδος, μήτε διακρίναι ταῦτα δυνάμενος οὐτ' ὀρέζεται κατὰ φύσιν οὐτ' ἐκκλίνει οὐθ' ὀρμήσει οὐτ' ἐπιβαλεῖται, οὐ συγκαταθήσεται, οὐκ ἀνανεύσει, οὐκ ἐφέξει, τὸ σύνολον. κωφλὸς καὶ τυφλὸς περιελεύσεται δοκῶν μὲν τις εἶναι, ὦν δ' οὐδείς. [20] νῦν γὰρ πρῶτον τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει; οὐχὶ ἐξ οὗ γένος ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν, ἐξ ἐκείνου πάντα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τὰ ἀτυχήματα παρὰ ταύτην τὴν ἄγνοιαν γεγένηται; [21] Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς διὰ τί ἀλλήλοις διεφέροντο; οὐχὶ διὰ

τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι, τίνα ἐστὶ συμφέροντα καὶ ἀσύμφορα; οὐχὶ ὁ μὲν λέγει, ὅτι συμφέρει ἀποδοῦναι τῷ πατρὶ τὴν Χρυσηίδα, ὁ δὲ λέγει, ὅτι οὐ συμφέρει; οὐχὶ ὁ μὲν λέγει, ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν λαβεῖν τὸ ἄλλου γέρας, ὁ δέ, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ; οὐχὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐπελάθοντο καὶ τίνες ἦσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τί ἐληλύθεσαν; [22] ἔα, ἄνθρωπε, ἐπὶ τί ἐλήλυθας; ἐρωμένας κτησόμενος ἢ πολεμήσων; ‘πολεμήσων.’ τίσι; τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἢ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν; ‘τοῖς Τρωσίν.’ ἀφείς οὖν τὸν Ἑκτορα ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σαντοῦ σπᾶς τὸ ξίφος; [23] σὺ δ’, ὦ βέλτιστε, ἀφείς τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔργα,

ὦ λαοὶ τ’ ἐπιτετράφαται καὶ τόσσα μέμηλεν,

ΠΕΡΙ κορασιδίου διαπυκτεύεις τῷ πολεμικωτάτῳ τῶν συμμάχων, ὃν δεῖ παντὶ τρόπῳ περιέπειν καὶ φυλάττειν; καὶ χείρων γίνῃ κομποῦ ἀρχιερώς, ὃς τοὺς καλοὺς μονομάχους διὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἔχει; ὀρθῶς, οἷα ποιεῖ ἄγνοια περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων;

[24] ‘ἀλλὰ κἀγὼ πλούσιός εἰμι.’ μὴ τι οὖν τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος πλουσιώτερος; ‘ἀλλὰ καὶ καλός εἰμι.’ μὴ τι οὖν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καλλίων; ‘ἀλλὰ καὶ κόμιον κομπὸν ἔχω.’ ὁ δ’ Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐ κάλλιον καὶ ξανθόν; καὶ οὐκ ἐκτένιζεν αὐτὸ κομπῶς οὐδ’ ἐπλασσεν. [25] ‘ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσχυρός εἰμι.’ μὴ τι οὖν δύνασαι λίθον ἄραι ἡλίκον ὁ Ἑκτωρ ἢ ὁ Αἴας; ‘ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐγενής.’ μὴ τι ἐκ θεᾶς μητρός, μὴ τι πατρὸς ἐγγόνου Διός; τί οὖν ἐκεῖνον ὠφελεῖ ταῦτα, ὅταν καθήμενος κλαίῃ διὰ τὸ κορασίδιον; ‘ἀλλὰ ῥήτωρ εἰμί.’ [26] ἐκεῖνος δ’ οὐκ ἦν; οὐ βλέπεις πῶς κέχρηται τοῖς δεινотάτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ λόγους Ὀδυσσεὶ καὶ Φοῖνικι, πῶς αὐτοὺς ἀστόμους πεποίηκε; [27]

ταῦτά σοι μόνα ἔχω εἰπεῖν καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα προθύμως. [28] — διὰ τί; — ὅτι με οὐκ ἠρέθισας. εἰς τί γὰρ ἀπιδῶν ἐρεθισθῶ ὡς οἱ ἵππικοὶ περὶ τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς εὐφυεῖς; εἰς τὸ σωματίον; αἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸ πλάσσεις. εἰς τὴν ἐσθῆτα; καὶ ταύτην τρυφερὰν ἔχεις. εἰς σχῆμα, εἰς βλέμμα; [29] εἰς οὐδέν. ὅταν ἀκοῦσαι θέλῃς φιλοσόφου, μὴ λέγε αὐτῷ ὅτι ‘οὐδέν μοι λέγεις;,’ ἀλλὰ μόνον δείκνυε σαυτὸν † τοῦ ἀκούειν καὶ ὄψει, πῶς κινήσεις τὸν λέγοντα.

Πῶς ἀναγκαῖα τὰ λογικά.

τῶν παρόντων δέ τινος εἰπόντος Πεισὼν με, ὅτι τὰ λογικά χρήσιμά ἐστιν, θέλεις, ἔφη, ἀποδείξω σοι τοῦτο; [2] — ναί. — οὐκοῦν λόγον μ’ ἀποδεικτικὸν διαλεχθῆναι δεῖ; — ὁμολογήσαντος δὲ Πόθεν οὖν εἴσῃ, ἂν σε σοφίσωμαι; [3] — σιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου Ὁρᾶς, ἔφη, πῶς αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖς ὅτι ταῦτα ἀναγκαῖά ἐστιν, εἰ χωρὶς αὐτῶν οὐδ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δύνασαι μαθεῖν, πότερον ἀναγκαῖα ἢ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖά ἐστιν.

τί τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος.

πᾶν ἀμάρτημα μάχην περιέχει. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀμαρτάνων οὐ θέλει ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ κατορθῶσαι, δηλὸν ὅτι ὁ μὲν θέλει οὐ ποιεῖ. [2] τί γὰρ ὁ κλέπτης θέλει πρᾶξαι; τὸ αὐτῷ συμφέρον. οὐκ οὖν, εἰ ἀσύμφορόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ τὸ κλέπτειν, ὁ μὲν θέλει ποιεῖ. [3] πᾶσα δὲ ψυχὴ λογικὴ φύσει διαβέβληται πρὸς μάχην: καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἂν μὴ παρακολουθῇ τούτῳ, ὅτι ἐν μάχῃ ἐστίν, οὐδὲν κωλύεται τὰ μαχόμενα ποιεῖν: παρακολουθήσαντα δὲ πολλὴ ἀνάγκη ἀποστῆναι τῆς μάχης καὶ φυγεῖν οὕτως ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ψεύδους ἀνανεῦσαι πικρὰ ἀνάγκη τῷ αἰσθανομένῳ, ὅτι ψευδός ἐστιν: μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο μὴ

φαντάζεται, ὡς ἀληθεῖ ἐπινεύει αὐτῷ. [4] δεινὸς οὖν ἐν λόγῳ, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ προτρεπτικὸς καὶ ἐλεγκτικὸς οὗτος ὁ δυνάμενος ἐκάστῳ παραδείξει τὴν μάχην, καθ' ἣν ἁμαρτάνει, καὶ σαφῶς παραστήσαι, πῶς ὁ θέλει οὐ ποιεῖ καὶ ὁ μὴ θέλει ποιεῖ. [5] ἂν γὰρ τοῦτο δείξει τις, αὐτὸς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ ἀναποχωρήσει. μέχρι δὲ μὴ δεικνύης, μὴ θαύμαζε, εἰ ἐπιμένει: κατορθώματος γὰρ φαντασίαν λαμβάνων ποιεῖ αὐτό. [6] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Σωκράτης ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει πεποιθὼς ἔλεγεν ὅτι 'ἐγὼ ἄλλον μὲν οὐδένα εἴωθα παρέχειν μάρτυρα ὢν λέγω, ἀρκοῦμαι δ' αἰεὶ τῷ προσδιαλεγομένῳ καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιψηφίζω καὶ καλῶ μάρτυρα καὶ εἷς ὢν οὗτος ἀρκεῖ μοι ἀντὶ πάντων.' [7] ἦδει γάρ, ὑπὸ τίνος λογικὴ ψυχὴ κινεῖται †, ζυγῷ ἐπιρρέψει, ἂν τε θέλῃς ἂν τε μὴ. λογικῷ ἡγεμονικῷ δεῖξον μάχην καὶ ἀποστήσεται: ἂν δὲ μὴ δεικνύης, αὐτὸς σαρτῷ μᾶλλον ἐγκάλει ἢ τῷ μὴ πειθομένῳ.

BOOK III.

περὶ καλλωπισμοῦ.

εἰσιόντος τινὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν νεανίσκου ῥητορικοῦ περιεργότερον ἡρμοσμένου τὴν κόμην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περιβολὴν κατακοσμοῦντος Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, εἰ οὐ δοκοῦσίν σοι κύνες τ' εἶναι καλοὶ τινες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ οὕτως τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ἕκαστον; [2] — δοκοῦσιν, ἔφη. — οὐκοῦν καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἱ μὲν καλοί, οἱ δ' αἰσχροί; — πῶς γὰρ οὐ; — πότερον οὖν κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἕκαστα τούτων ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει καλὰ προσαγορεύομεν ἢ ἰδίως ἕκαστον; οὕτως δ' ὄψει αὐτό. [3] ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ἄλλο μὲν ὀρῶμεν κύνα πεφυκότα, πρὸς ἄλλον δ' ἵππον, πρὸς ἄλλο δ' εἰ οὕτως τύχοι ἀηδόνα, καθόλου μὲν οὐκ ἀτόπως ἀποφάνηται ἂν τις ἕκαστον τηνικαῦτα καλὸν εἶναι, ὁπότε κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν κράτιστ' ἔχοι: ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ φύσις ἐκάστου διάφορός ἐστιν, διαφόρως εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν καλόν: ἢ γὰρ οὐ; [4] — ὠμολόγει. — οὐκ οὖν ὅπερ κύνα ποιεῖ καλόν, τοῦτο ἵππον αἰσχρόν, ὅπερ δ' ἵππον καλόν, τοῦτο κύνα αἰσχρόν, εἴ γε διάφοροι αἱ φύσεις εἰσὶν αὐτῶν; [5] — ἔοικεν. — καὶ γὰρ τὸ παγκρατιαστὴν οἶμαι ποιοῦν καλόν τοῦτο παλαιστὴν οὐκ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ, δρομέα δὲ καὶ γελοιότατον: καὶ ὁ πρὸς πενταθλίαν καλὸς ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος πρὸς πάλην αἰσχιστος; — οὕτως, ἔφη. [6] — τί οὖν ποιεῖ ἄνθρωπον καλόν ἢ ὅπερ τῷ γένει καὶ κύνα καὶ ἵππον; — τοῦτο, ἔφη. — τί οὖν ποιεῖ κύνα καλόν; ἡ ἀρετὴ ἢ κυνὸς παροῦσα. τί ἵππον; ἡ ἀρετὴ ἢ ἵππου παροῦσα. τί οὖν ἄνθρωπον; μὴ ποθ' ἡ ἀρετὴ ἢ ἀνθρώπου παροῦσα; [7] καὶ σὺ οὖν εἰ θέλεις καλὸς εἶναι, νεανίσκε, τοῦτο ἐκπόνει, τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν ἀνθρωπικὴν. [8] — τίς δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη; — ὄρα, τίνας αὐτὸς ἐπαινεῖς, ὅταν δίχα πάθους τινὰς ἐπαινῇς: πότερα τοὺς δικαίους ἢ τοὺς ἀδίκους; — τοὺς δικαίους. — πότερον τοὺς σώφρονας ἢ τοὺς ἀκολάστους; — τοὺς σώφρονας. — τοὺς ἐγκρατεῖς δ' ἢ τοὺς ἀκρατεῖς; — τοὺς ἐγκρατεῖς. [9] — οὐκοῦν τοιοῦτόν τινα ποιῶν σαυτὸν ἴσθι ὅτι καλὸν ποιήσεις: μέχρις δ' ἂν τούτων ἀμελήῃς, αἰσχρόν σ' εἶναι ἀνάγκη, κἂν πάντα μηχανᾷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ φαίνεσθαι σε καλόν.

[10] ἐντεῦθεν οὐκέτι ἔχω σοι πῶς εἶπω: ἂν τε γὰρ λέγω ἃ φρονῶ, ἀνιάσω σε καὶ ἐξελθὼν τάχα οὐδ' εἰσελεύσῃ: ἂν τε μὴ λέγω, ὄρα οἶον ποιήσω, εἰ σὺ μὲν ἔρχῃ πρὸς ἐμὲ ὠφεληθησόμενος, ἐργῶ δ' οὐκ ὠφελήσω σ' οὐδέν, καὶ σὺ μὲν ὥς πρὸς φιλόσοφον, ἐγὼ δ' οὐδέν ἐρῶ σοι ὥς φιλόσοφος. [11] πῶς δὲ καὶ ὠμόν ἐστι πρὸς αὐτόν σε τὸ περιδεῖν ἀνεπανόρθωτον ἂν ποθ' ὕστερον φρένας σχῆς, εὐλόγως μοι ἐγκαλέσεις: [12] 'τί εἶδεν ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ Ἐπικτήτος, ἵνα βλέπων με τοιοῦτον εἰσερχόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως αἰσχυρῶς ἔχοντα περιῖδῃ καὶ μηδέποτε μηδὲ ῥῆμα εἶπῃ; [13] οὕτως μου ἀπέγνων; νέος οὐκ ἤμην; οὐκ ἤμην λόγου ἀκουστικός; πόσοι δ' ἄλλοι νέοι ἐφ' ἡλικίας πολλὰ τοιαῦτα διαμαρτάνουσιν; [14] τινὰ ποτ' ἀκούω Πολέμωνα ἐξ ἀκολαστοτάτου νεανίσκου τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν μεταβαλεῖν. ἔστω, οὐκ ᾤετό με Πολέμωνα ἔσεσθαι: τὴν μὲν κόμην ἡδύνατό μου διορθῶσαι, τὰ μὲν περιάμματα μου περιελεῖν, ψιλούμενόν με παῦσαι ἡδύνατο, ἀλλὰ βλέπων με — [15] τίνας εἶπω; — σχῆμα

ἔχοντα ἐσιώπα.' ἐγὼ οὐ λέγω, τίνος ἐστὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο: σὺ δ' αὐτὸ ἐρεῖς τόθ', ὅταν εἰς σαυτὸν ἔλθῃς, καὶ γνώσῃς, οἷόν ἐστι καὶ τίνες αὐτὸ ἐπιτηδεύουσι.

[16] τοῦτό μοι ὕστερον ἂν ἐγκαλῇς, τί ἔξω ἀπολογήσασθαι; ναί: ἀλλ' ἐρῶ καὶ οὐ πεισθήσεται. τῷ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπέισθη ὁ Λαῖος; οὐκ ἀπελθὼν καὶ μεθυσθεὶς χαίρειν εἶπεν τῷ χρησμῷ; τί οὖν; παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων τὰς ἀληθείας; [17] καίτοι ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα οὐτ' εἰ πεισθήσῃ μοι οὐτ' εἰ μή: ἐκεῖνος δ' ἀκριβέστατα ἤδει, ὅτι οὐ πεισθήσεται, καὶ ὁμως εἶπεν. [18] — διὰ τί δ' εἶπεν; — διὰ τί δὲ Ἀπόλλων ἐστίν; διὰ τί δὲ χρησμοδεῖ; διὰ τί δ' εἰς ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἑαυτὸν κατατέταχεν, ὥστε μάντις εἶναι καὶ πηγὴ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔρχεσθαι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς οἰκουμένης; διὰ τί δὲ προγράφεται τὸ γνῶθι σαυτὸν μηδενὸς αὐτὸ νοοῦντος;

[19] Σωκράτης πάντας ἔπειθε τοὺς προσιόντας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἑαυτῶν; οὐδὲ τὸ χιλιοστὸν μέρος. ἀλλ' ὁμως ἐπειδὴ εἰς ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου, ὡς φησιν αὐτός, κατετάχθη, μηκέτι ἐξέλιπεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς τί λέγει; [20] 'ἄν μ' ἀφῆτε,' φησὶν, 'ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἵνα μηκέτι ταῦτα πράσσω ἂ νῦν, οὐκ ἀνέξομαι οὐδ' ἀνήσω: ἀλλὰ καὶ νέω καὶ πρεσβυτέρω καὶ ἀπλῶς ἀεὶ τῷ ἐντυγχάνοντι προσελθὼν πεύσομαι ταῦτα ἂ καὶ νῦν πυνθάνομαι, πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα ὑμῶν, φησί, τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅτι ἐγγυτέρω μου γένει ἐστέ.' [21] οὕτως περίεργος εἶ, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ πολυπράγμων; τί δέ σοι μέλει, τί ποιοῦμεν; 'οἷον καὶ λέγεις; κοινωνός μου ὢν καὶ συγγενῆς ἀμελεῖς σεαυτοῦ καὶ τῇ πόλει παρέχεις πολίτην κακὸν καὶ τοῖς συγγενέσι συγγενῇ καὶ τοῖς γείτοσι γείτονα.' [22] 'σὺ οὖν τίς εἶ;' ἐνταῦθα μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'οὗτός εἰμι, ὃ δὲ μέλειν ἀνθρώπων.' οὐδὲ γὰρ λέοντι τὸ τυχὸν βοίδιον τολμᾷ ἀντιστῆναι αὐτῷ: ἂν δ' ὁ ταῦρος προσελθὼν ἀνθίστηται, λέγε αὐτῷ, ἂν σοι δόξης, [23] 'σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ;' καὶ 'τί σοὶ μέλει;' ἄνθρωπε, ἐν παντὶ γένει φύεται τι ἐξαίρετον: ἐν βουσίν, ἐν κυσίν, ἐν μελίσσαις, ἐν ἵπποις. μὴ δὴ λέγε τῷ ἐξαίρετῳ 'σὺ οὖν τίς εἶ;' εἰ δὲ μή, ἐρεῖ σοι φωνὴν ποθεν λαβὼν 'ἐγὼ εἰμι τοιοῦτον οἷον ἐν ἱματίῳ πορφύρα: μὴ μ' ἄξιον ὁμοιον εἶναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἢ τῇ φύσει μου μέμφου, ὅτι με διαφέροντα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποίησεν.'

[24] τί οὖν; ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος; πόθεν; σὺ γὰρ τοιοῦτος οἷος ἀκούειν τάληθῃ; ὠφελεν. ἀλλ' ὁμως ἐπεὶ πῶς κατεκρίθην πώγωνα ἔχειν πολὺν καὶ τρίβωνα καὶ σὺ εἰσέρχῃ πρὸς ἐμὲ ὡς πρὸς φιλόσοφον, οὐ χρήσομαί σοι ὠμῶς οὐδ' ἀπογνωστικῶς, ἀλλ' ἐρῶ: νεανίσκε, τίνα θέλεις καλὸν ποιεῖν; γνῶθι πρῶτον τίς εἶ καὶ οὕτως κόσμει σεαυτόν. [25] ἄνθρωπος εἶ: τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ θνητὸν ζῶον χρηστικὸν φαντασίαις λογικῶς. τὸ δὲ λογικῶς τί ἐστίν; φύσει ὁμολογουμένως καὶ τελέως. τί οὖν ἐξαίρετον ἔχεις; τὸ ζῶον; οὐ. τὸ θνητόν; οὐ. τὸ χρηστικὸν φαντασίαις; [26] οὐ. τὸ λογικὸν ἔχεις ἐξαίρετον: τοῦτο κόσμει καὶ καλλώπιζε: τὴν κόμην δ' ἄφες τῷ πλάσαντι ὡς αὐτὸς ἠθέλησεν. [27] ἄγε, τίνας ἄλλας ἔχεις προσηγορίας; ἀνὴρ εἶ ἢ γυνή; — ἀνὴρ. — ἄνδρα οὖν καλλώπιζε, μὴ γυναικα. ἐκείνη φύσει λεία γέγονε καὶ τρυφερά: κἂν ἔχη τρίχας πολλὰς, τέρας ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τέρασιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δέικνυται. [28] τοῦτο δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν: κἂν μὲν φύσει μὴ ἔχη, τέρας ἐστίν, ἂν δ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκόπῃ καὶ ἀποτίλλῃ, τί αὐτὸν ποιήσωμεν; ποῦ αὐτὸν δεῖξωμεν καὶ τί προγράψωμεν; 'δείξω ὑμῖν

ἄνδρα, ὃς θέλει μᾶλλον γυνὴ εἶναι ἢ ἀνὴρ.’ [29] ὃ δεινὸν θεάματος: οὐδεὶς οὐχὶ θαυμάσει τὴν προγραφὴν: νῆ τὸν Δία, οἶμαι ὅτι αὐτοὶ οἱ τιλλόμενοι οὐ παρακολουθοῦντες, ὅτι τοῦτ’ αὐτὸ ἐστίν, ὃ ποιοῦσιν, ποιοῦσιν. ἄνθρωπε, τί ἔχεις ἐγκαλέσαι σου τῇ φύσει; [30] ὅτι σε ἄνδρα ἐγέννησεν; τί οὖν; πάσας ἔδει γυναῖκας γεννῆσαι; καὶ τί ἂν ὄφελος ἦν σοι τοῦ κοσμεῖσθαι; τί ἂν ἐκοσμοῦ, εἰ πάντες ἦσαν γυναῖκες; [31] ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀρέσκει σοι τὸ πραγματίον: ὅλον δι’ ὅλων αὐτὸ ποιήσον: ἄρον — τί ποτ’ ἐκεῖνο; — τὸ αἷτιον τῶν τριχῶν: ποιήσον εἰς ἅπαντα σαυτὸν γυναῖκα, ἵνα μὴ πλανώμεθα, μὴ τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ ἀνδρός, τὸ δ’ ἡμισυ γυναικός. [32] τί ἡλείς ἀρέσαι; τοῖς γυναικαρίοις; ὥς ἀνὴρ αὐτοῖς ἄρεσον. ‘ναί: ἀλλὰ τοῖς λείοις χαίρουσιν.’ οὐκ ἀπάγξῃ; καὶ εἰ τοῖς κιναιδοῖς ἔχαιρον, ἐγένου ἂν κίναϊδος; [33] τοῦτό σοι τὸ ἔργον ἐστίν, ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐγεννήθης, ἵνα σοι αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ἀκόλαστοι χαίρωσιν; [34] τοιοῦτόν σε θῶμεν πολίτην Κορινθίων, κἂν οὕτως τύχῃ, ἀστυνόμον ἢ ἐφήβαρχον ἢ στρατηγὸν ἢ ἀγωνοθέτην; [35] ἄγε καὶ γαμήσας τίλλεσθαι μέλλεις; τί καὶ ἐπὶ τί; καὶ παιδία ποιήσας εἴτα κάκεῖνα τιλλόμενα ἡμῖν εισάξεις εἰς τὸ πολίτευμα; καλὸς πολίτης καὶ βουλευτὴς καὶ ῥήτωρ. τοιούτους δεῖ νέους εὐχεσθαι ἡμῖν φύεσθαι καὶ ἀνατρέφεσθαι;

[36] μή, τοὺς θεοὺς σοι, νεανίσκε: ἀλλ’ ἅπαξ ἀκούσας τῶν λόγων τούτων ἀπελθὼν σαυτῷ εἰπὲ ‘ταῦτά μοι Ἐπίκτητος οὐκ εἶρηκεν: πόθεν γὰρ ἐκείνω; ἀλλὰ θεὸς τίς ποτ’ εὐμενὴς δι’ ἐκεῖνου. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐπῆλθεν Ἐπικτήτῳ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν οὐκ εἰωθότι λέγειν πρὸς οὐδένα. [37] ἄγε οὖν τῷ θεῷ πεισθῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ θεοχόλωτοι ὦμεν.’ οὐ: ἀλλ’ ἂν μὲν κόραξ κραυγάζων σημαίνει σοὶ τι, οὐχ ὁ κόραξ ἐστίν ὁ σημαίνων, ἀλλ’ ὁ θεὸς δι’ αὐτοῦ: ἂν δὲ δι’ ἀνθρωπίνης φωνῆς σημαίνῃ τι, τὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιήσει λέγειν σοι ταῦτα, ἵν’ ἀγνοῇς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ δαιμονίου, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν οὕτως, τοῖς δ’ ἐκείνως σημαίνει, περὶ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ κυριωτάτων [38] διὰ καλλίστου ἀγγέλου σημαίνει; τί ἐστὶν ἄλλο, ὃ λέγει ὁ ποιητής;

ἐπεὶ πρό οἱ εἶπομεν ἡμεῖς,

Ἑρμείαν πέμπαντες ἐύσκοπον ἀργειφόντην,

μήτ’ αὐτὸν κτείνειν μήτε μνάσθαι ἄκοιτιν.

[39] ὁ Ἑρμῆς καταβάς ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ λέγειν ταῦτα καὶ σοὶ νῦν λέγουσιν οἱ θεοὶ ταῦτα Ἑρμείαν πέμπαντες διάκτορον ἀργειφόντην μὴ ἐκστρέφειν τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα μηδὲ περιεργάζεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀφεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα ἄνδρα, τὴν γυναῖκα γυναῖκα, τὸν καλὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς καλὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν αἰσχροὺν ὡς ἄνθρωπον αἰσχροὺν. ὅτι οὐκ εἰ κρέας οὐδὲ τρίχες, ἀλλὰ προαίρεσις: [40] ταύτην ἂν σχῆς καλήν, τότε ἔστι καλός. [41] μέχρι δὲ νῦν οὐ τολμῶ σοι λέγειν, ὅτι αἰσχροὺς εἶ: δοκεῖς γάρ μοι πάντα θέλειν ἀκοῦσαι ἢ τοῦτο. [42] ἀλλ’ ὄρα, τί λέγει Σωκράτης τῷ καλλίστῳ πάντων καὶ ὠραιωτάτῳ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ: ‘πειρῶ οὖν καλὸς εἶναι.’ τί αὐτῷ λέγει; ‘πλάσσε σου τὴν κόμην καὶ τίλλε σου τὰ σκέλη;’ μὴ γένοιτο: ἀλλὰ ‘κόσμιε σου τὴν προαίρεσιν, ἔξαιρε τὰ φαῦλα δόγματα.’ [43] τὸ σωματίον οὖν πῶς; ὡς ἐφύκεν. ἄλλῳ τούτων ἐμέλησεν: ἐκείνω ἐπίστρεψον. [44] — τί οὖν; ἀκάθαρτον δεῖ εἶναι; — μὴ γένοιτο: ἀλλ’ ὅς εἰ καὶ ἐφύκας, τοῦτον κάθαιρε, ἄνδρα ὡς ἄνδρα καθάριον εἶναι, γυναῖκα ὡς γυναῖκα, παιδίον ὡς παιδίον. [45] οὐ: ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ λέοντος ἐκτίλωμεν τὴν

κόμην, ἵνα μὴ ἀκάθαρτος ᾦ, καὶ τοῦ ἀλεκτρυόνος τὸν λόφον· δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον καθάριον εἶναι. ἀλλ' ὥς ἀλεκτρυόνα καὶ ἐκεῖνον ὥς λέοντα καὶ τὸν κυνηγετικὸν κύνα ὥς κυνηγετικόν.

περὶ τίνα ἀσκεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸν προκόψοντα καὶ ὅτι τῶν κυριωτάτων ἀμελοῦμεν.

τρεῖς εἰσι τόποι, περὶ οὓς ἀσκηθῆναι δεῖ τὸν ἐσόμενον καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν· ὁ περὶ τὰς ὀρέξεις καὶ τὰς ἐκκλίσεις, ἵνα μὴτ' ὀρεγόμενος ἀποτυγχάνῃ μὴτ' ἐκκλίνων περιπίπτῃ· [2] ὁ περὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς καὶ ἀφορμὰς καὶ ἀπλῶς ὁ περὶ τὸ καθῆκον, ἵνα τάξει, ἵνα εὐλογίστως, ἵνα μὴ ἀμελῶς· τρίτος ἐστὶν ὁ περὶ τὴν ἀνεξαπατησίαν καὶ ἀνεικαιότητα καὶ ὅλως ὁ περὶ τὰς συγκαταθέσεις. [3] τούτων κυριωτάτος καὶ μάλιστα ἐπείγων ἐστὶν ὁ περὶ τὰ πάθη· πάθος γὰρ ἄλλως οὐ γίνεται εἰ μὴ ὀρέξεως ἀποτυγχανούσης ἢ ἐκκλίσεως περιπιπτούσης. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ταραχάς, θορύβους, ἀτυχίας, ὁ δυστυχίας ἐπιφέρων, ὁ πένθη, οἰμωγάς, φθόνους, ὁ φθονερούς, ὁ ζηλοτύπους ποιῶν, δι' ὧν οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι λόγου δυνάμεθα. [4] δευτέρος ἐστὶν ὁ περὶ τὸ καθῆκον· οὐ δεῖ γάρ με εἶναι ἀπαθῆ ὥς ἀνδριάντα, ἀλλὰ τὰς σχέσεις τηροῦντα τὰς φυσικὰς καὶ ἐπιθέτους ὥς εὐσεβῆ, ὥς υἱόν, ὥς ἀδελφόν, ὥς πατέρα, ὥς πολίτην.

[5] τρίτος ἐστὶν ὁ ἤδη τοῖς προκόπτουσιν ἐπιβάλλων, ὁ περὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τούτων ἀσφάλειαν, ἵνα μὴδ' ἐν ὕπνοις λάθῃ τις ἀνεξέταστος παρελθοῦσα φαντασία μὴδ' ἐν οἰνώσει μὴδὲ μελαγχολῶντος. — τοῦτο ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, φησὶν, ἐστίν. [6] — οἱ δὲ νῦν φιλόσοφοι ἀφέντες τὸν πρῶτον τρόπον καὶ τὸν δευτερον καταγίνονται περὶ τὸν τρίτον· μεταπίπτοντας, ἡρωτῆσθαι περαίνοντας, ὑποθετικούς, ψευδομένους. [7] — δεῖ γάρ, φησὶν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις ταύταις γενόμενον διαφυλάττειν τὸ ἀνεξαπάτητον. [8] — τίνα; τὸν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν. σοὶ οὖν τοῦτο λείπει; τὰς ἄλλας ἐκπεπώνηκας; περὶ κερμάτιον ἀνεξαπάτητος εἶ; ἐὰν ἴδῃς κοράσιον καλόν, ἀντέχεις τῇ φαντασίᾳ; ἂν ὁ γείτων σου κληρονομήσῃ, οὐ δάκνῃ; νῦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο σοι λείπει ἢ ἀμεταπτωσία; [9] τάλας, αὐτὰ ταῦτα τρέμων μανθάνεις καὶ ἀγωνιῶν, μὴ τίς σου καταφρονήσῃ, καὶ πυνθανόμενος, μὴ τίς τι περὶ σοῦ λέγῃ. [10] κἂν τις ἐλθὼν εἴπῃ σοι ὅτι 'λόγου γινομένου, τίς ἄριστός ἐστι τῶν φιλοσόφων, παρὼν τις ἔλεγεν, ὅτι εἷς φιλόσοφος ὁ δεῖνα,' γέγονέ σου τὸ ψυχάριον ἀντὶ δακτυλιαίου δίπηχυ. ἂν δ' ἄλλος παρὼν εἴπῃ 'οὐδὲν εἴρηκας, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄξιον τοῦ δεῖνος ἀκροᾶσθαι· τί γὰρ οἶδεν; τὰς πρῶτας ἀφορμὰς ἔχει, πλέον δ' οὐδέν,' ἐξέστηκας, ὠχρίακας, εὐθὺς κέκραγας 'ἐγὼ αὐτῷ δεῖξω, τίς εἰμι, ὅτι μέγας φιλόσοφος.' [11] βλέπεται ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων. τί θέλεις ἐξ ἄλλων δεῖξαι; οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι Διογένης τῶν σοφιστῶν τίνα οὕτως ἔδειξεν ἐκτείνας τὸν μέσον δάκτυλον, εἶτα ἐκμανέντος αὐτοῦ 'οὗτός ἐστιν,' ἔφη, 'ὁ δεῖνα· ἔδειξα ὑμῖν αὐτόν;' [12] ἄνθρωπος γὰρ δακτύλῳ οὐ δείκνυται ὥς λίθος ἢ ὥς ξύλον, ἀλλ' ὅταν τις τὰ δόγματα αὐτοῦ δεῖξῃ, τότε αὐτὸν ὥς ἄνθρωπον ἔδειξεν.

[13] βλέπωμεν καὶ σοῦ τὰ δόγματα. μὴ γὰρ οὐ δηλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι σὺ τὴν προαίρεσιν τὴν σαυτοῦ ἐν οὐδενὶ τίθεις, ἔξω δὲ βλέπεις εἰς τὰ ἀπροαίρετα, τί ἐρεῖ ὁ δεῖνα καὶ τίς εἶναι δόξεις, εἰ φιλόλογος, εἰ Χρύσιππον ἀνεγνωκῶς ἢ Ἀντίπατρον; εἰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀρχέδημον, ἀπέχεις ἅπαντα. [14] τί ἐτι ἀγωνιάς, μὴ οὐ δεῖξης ἡμῖν, τίς εἶ; θέλεις σοι εἶπω, τίνα ἡμῖν ἔδειξας; ἄνθρωπον παριόντα

ταπεινόν, μεμψίμοιρον, ὀξύθυμον, δειλόν, πάντα μεμφόμενον, πᾶσιν ἐγκαλοῦντα, μηδέποτε ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντα, πέρπερον: ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἔδειξας. [15] ἄπελθε νῦν καὶ ἀναγίγνωσκε Ἀρχέδημον: εἴτα μὺς ἂν καταπέσῃ καὶ ψοφήσῃ, ἀπέθανες. τοιοῦτος γάρ σε μένει θάνατος, οἷον καὶ τὸν — τίνα ποτ' ἐκείνον; — τὸν Κρῖνιν. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μέγα ἐφρόνει, ὅτι ἐνόει Ἀρχέδημον. [16] τάλας, οὐ θέλεις ἀφεῖναι ταῦτα τὰ μηδὲν πρὸς σέ; πρέπει ταῦτα τοῖς δυναμένοις δίχα ταραχῆς αὐτὰ μανθάνειν, οἷς ἔξεστιν εἰπεῖν 'οὐκ ὀργίζομαι, οὐ λυποῦμαι, οὐ φθονῶ, οὐ κωλύομαι, οὐκ ἀναγκάζομαι. τί μοι λοιπόν; εὐσκολῶ, ἡσυχίαν ἄγω. [17] ἴδωμεν, πῶς περὶ τὰς μεταπτώσεις τῶν λόγων δεῖ ἀναστρέφεσθαι: ἴδωμεν, πῶς ὑπόθεσιν τις λαβὼν εἰς οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ἀπαχθήσεται.' ἐκείνων ἐστὶ ταῦτα. [18] τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσι πρέπει πῦρ καίειν, ἀριστὰν, ἂν οὕτως τύχῃ, καὶ ἄδειν καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι: βυθιζομένου δὲ τοῦ πλοίου σύ μοι παρελθὼν ἐπαίρεις τοὺς σιφάρους.

τίς ὕλη τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πρὸς τί μάλιστ' ἀσκητέον.

ὕλη τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ ἴδιον ἡγεμονικόν, τὸ σῶμα δ' ἱατροῦ καὶ ἀπάλείπτου, ὁ ἀγρὸς γεωργοῦ ὕλη: ἔργον δὲ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ χρῆσθαι ταῖς φαντασίαις κατὰ φύσιν. [2] πέφυκεν δὲ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ὥσπερ τῷ ἀληθεῖ ἐπινεύειν, πρὸς τὸ ψεῦδος ἀνανεύειν, πρὸς τὸ ἄδηλον ἐπέχειν, οὕτως πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὀρεκτικῶς κινεῖσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἐκκλιτικῶς, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μήτε κακὸν μήτ' ἀγαθὸν οὐδετέρως. [3] ὥς γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος νόμισμα οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποδοκιμάσαι τῷ τραπεζίτῃ οὐδὲ τῷ λαχανοπώλῃ, ἀλλ' ἂν δείξῃς, θέλει οὐ θέλει, προσέσθαι αὐτὸν δεῖ τὸ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ πωλούμενον, οὕτως ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. [4] τὸ ἀγαθὸν φανὲν εὐθύς ἐκίνησεν ἐφ' αὐτό, τὸ κακὸν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ. οὐδέποτε δ' ἀγαθοῦ φαντασίαν ἐναργῆ ἀποδοκιμάσει ψυχὴ, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ Καίσαρος νόμισμα. ἔνθεν ἐξήρτηται πᾶσα κίνησις καὶ ἀνθρώπου καὶ θεοῦ.

[5] διὰ τοῦτο πάσης οἰκειότητος προκρίνεται τὸ ἀγαθόν. οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ πατρί, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀγαθῷ. 'οὕτως εἶ σκληρός;' οὕτως γὰρ πέφυκα: τοῦτό μοι τὸ νόμισμα δέδωκεν ὁ θεός. [6] διὰ τοῦτο, εἰ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἕτερόν ἐστιν, οἵχεται καὶ πατήρ καὶ ἀδελφός καὶ πατρίς καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα. [7] ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὸ ἐμὸν ἀγαθὸν ὑπερίδω, ἵνα σὺ σχῆς, καὶ παραχωρήσω σοι; ἀντὶ τίνος; 'πατήρ σου εἰμί.' ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγαθόν. 'ἀδελφός σου εἰμί.' [8] ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγαθόν. ἐὰν δ' ἐν ὀρθῇ προαιρέσει θῶμεν, αὐτὸ τὸ τηρεῖν τὰς σχέσεις ἀγαθὸν γίνεται: καὶ λοιπὸν ὁ τῶν ἐκτός τινων ἐκχωρῶν, οὗτος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τυγχάνει. [9] 'αἶρει τὰ χρήματα ὁ πατήρ.' ἀλλ' οὐ βλάπτει. 'ἔξει τὸ πλεόν τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὁ ἀδελφός.' ὅσον καὶ θέλει. μή τι οὖν τοῦ αἰδήμονος, μή τι τοῦ πιστοῦ, μή τι τοῦ φιλαδέλφου; [10] ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας τίς δύναται ἐκβαλεῖν; οὐδ' ὁ Ζεὺς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ αὐτὸ ἐποίησεν καὶ ἔδωκεν οἷον εἶχεν αὐτός, ἀκώλυστον, ἀνανάγκαστον, ἀπαραπόδιστον.

[11] ὅταν οὖν ἄλλω ἄλλο τὸ νόμισμα ᾗ, ἐκεῖνό τις δείξας ἔχει τὸ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ πιπρασκόμενον. [12] ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν κλέπτης ἀνθύπατος. τίνι νομίσματι χρῆται; ἀργυρίῳ. δείξον καὶ ἀπόφερε ὁ θέλεις. ἐλήλυθεν μοιχός. τίνι νομίσματι χρῆται; κορασιδίοις. 'λάβε,' φησίν, 'τὸ νόμισμα καὶ πώλησον

μοι τὸ πραγματίον.’ δὸς καὶ ἀγόραζε. [13] ἄλλος περὶ παιδάρια ἐσπούδακεν. δὸς αὐτῷ τὸ νόμισμα καὶ λάβε ὃ θέλεις. ἄλλος φιλόθηρος. δὸς ἱππάριον καλὸν ἢ κυνάριον: οἰμώζων καὶ στένων πωλήσει ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ ὃ θέλεις. ἄλλος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀναγκάζει ἔσωθεν, ὃ τὸ νόμισμα τοῦτο τεταχώς.

[14] πρὸς τοῦτο μάλιστα τὸ εἶδος αὐτὸν γυμναστέον. εὐθὺς ὄρθρου προελθὼν ὃν ἂν ἴδῃς, ὃν ἂν ἀκούσῃς, ἐξέταζε, ἀποκρίνου ὡς πρὸς ἐρώτημα. τί εἶδες; καλὸν ἢ καλὴν; ἔπαγε τὸν κανόνα. ἀπροαίρετον ἢ προαιρετικόν; ἀπροαίρετον: αἶρε ἔξω. [15] τί εἶδες; πενθοῦντ’ ἐπὶ τέκνου τελευτῇ; ἔπαγε τὸν κανόνα. ὃ θάνατός ἐστιν ἀπροαίρετον: αἶρε ἐκ τοῦ μέσου. ἀπὴντησέ σοι ὕπατος; ἔπαγε τὸν κανόνα. ὑπατεία ποῖόν τι ἐστίν; ἀπροαίρετον ἢ προαιρετικόν; ἀπροαίρετον: αἶρε καὶ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔστι δόκιμον: ἀπόβαλε, οὐδὲν πρὸς σέ. [16] καὶ τοῦτο εἰ ἐποιοῦμεν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἡσκούμεθα καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐξ ὀρθρου μέχρι νυκτός, ἐγίνετο ἂν τι, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς. [17] νῦν δ’ εὐθὺς ὑπὸ πάσης φαντασίας κεχηνότες λαμβανόμεθα καὶ μόνον, εἴπερ ἄρα, ἐν τῇ σχολῇ μικρόν τι διεγειρόμεθα: εἴτ’ ἐξελθόντες ἂν ἴδωμεν πενθοῦντα, λέγομεν ‘ἀπώλετο:’ ἂν ὕπατον, ‘μακάριος:’ ἂν ἐξωρισμένον, ‘ταλαίπωρος:’ ἂν πένητα, [18] ‘ἄθλιος, οὐκ ἔχει πόθεν φάγη.’ ταῦτ’ οὖν ἐκκόπτειν δεῖ τὰ πονηρὰ δόγματα, περὶ τοῦτο συντετάσθαι. τί γάρ ἐστι τὸ κλαίειν καὶ οἰμώζειν; δόγμα. τί δυστυχία; δόγμα. τί στάσις, τί διχόνοια, τί μέμψις, τί κατηγορία, τί ἀσέβεια, τί φλυαρία; [19] ταῦτα πάντα δόγματά ἐστι καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν καὶ δόγματα περὶ τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων ὡς ὄντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν. ταῦτά τις ἐπὶ τὰ προαιρετικὰ μεταθέτω, κἀγὼ αὐτὸν ἐγγυῶμαι ὅτι εὐσταθήσει, ὡς ἂν ἔχη τὰ περὶ αὐτόν.

[20] οἶον ἐστὶν ἡ λεκάνη τοῦ ὕδατος, τοιοῦτον ἡ ψυχὴ, οἶον ἡ αὐγὴ ἡ προσπίπτουσα τῷ ὕδατι, τοιοῦτον αἱ φαντασίαι. [21] ὅταν οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ κινηθῇ, δοκεῖ μὲν καὶ ἡ αὐγὴ κινεῖσθαι, οὐ μέντοι κινεῖται. [22] καὶ ὅταν τοίνυν σκοτωθῇ τις, οὐχ αἱ τέχναι καὶ αἱ ἄρεται συγγέονται, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐφ’ οὗ εἰσιν: καταστάντος δὲ καθίσταται κάκεῖνα.

πρὸς τὸν ἀκόσμως ἐν θεάτρῳ σπουδάσαντα.

τοῦ δ’ ἐπιτρόπου τῆς Ἡλείρου ἀκοσμότερον σπουδάσαντος κωμωδῶ τινι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δημοσίᾳ λοιδορηθέντος, εἶτα ἐξῆς ἀπαγγεῖλαντος πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐλοιδορήθη, καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντος πρὸς τοὺς λοιδορήσαντας Καὶ τί κακόν, ἔφη, ἐποιοῦν; ἐσπούδαζον καὶ οὗτοι ὡς καὶ σύ. [2] εἰπόντος δ’ ἐκείνου Οὕτως οὖν τις σπουδάζει; σέ, ἔφη, βλέποντες τὸν αὐτῶν ἄρχοντα, τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλον καὶ ἐπίτροπον, οὕτως σπουδάζοντα οὐκ ἔμελλον καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτως σπουδάζειν; [3] εἰ γὰρ μὴ δεῖ οὕτως σπουδάζειν, μὴδὲ σὺ σπούδαζε: εἰ δὲ δεῖ, τί χαλεπαίνεις, εἴ σε ἐμιμήσαντο; τίνας γὰρ ἔχουσιν μιμήσασθαι οἱ πολλοὶ ἢ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας ὑμᾶς; εἰς τίνας ἀπιδῶσιν ἐλθόντες εἰς τὰ θέατρα ἢ ὑμᾶς; [4] ‘ὄρα πῶς ὁ ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Καίσαρος θεωρεῖ: κέκραγεν: κἀγὼ τοίνυν κραυγᾶσω. ἀναπηδᾷ: κἀγὼ ἀναπηδήσω. οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ διακάθηνται κραυγάζοντες: ἐγὼ δ’ οὐκ ἔχω δοῦλους: ἀντὶ πάντων αὐτὸς ὅσον δύναμαι κραυγᾶσω.’ [5] εἰδέναι σε οὖν δεῖ, ὅταν εἰσέρχῃ εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ὅτι κανὼν εἰσέρχῃ καὶ παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις, πῶς αὐτοὺς δεῖ θεωρεῖν. [6] τί οὖν σε ἐλοιδοροῦν; ὅτι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος μισεῖ τὸ ἐμποδίζον. ἐκεῖνοι στεφανωθῆναι ἤθελον τὸν δεῖνα, σὺ ἔτερον: ἐκεῖνοι σοὶ ἐνεπόδιζον καὶ σὺ ἐκείνοις. σὺ

εὐρίσκου ισχυρότερος· ἐκεῖνοι ὁ ἐδύναντο ἐποιοῦν, ἐλοιδοροῦν τὸ ἐμποδίζον. [7] τί οὖν θέλεις; ἵνα σὺ μὲν ποιῇς ὁ θέλεις, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ μὴδ' εἴπωσιν ἂ θέλουσιν; καὶ τί θαυμαστόν; οἱ γεωργοὶ τὸν Δία οὐ λοιδοροῦσιν, ὅταν ἐμποδίζωνται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ; οἱ ναῦται οὐ λοιδοροῦσι; τὸν Καίσαρα παύονται λοιδοροῦντες; [8] τί οὖν; οὐ γινώσκει ὁ Ζεὺς; τῷ Καίσαρι οὐκ ἀπαγγέλλονται τὰ λεγόμενα; τί οὖν ποιεῖ; οἶδεν ὅτι, ἂν πάντας τοὺς λοιδοροῦντας κολάζῃ, οὐχ ἕξει τίνων ἄρξει. [9] τί οὖν; ἔδει εἰσερχόμενον εἰς τὸ θέατρον τοῦτο εἰπεῖν 'ἄγε ἵνα Σώφρων στεφανωθῇ;' ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο 'ἄγε ἵνα τηρήσω τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὕλης κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσιν.' [10] ἐμοὶ παρ' ἐμὲ φίλτερος οὐδεὶς· γελοῖον οὖν, ἵν' ἄλλος νικήσῃ κωμῳδῶν, ἐμὲ βλάπτεσθαι. [11] — τίνα οὖν θέλω νικήσαι; — τὸν νικῶντα· καὶ οὕτως αἰεὶ νικήσει, ὃν θέλω. — ἀλλὰ θέλω στεφανωθῆναι Σώφρονα. — ἐν οἴκῳ ὅσους θέλεις ἀγῶνας ἄγων ἀνακῆρυζον αὐτὸν Νέμεα, Πύθια, Ἴσθμια, Ὀλύμπια· ἐν φανερῷ δὲ μὴ πλεονέκτει μὴδ' ὑφάρπαξε τὸ κοινόν. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνέχου λοιδορούμενος· ὥς, [12] ὅταν ταῦτα ποιῇς τοῖς πολλοῖς, εἰς ἴσον ἐκεῖνοις καθιστᾷς σαυτὸν.

πρὸς τοὺς διὰ νόσον ἀπαλαττομένους.

νοσῶ, φησίν, ἐνθάδε καὶ βούλομαι ἀπιέναι εἰς οἶκον. [2] — ἐν οἴκῳ γὰρ ἄνθος ἦς σὺ; οὐ σκοπεῖς, εἴ τι ποιεῖς ἐνθάδε τῶν πρὸς τὴν προαίρεσιν τὴν σαυτοῦ φερόντων, ἵν' ἐπανορθωθῇ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴδὲν ἀνύεις, περισσῶς καὶ ἥλθες. [3] ἀπιθι, ἐπιμελοῦ τῶν ἐν οἴκῳ. εἰ γὰρ μὴ δύναταί σου τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν σχεῖν κατὰ φύσιν, τό γ' ἀγρίδιον δυνήσεται· τό γε κερμάτιον αὐξήσεις, τὸν πατέρα γηροκομήσεις, ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀναστραφήσῃ, ἄρξεις· κακὸς κακῶς τί ποτε ποιήσεις τῶν ἐξῆς. [4] εἰ δὲ παρακολουθεῖς σαυτῷ, ὅτι ἀποβάλλεις τινὰ δόγματα φαῦλα καὶ ἄλλ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεις καὶ τὴν σαυτοῦ στάσιν μετατέθεικας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων ἐπὶ τὰ προαιρετικά, κἄν ποτ' εἴπῃς 'οἴμοι,' οὐ λέγεις διὰ τὸν πατέρα, τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἀλλὰ [5] 'οἶ ἐμέ,' ἔτι ὑπολογίζῃ νόσον; οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι καὶ νόσος καὶ θάνατος καταλαβεῖν ἡμᾶς ὀφείλουσιν τί ποτε ποιοῦντας; τὸν γεωργὸν γεωργοῦντα καταλαμβάνουσι, τὸν ναυτικὸν πλέοντα. [6] σὺ τί θέλεις ποιῶν καταληφθῆναι; τί ποτε μὲν γὰρ ποιοῦντά σε δεῖ καταληφθῆναι. εἴ τι ἔχεις τούτου κρεῖσσον ποιῶν καταληφθῆναι, ποιεῖ ἐκεῖνο. [7]

ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ καταληφθῆναι γένοιτο μὴδενὸς ἄλλου ἐπιμελουμένῳ ἢ τῆς προαιρέσεως τῆς ἐμῆς, ἵν' ἀπαθῆς, ἵν' ἀκώλυτος, ἵν' ἀνανάγκαστος, ἵν' ἐλεύθερος. [8] ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύων θέλω εὑρεθῆναι, ἵν' εἰπεῖν δύνωμαι τῷ θεῷ 'μή τι παρέβην σου τὰς ἐντολάς; μή τι πρὸς ἄλλα ἐχρησάμην ταῖς ἀφορμαῖς ὥς ἔδωκας; μή τι ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἄλλως, μή τι ταῖς προλήψεσιν; μή τί σοί ποτ' ἐνεκάλεσα; [9] μή τι ἐμεμπάμην σου τὴν διοίκησιν; ἐνόσησα, ὅτε ἠθέλησας; καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐκόν. πένης ἐγενόμην σου θέλοντος, ἀλλὰ χαίρων. οὐκ ἦρξα, ὅτι σὺ οὐκ ἠθέλησας; οὐδέ ποτ' ἐπεθύμησα ἀρχῆς. μή τί με τούτου ἕνεκα στυγνότερον εἶδες; μὴ οὐ προσῆλθόν σοί ποτε φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ, ἔτοιμος εἴ τι ἐπιτάσσεις, εἴ τι σημαίνεις; [10] νῦν με θέλεις ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πανηγύρεως; ἅπειμι, χάριν σοὶ ἔχω πᾶσαν, ὅτι ἡξιώσάς με συμπανηγυρίσαι σοὶ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἔργα τὰ σὰ καὶ τῇ διοικήσει σου συμπαρακολουθῆσαι σοί.' [11] ταῦτά με ἐνθυμούμενον, ταῦτα γράφοντα, ταῦτα

ἀναγινώσκοντα καταλάβοι ὁ θάνατος. [12]

ἀλλ' ἡ μήτηρ μου τὴν κεφαλὴν νοσοῦντος οὐ κρατήσει. — ἀπιθι τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα: ἄξιος γὰρ εἶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κρατούμενος νοσεῖν. [13] — ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κλιναρίου κομποῦ ἐν οἴκῳ κατεκείμεν. — ἀπιθί σου ἐπὶ τὸ κλινάριον: ἡ ἡ ὑγιαίνων ἄξιος εἶ ἐπὶ τοιούτου κατακεῖσθαι. μὴ τοίνυν ἀπόλλυε, ἃ δύνασαι ἐκεῖ ποιεῖν.

ἀλλ' ὁ Σωκράτης τί λέγει; [14] 'ὥσπερ ἄλλος τις,' φησίν, 'χαίρειν τὸν ἀγρὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ ποιῶν κρείσσονα, ἄλλος τὸν ἵππον, οὕτως ἐγὼ καθ' ἡμέραν χαίρω παρακολουθῶν ἐμαυτῷ βελτίονι γινομένῳ.' [15] — πρὸς τί; μὴ τι πρὸς λεξειδία; — ἄνθρωπε, εὐφήμει. — μὴ τι πρὸς θεωρημάτια; — τί ποιεῖς; — καὶ μὴν οὐ βλέπω, [16] τί ἐστὶν ἄλλο, περὶ ὃ ἀσχολοῦνται οἱ φιλόσοφοι. — οὐδέν σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ μηδέποτε ἐγκαλέσαι τινί, μὴ θεῷ, μὴ ἀνθρώπῳ: μὴ μέμψασθαι μηδένα: τὸ αὐτὸ πρόσωπον αἰεὶ καὶ ἐκφέρειν καὶ εἰσφέρειν; [17] ταῦτα ἦν, ἃ ἥδει ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ ὅμως οὐδέποτε εἶπεν, ὅτι οἶδέν τι ἢ διδάσκει. εἰ δέ τις λεξειδία ἦται ἢ θεωρημάτια, ἀπῆγεν πρὸς Πρωταγόραν, πρὸς Ἰππίαν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ λάχανά τις ζητῶν ἐλήλυθεν, πρὸς τὸν κηπουρὸν ἂν αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγεν: τίς οὖν ὑμῶν ἔχει ταύτην τὴν ἐπιβολήν; [18] ἐπεὶ τοι εἰ εἴχετε, καὶ ἐνοσεῖτε ἂν ἠδέως καὶ [19] ἐπεινᾶτε καὶ ἀπεθνήσκετε. εἰ τις ὑμῶν ἠράσθη κορασίου κομποῦ, οἶδεν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω.

σποράδην τινά.

πυθομένου δέ τινος, πῶς νῦν μᾶλλον ἐκπεπονημένου τοῦ λόγου πρότερον μείζονες προκοπαὶ ἦσαν, [2] κατὰ τί, ἔφη, ἐκπεπόνηται καὶ κατὰ τί μείζους αἰ προκοπαὶ τότε ἦσαν; καθὼ γὰρ νῦν ἐκπεπόνηται, κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ προκοπαὶ νῦν εὑρεθήσονται. [3] καὶ νῦν μὲν ὥστε συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύειν ἐκπεπόνηται καὶ προκοπαὶ γίνονται: τότε δ' ὥστε τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν κατὰ φύσιν ἔχον τηρῆσαι καὶ ἐξεπονεῖτο καὶ προκοπαὶ ἦσαν. [4] μὴ οὖν ἐνᾶλλασσε μηδὲ ζητεῖ, ὅταν ἄλλο ἐκπονήῃ, ἐν ἄλλῳ προκόπτειν. ἀλλ' ἴδε, εἰ τις ἡμῶν πρὸς τούτῳ ὦν, ὥστε κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν καὶ διεξάγειν, οὐ προκόπτει. οὐδένα γὰρ εὐρήσεις.

[5] ὁ σπουδαῖος ἀήττητος: † ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἀγωνίζεται, ὅπου μὴ κρείσσων, εἰ μὴ ὅπου κρείσσων ἐστίν. [6] 'εἰ † κατὰ τὸν ἀγρὸν θέλεις, λάβε: λάβε τοὺς οἰκέτας, λάβε τὴν ἀρχήν, λάβε τὸ σῶμάτιον. τὴν δ' ὄρεξιν οὐ ποιήσεις ἀποτευκτικὴν οὐδὲ τὴν ἐκκλισιν περιπτωτικὴν.' [7] εἰς τοῦτον μόνον τὸν ἀγῶνα καθήσιν τὸν περὶ τῶν προαιρετικῶν: πῶς οὖν οὐ μέλλει ἀήττητος εἶναι;

[8] πυθομένου δέ τινος, τί ἐστὶν ὁ κοινὸς νοῦς, Ὡσπερ, φησίν, κοινὴ τις ἀκοὴ λέγοιτ' ἂν ἡ μόνον φωνῶν διακριτικὴ, ἡ δὲ τῶν φθόγγων οὐκέτι κοινὴ, ἀλλὰ τεχνικὴ, οὕτως ἐστί τινα, ἃ οἱ μὴ παντάπασιν διεστραμμένοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἀφορμὰς ὁρῶσιν. ἡ τοιαύτη κατάστασις κοινὸς νοῦς καλεῖται.

[9] τῶν νέων τοὺς μαλακοὺς οὐκ ἔστι προτρέψαι ῥάδιον: οὐδὲ γὰρ τυρὸν ἀγκίστρῳ λαβεῖν: οἱ δ' εὐφυεῖς, κἂν ἀποτρέπῃς, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔχονται τοῦ λόγου. [10] διὸ καὶ ὁ Ῥοῦφος τὰ πολλὰ ἀπέτρεπεν τούτῳ δοκιμαστηρίῳ χρώμενος τῶν εὐφυῶν καὶ ἀφυῶν. ἔλεγε γὰρ ὅτι 'ὥς ὁ λίθος, κἂν ἀναβάλλῃς, ἐνεχθήσεται κάτω ἐπὶ γῆν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ κατασκευήν, οὕτως καὶ ὁ εὐφυής, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ἀποκρούεται τις αὐτόν, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον νεύει ἐφ' ὃ πέφυκεν.'

πρὸς τὸν διορθωτὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων Ἐπικούρειον ὄντα.

τοῦ δὲ διορθωτοῦ εἰσελθόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν (ἦν δ' οὗτος Ἐπικούρειος) ἄξιον, ἔφη, τοὺς ιδιώτας ἡμᾶς παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν φιλοσόφων πυνθάνεσθαι, καθάπερ τοὺς εἰς ξένην πόλιν ἐλθόντας παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ εἰδότεων, τί κράτιστόν ἐστιν ἐν κόσμῳ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἱστορήσαντες μετίωμεν, ὥς ἐκείνοι τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, καὶ θεώμεθα. [2] ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τρία ἐστὶ περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτός, σχεδὸν οὐδεὶς ἀντιλέγει: λοιπὸν ὑμέτερόν ἐστιν ἀποκρίνασθαι, τί ἐστὶ τὸ κράτιστον. τί ἐροῦμεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; [3] τὴν σάρκα; καὶ διὰ ταύτην Μάξιμος ἔπλευσεν μέχρι Κασσιόπης χειμῶνος μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ προπέμπων, ἵν' ἡσθῇ τῇ σαρκί; [4] ἀρνησαμένου δ' ἐκείνου καὶ εἰπόντος Μὴ γένοιτο: οὐ προσήκει περὶ τὸ κράτιστον ἐσπουδακέναί; — πάντων μάλιστα προσήκει. — τί οὖν κρεῖσσον ἔχομεν τῆς σαρκός; — τὴν ψυχὴν, ἔφη. — ἀγαθὰ δὲ τὰ τοῦ κρατίστου κρεῖττονά ἐστιν ἢ τὰ τοῦ φαυλοτέρου; [5] — τὰ τοῦ κρατίστου. — ψυχῆς δὲ ἀγαθὰ πότερον προαιρετικά ἐστιν ἢ ἀπροαίρετα; — προαιρετικά. — προαιρετικὸν οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ ἡδονὴ ἢ ψυχικὴ; [6] — ἔφη. — αὕτη δ' ἐπὶ τίσιν γίνεται; πότερον ἐφ' αὐτῇ; ἀλλ' ἀδιανόητόν ἐστιν: προηγουμένην γὰρ τινα ὑφεστάναι δεῖ οὐσίαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἧς τυγχάνοντες ἡσθησόμεθα κατὰ ψυχὴν. — ὠμολόγει καὶ τοῦτο. — ἐπὶ τίνι οὖν ἡσθησόμεθα ταύτην τὴν ψυχικὴν ἡδονήν; [7] εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ψυχικοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, εὐρηται ἡ οὐσία τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. οὐ γὰρ δύναται ἄλλο μὲν εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ἄλλο δ' ἐφ' ᾧ εὐλόγως ἐπαιρόμεθα, οὐδὲ τοῦ προηγουμένου μὴ ὄντος ἀγαθοῦ τὸ ἐπιγένημα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι. ἵνα γὰρ εὐλογον ἦ τὸ ἐπιγένημα, τὸ προηγούμενον δεῖ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι. [8] ἀλλ' οὐ μὴ εἶπτε φρένας ἔχοντες: ἀνακόλουθα γὰρ ἐρεῖτε καὶ Ἐπικούρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑμῶν δόγμασιν. [9] ὑπολείπεται λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς σωματικοῖς ἡδῆσθαι τὴν κατὰ ψυχὴν ἡδονήν: πάλιν ἐκεῖνα γίνεται προηγούμενα καὶ οὐσία τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.

[10] διὰ τοῦτο ἀφρόνως ἐποίησε Μάξιμος, εἰ δι' ἄλλο τι ἔπλευσεν ἢ διὰ τὴν σάρκα, τοῦτ' ἔστι διὰ τὸ κράτιστον. [11] ἀφρόνως δὲ ποιεῖ καὶ εἰ ἀπέχεται τῶν ἀλλοτρίων δικαστῆς ὢν καὶ δυνάμενος λαμβάνειν. ἀλλ' ἂν σοι δόξη, ἐκεῖνο μόνον σκεπτώμεθα, ἵνα κεκρυμμένως, ἵν' ἀσφαλῶς, ἵνα μὴ τις γνῶ. [12] τὸ γὰρ κλέψαι οὐδ' αὐτὸς Ἐπίκουρος ἀποφαίνει κακόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐμπεσεῖν: καὶ ὅτι πίστιν περὶ τοῦ λαθεῖν λαβεῖν ἀδύνατον, διὰ τοῦτο λέγει [13] 'μὴ κλέπτετε.' ἀλλ' 'ἐγὼ σοι λέγω, ὅτι ἐὰν κομψῶς καὶ περιεσταλμένως γίνηται, λησόμεθα:' εἶτα καὶ 'φίλους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔχομεν δυνατοὺς καὶ φύλιας' καὶ 'οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀδρανεῖς εἰσιν: οὐδεὶς τολμήσει ἀναβῆναι τούτου ἔνεκα.' [14] τί ἀπέχη τοῦ ἰδίου ἀγαθοῦ; ἄφρον ἐστὶ τοῦτο, ἡλίθιον ἐστίν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν λέγῃς μοι, ὅτι ἀπέχη, πιστεύσω σοι. [15] ὥς γὰρ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τῷ ψευδεῖ φαινομένῳ συγκαταθέσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀπονεῦσαι, οὕτως ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τοῦ φαινομένου ἀγαθοῦ ἀποστῆναι. ὁ πλοῦτος δ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ οἰονανεῖ τὸ ποιητικώτατόν γε τῶν ἡδονῶν. [16] διὰ τί μὴ περιποιήσῃ αὐτόν; διὰ τί δὲ μὴ τὴν τοῦ γείτονος γυναικᾶ διαφθείρωμεν, ἂν δυνώμεθα λαθεῖν, ἂν δὲ φλυαρῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ αὐτὸν προσεκτραχηλίσωμεν; [17] εἰ θέλεις εἶναι φιλόσοφος οἷός σε δεῖ, εἴ γε τέλειος, εἰ ἀκολουθῶν σου τοῖς δόγμασιν: εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδὲν διοίσεις ἡμῶν τῶν λεγομένων Στωικῶν: καὶ αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἄλλα λέγομεν, ἄλλα δὲ ποιοῦμεν. [18]

ἡμεῖς λέγομεν τὰ καλὰ, ποιοῦμεν τὰ αἰσχρά: σὺ τὴν ἐναντίαν διαστροφὴν ἔσῃ διεστραμμένος δογματίζων τὰ αἰσχρά, ποιῶν τὰ καλὰ.

τὸν θεὸν σοι, ἐπινοεῖς Ἐπικουρεῖων πόλιν; [19] ‘ἐγὼ οὐ γαμῶ.’ ‘οὐδ’ ἐγώ: οὐ γὰρ γαμητέον.’ ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ παιδοποιητέον, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ πολιτευτέον. τί οὖν γένηται; πόθεν οἱ πολῖται; τίς αὐτοὺς παιδεύσει; τίς ἐφήβαρχος, τίς γυμνασιάρχος; τί δὲ καὶ παιδεύσει αὐτούς; ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπαιδεύοντο ἢ Ἀθηναῖοι; [20] λάβε μοι νέον, ἄγαγε κατὰ τὰ δόγματά σου. πονηρά ἐστι τὰ δόγματα, ἀνατρεπτικά πόλεως, λυμαντικά οἴκων, οὐδὲ γυναιξὶ πρέποντα. ἄφες ταῦτ’, ἄνθρωπε. [21] ζῆς ἐν ἡγεμονούσῃ πόλει: ἄρχειν σε δεῖ, κρίνειν δικαίως, ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἄλλοτρίων, σοὶ καλὴν γυναικὰ φαίνεσθαι μηδεμίαν ἢ τὴν σὴν, καλὸν παῖδα μηδένα, καλὸν ἀργύρωμα μηδέν, χρύσωμα μηδέν. τούτοις σύμφωνα δόγματα ζητήσον, [22] ἀφ’ ὧν ὁρμώμενος ἡδέως ἀφέξῃ πραγμάτων οὕτως πιθανῶν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαγεῖν καὶ νικῆσαι. [23] ἂν δὲ πρὸς τῇ πιθανότητι τῇ ἐκείνων καὶ φιλοσοφίαν τινὰ ποτε ταύτην ἐξευρηκότες ὦμεν συνεπωθοῦσαν ἡμᾶς ἐπ’ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐπιρρωννύουσαν, τί γένηται; [24] ἐν τορεύματι τί κράτιστόν ἐστιν, ὁ ἄργυρος ἢ ἡ τέχνη; χειρὸς οὐσία μὲν ἢ σὰρξ, προηγούμενα δὲ τὰ χειρὸς ἔργα. [25] οὐκοῦν καὶ καθήκοντα τρισά: τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ποῖα εἶναι, τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ τὰ προηγούμενα. οὕτως καὶ ἀνθρώπου οὐ τὴν ὕλην δεῖ τιμᾶν, τὰ σαρκίδια, ἀλλὰ τὰ προηγούμενα. [26] τίνα ἐστὶ ταῦτα; πολιτεύεσθαι, γαμεῖν, παιδοποιεῖσθαι, θεὸν σέβειν, γονέων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καθόλου ὀρέγεσθαι, ἐκκλίνειν, ὁρμᾶν, ἀφορμᾶν, ὡς ἕκαστον τούτων δεῖ ποιεῖν, ὡς πεφύκαμεν. πεφύκαμεν δὲ πῶς; [27] ὡς ἐλεύθεροι, ὡς γενναῖοι, ὡς αἰδήμονες. ποῖον γὰρ ἄλλο ζῶον ἐρυθρίᾳ, ποῖον αἰσχροῦ φαντασίαν λαμβάνει; [28] τὴν ἡδονὴν δ’ ὑπόταξαι τούτοις ὡς διάκονον, ὡς ὑπηρετίν, ἵνα προθυμίας ἐκκαλέσῃται, ἵν’ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἔργοις παρακρατῇ.

ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ πλούσιός εἰμι καὶ οὐδενὸς χρεῖα μοί ἐστιν. [29] — τί οὖν ἔτι προσποιῇ φιλοσοφεῖν; ἀρκεῖ τὰ χρυσώματα καὶ τὰ ἀργυρώματα: τί σοι χρεῖα δογμάτων; [30] — ἀλλὰ καὶ κριτὴς εἰμι τῶν Ἑλλήνων. — οἶδας κρίνειν; τί σε ἐποίησεν εἰδέναι; — Καῖσάρ μοι κωδῖκελλον ἔγραψεν. — Γραψάτω σοι, ἵνα κρίνης περὶ τῶν μουσικῶν: καὶ τί σοι ὄφελος; [31] ὅμως δὲ πῶς κριτὴς ἐγένου; τὴν τίνος χεῖρα καταφιλήσας, τὴν Συμφόρου ἢ τὴν Νουμηνίου; τίνος πρὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος κοιμηθείς; τίνι πέμψας δῶρα; εἶτα οὐκ αἰσθάνῃ, ὅτι τοσοῦτου ἄξιόν ἐστι κριτὴν εἶναι ὅσου Νουμήνιος; — ἀλλὰ δύναμαι ὃν θέλω εἰς φυλακὴν βαλεῖν. [32] — ὡς λίθον. — ἀλλὰ δύναμαι ξυλοκοπῆσαι ὃν θέλω. — ὡς ὄνον. οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀρχή. [33] ὡς λογικῶν ἡμῶν ἄρξον δεικνὺς ἡμῖν τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ ἀκολουθήσομεν: δείκνυε τὰ ἀσύμφορα καὶ ἀποστραφισόμεθα. [34] ζηλωτὰς ἡμᾶς κατασκεύασον σεαυτοῦ ὡς Σωκράτης ἑαυτοῦ. ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁ ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἄρχων, ὁ κατεσκευακὼς ὑποτεταχότας αὐτῷ τὴν ὀρεξίν τὴν αὐτῶν, τὴν ἐκκλίσιν, τὴν ὁρμήν, τὴν ἀφορμήν. [35] ‘τοῦτο ποιήσον, τοῦτο μὴ ποιήσης: εἰ δὲ μή, εἰς φυλακὴν σε βαλῶ.’ οὐκέτι ὡς λογικῶν ἢ ἀρχὴ γίνεται. [36] ἀλλ’ ‘ὡς ὁ Ζεὺς διέταξεν, τοῦτο ποιήσον: ἂν δὲ μὴ ποιήσης, ζημιωθήσῃ, βλαβήσῃ.’ ποῖαν βλάβην; ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι ἃ δεῖ: ἀπολέσεις τὸν πιστόν, τὸν αἰδήμονα, τὸν κόσμιον. τούτων ἄλλας βλάβας μείζονας μὴ ζῆται.

Πῶς πρὸς τὰς φαντασίας γυμναστέον.

ὡς πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτήματα τὰ σοφιστικά γυμναζόμεθα, οὕτως καὶ πρὸς τὰς φαντασίας καθ' ἡμέραν ἔδει γυμνάζεσθαι: προτείνουνσι γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ αὗται ἐρωτήματα. [2] ὁ υἱὸς ἀπέθανε τοῦ δεῖνος. ἀποκρίναι 'ἀπροαίρετον, οὐ κακόν.' ὁ πατὴρ τὸν δεῖνα ἀποκληρονόμον ἀπέλειπεν. τί σοι δοκεῖ; 'ἀπροαίρετον, οὐ κακόν.' Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν κατέκρινεν. [3] 'ἀπροαίρετον, οὐ κακόν.' ἐλυπήθη ἐπὶ τούτοις. 'προαιρετικόν, κακόν.' γενναίως ὑπέμεινεν. 'προαιρετικόν, ἀγαθόν.' [4] κἂν οὕτως ἐθιζόμεθα, προκόνομεν: οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἄλλω συγκαταθησόμεθα ἢ οὗ φαντασία καταληπτική γίνεται. [5] ὁ υἱὸς ἀπέθανε. τί ἐγένετο; ὁ υἱὸς ἀπέθανεν. ἄλλο οὐδέν; οὐδέέν. τὸ πλοῖον ἀπώλετο. τί ἐγένετο; τὸ πλοῖον ἀπώλετο. εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπήχθη. τί γέγονεν; εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπήχθη. τὸ δ' ὅτι 'κακῶς πέπραχεν' [6] ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος προστίθῃσιν. 'ἀλλ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς ταῦτα ὁ Ζεὺς ποιεῖ.' διὰ τί; ὅτι σε ὑπομενητικὸν ἐποίησεν, ὅτι μεγαλόφυχον, ὅτι ἀφεῖλεν αὐτῶν τὸ εἶναι κακά, ὅτι ἔξεστίν σοι πάσχοντι ταῦτα εὐδαιμονεῖν, ὅτι σοι τὴν θύραν ἥνοιξεν, ὅταν σοι μὴ ποιῇ; ἄνθρωπε, ἔξελθε καὶ μὴ ἐγκάλει. [7]

Πῶς ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς φιλοσόφους ἂν θέλῃς γνῶναι, ἄκουσον. Ἰταλικὸς ὁ μάλιστα δοκῶν αὐτῶν φιλόσοφος εἶναι παρόντος ποτέ μου χαλεπήνας τοῖς ἰδίοις, ὡς ἀνήκεστα πάσχων, 'οὐ δύναμαι,' ἔφη, 'φέρειν: ἀπόλλυτέ με, ποιήσετέ με τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι,' δείξας ἐμέ.

πρὸς τίνα ῥήτορα ἀνιόντα εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ δίκη.

εἰσελθόντος δέ τινος πρὸς αὐτόν, ὃς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνῆκε δίκην ἔχων περὶ τιμῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ, πυθόμενος τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν ἄνεισιν, ἐπερωτήσαντος ἐκείνου, τίνα γνώμην ἔχει περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, [2] εἰ μου πυνθάνη, τί πράξεις ἐν Ῥώμῃ, φησίν, πότερον κατορθώσεις ἢ ἀποτεύξῃ, θεώρημα πρὸς τοῦτο οὐκ ἔχω: εἰ δὲ πυνθάνη, πῶς πράξεις, τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ὀρθὰ δόγματα ἔχεις, καλῶς, εἰ δὲ φαῦλα, κακῶς. παντὶ γὰρ αἴτιον τοῦ πράσσειν τι δόγμα. [3] τί γάρ ἐστιν, ὃ ἐπεθύμησας προστάτης χειροτονηθῆναι Κνωσίων; τὸ δόγμα. τί ἐστιν, δι' ὃ νῦν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνέρχῃ; τὸ δόγμα. καὶ μετὰ χειμῶνος καὶ κινδύνου καὶ ἀναλωμάτων; — ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν. — τίς σοι λέγει τοῦτο; [4] τὸ δόγμα. οὐκοῦν εἰ πάντων αἷτια τὰ δόγματα, φαῦλα δέ τις ἔχει δόγματα, οἷον ἂν ἢ τὸ αἷτιον, τοιοῦτον καὶ τὸ ἀποτελούμενον. [5] ἄρ' οὖν πάντες ἔχομεν ὑγιῆ δόγματα καὶ σὺ καὶ ὁ ἀντίδικός σου; καὶ πῶς διαφέρεσθε; ἀλλὰ σὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνος; διὰ τί; δοκεῖ σοι. κάκεινῳ καὶ τοῖς μαινομένοις. τοῦτο πονηρὸν κριτήριον. ἀλλὰ δεῖξόν μοι, [6] ὅτι ἐπίσκεψίν τινα καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν πεποίησαι τῶν σαυτοῦ δογμάτων. καὶ ὡς νῦν εἰς Ῥώμην πλεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ προστάτης εἶναι Κνωσίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖ σοι μένειν ἐν οἴκῳ τὰς τιμὰς ἔχοντι ὥς εἶχες, ἀλλὰ μείζονός τινος ἐπιθυμεῖς καὶ ἐπιφανεστέρου, πότε οὕτως ἔπλευσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ δόγματα ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ σαυτοῦ καὶ εἰ τι φαῦλον ἔχεις, ἐκβαλεῖν; [7] τίني προσελήλυθας τούτου ἕνεκα; ποῖον χρόνον ἐπέταξας σαυτῷ, ποίαν ἡλικίαν; ἐπελθέ σου τοὺς χρόνους, εἰ ἐμὲ αἰσχύνῃ, αὐτὸς πρὸς σαυτόν. [8] ὅτε παῖς ἦς, ἐξήταζες τὰ σαυτοῦ δόγματα; οὐχὶ δ' ὡς πάντα ποιεῖς, ἐποίεις ἂ ἐποίεις; ὅτε δὲ μενίσκος ἦδη καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων ἦκουες καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμελέτας, τί σοι λείπειν ἐφαντάζου; [9] ὅτε δὲ νεανίσκος καὶ ἦδη ἐπολιτεύου καὶ δίκας αὐτὸς ἔλεγες καὶ εὐδοκίμεις, τίς σοι ἔτι ἴσος ἐφαίνετο; ποῦ δ' ἂν ἡνέσχου ὑπὸ τινος

ἐξεταζόμενος, ὅτι πονηρὰ ἔχεις δόγματα; [10] τί οὖν σοι θέλεις εἶπω; — βοήθησόν μοι εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα. — οὐκ ἔχω πρὸς τοῦτο θεωρήματα: οὐδὲ σύ, εἰ τούτου ἕνεκα ἐλήλυθας πρὸς ἐμέ, ὡς πρὸς φιλόσοφον ἐλήλυθας, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς λαχανοπώλην, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς σκυτέα. [11] — πρὸς τί οὖν ἔχουσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι θεωρήματα; — πρὸς τοῦτο, ὃ τι ἂν ἀποβῇ, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἡμῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν καὶ διεξάγειν. μικρὸν σοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο; — οὐ: ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγιστον. — τί οὖν; ὀλίγου χρόνου χρεῖαν ἔχει καὶ ἔστι παρερχόμενον αὐτὸ λαβεῖν; εἰ δύνασαι, λάμβανε.

εἴτ' ἐρεῖς [12] 'συνέβαλλον Ἐπικτήτῳ ὡς λίθῳ, ὡς ἀνδριάντι.' εἶδες γάρ με καὶ πλεον οὐδέν. ἀνθρώπῳ δ' ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ συμβάλλει ὁ τὰ δόγματα αὐτοῦ καταμανθάνων καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει τὰ ἴδια δεικνύων. [13] κατάμαθέ μοι τὰ δόγματα, δεῖξόν μοι τὰ σὰ καὶ οὕτως λέγε συμβεβληκέναι μοι. ἐλέγξωμεν ἀλλήλους: εἴ τι ἔχω κακὸν δόγμα, ἄφελε αὐτό: εἴ τι ἔχεις, θες εἰς τὸ μέσον. τοῦτο ἔστι φιλοσόφῳ συμβάλλειν. [14] οὐ: ἀλλὰ 'πάροδος ἔστι καὶ ἕως τὸ πλοῖον μισθούμεθα, δυνάμεθα καὶ Ἐπικτήτον ἰδεῖν: ἴδωμεν, τί ποτε λέγει.' εἴτ' ἐξελθὼν 'οὐδέν ἦν ὁ Ἐπικτήτος, ἐσολοίκιζεν, ἐβαρβάριζεν.' τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κριταὶ εἰσέρχεσθε; [15] 'ἀλλ' ἂν πρὸς τούτοις,' φησίν, 'ὦ, ἀγρὸν οὐχ ἔξω ὡς οὐδὲ σύ, ποτήρια ἀργυρὰ οὐχ ἔξω ὡς οὐδὲ σύ, κτήνη καλὰ ὡς οὐδὲ σύ.' [16] πρὸς ταῦτα ἴσως ἀρκεῖ ἐκεῖνο εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'ἀλλὰ χρεῖαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔχω: σὺ δ' ἂν πολλὰ κτήση, ἄλλων χρεῖαν ἔχεις, θέλεις οὐ θέλεις, πτωχότερός μου.' [17] — τίνος οὖν ἔχω χρεῖαν; — τοῦ σοὶ μὴ παρόντος: τοῦ εὐσταθεῖν, τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν τὴν διάνοιαν, τοῦ μὴ ταράττεσθαι. [18] πάτρων, οὐ πάτρων, τί μοι μέλει; σοὶ μέλει. πλουσιώτερός σου εἰμί: οὐκ ἀγωνιῶ, τί φρονήσει περὶ ἐμοῦ ὁ Καῖσαρ: οὐδένα κολακεύω τούτου ἕνεκα. ταῦτα ἔχω ἀντὶ τῶν ἀργυρωμάτων, ἀντὶ τῶν χρυσωμάτων. σὺ χρυσᾶ σκευή, ὀστράκινον τὸν λόγον, τὰ δόγματα, τὰς συγκαταθέσεις, τὰς ὁρμάς, τὰς ὀρέξεις. [19] ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα ἔχω κατὰ φύσιν, διὰ τί μὴ φιλοτεχνήσω καὶ περὶ τὸν λόγον; εὐσυχολῶ γάρ: οὐ περισπᾶταί μοι ἡ διάνοια. τί ποιήσω μὴ περισπώμενος; τούτου τί ἀνθρωπικώτερον ἔχω; [20] ὑμεῖς ὅταν μηδὲν ἔχητε, ταράσσεσθε, εἰς θέατρον εἰσέρχεσθε ἢ ἀναλύετε: διὰ τί ὁ φιλόσοφος μὴ ἐξεργάσεται τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον; [21] σὺ κρυστάλλινα, ἐγὼ τὰ τοῦ Ψευδομένου: σὺ μούρρινα, ἐγὼ τὰ τοῦ Ἀποφάσκοντος. σοὶ πάντα μικρὰ φαίνεται ἃ ἔχεις, ἐμοὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πάντα μεγάλα. ἀπλήρωτός σου ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιθυμία, ἡ ἐμὴ πεπλήρωται. [22] τοῖς παιδίοις εἰς στενόβρογχον κεράμιον καθιεῖσιν τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐκφέρουσιν ἰσχαδοκάρυα τοῦτο συμβαίνει: ἂν πληρώσῃ τὴν χεῖρα, ἐξενεγκεῖν οὐ δύναται, εἴτα κλάει. ἄφες ὀλίγα ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξοίσεις. καὶ σὺ ἄφες τὴν ὄρεξιν: μὴ πολλῶν ἐπιθύμει καὶ οἴσεις.

Πῶς φέρειν δεῖ τὰς νόσους.

ἐκάστου δόγματος ὅταν ἡ χρεῖα παρῇ, πρόχειρον αὐτὸ ἔχειν δεῖ: ἐπ' ἀρίστῳ τὰ περὶ ἀρίστου, ἐν βαλανείῳ τὰ περὶ βαλανείου, ἐν κοίτῃ τὰ περὶ κοίτης. [2]

μηδ' ὕπνον μαλακοῖσιν ἐπ' ὄμμασι προσδέξασθαι,

πρὶν τῶν ἡμερινῶν ἔργων λογίσασθαι ἕκαστα: [3]

πῇ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐ τετέλεσται;

ἀρξάμενος δ' ἀπὸ τοῦδε † ἐπέξῃθι: καὶ μετέπειτα

δεῖλὰ μὲν † ῥέξας ἐπιπλήσσειο, χρηστὰ δὲ τέρπου.

καὶ τούτους τοὺς στίχους κατέχειν χρηστικῶς, [4] οὐχ ἵνα δι' αὐτῶν ἀναφωνῶμεν, ὡς διὰ τοῦ Παιᾶν Ἀπολλων. πάλιν ἐν πυρετῷ τὰ πρὸς τοῦτο: [5] μή, ἂν πυρέζωμεν, ἀφιέναι πάντα καὶ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι: 'ἂν ἐγὼ ἔτι φιλοσοφήσω, ὃ θέλει γινέσθω. ποῦ ποτ' ἀπελθόντα τοῦ σωματίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι †' [6] εἴ τε καὶ πυρετὸς οὐκ ἔρχεται. τὸ δὲ φιλοσοφήσαι τί ἐστιν; οὐχὶ παρασκευάσασθαι πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα; οὐ παρακολουθεῖς οὖν, ὅτι τοιοῦτόν τι λέγεις 'ἂν ἔτι ἐγὼ παρασκευάσωμαι πρὸς τὸ πρῶως φέρειν τὰ συμβαίνοντα, ὃ θέλει γινέσθω;' οἷον εἴ τις πληγὰς λαβὼν ἀποσταίῃ τοῦ παγκρατιάζειν. [7] ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν ἔξεστι καταλῦσαι καὶ μὴ δέρεσθαι, ἐνθάδε δ' ἂν καταλύσωμεν φιλοσοφοῦντες, τί ὄφελος; τί οὖν δεῖ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν τραχέων; ὅτι 'ἔνεκα τούτου ἐγυμναζόμεν, ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἥσκουν.' [8] ὁ θεὸς σοι λέγει 'δός μοι ἀπόδειξιν, εἰ νομίμως ἦθλησας, εἰ ἔφαγες ὅσα δεῖ, εἰ ἐγυμνάσθης, εἰ τοῦ ἀλείπτου ἤκουσας;' εἰτ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου καταμαλακίῃ; νῦν τοῦ πυρέττειν καιρὸς ἐστίν, τοῦτο καλῶς γινέσθω: τοῦ διψᾶν, δίψα καλῶς; τοῦ πεινᾶν, πείνα καλῶς. [9] οὐκ ἐξέστιν ἐπὶ σοί; τίς σε κωλύσει; ἀλλὰ πεινᾶν μὲν κωλύσει ὁ ἱατρός, καλῶς δὲ διψᾶν οὐ δύναται: καὶ φαγεῖν μὲν κωλύσει, πεινᾶν δὲ καλῶς οὐ δύναται.

ἀλλ' οὐ φιλολογῷ; [10] — τίνος δ' ἔνεκα φιλολογεῖς; ἀνδράποδον, οὐχ ἵνα εὐροῇ; οὐχ ἵνα εὐσταθῇ; οὐχ ἵνα κατὰ φύσιν ἔχῃς καὶ διεξάγῃς; [11] τί κωλύει πυρέσσοντα κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν τὸ ἡγεμονικόν; ἐνθάδ' ὁ ἔλεγχος τοῦ πράγματος, ἡ δοκιμασία τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦντος. μέρος γάρ ἐστι καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ βίου, ὡς περίπατος, ὡς πλοῦς, ὡς ὁδοιπορία, οὕτως καὶ πυρετός. [12] μή τι περιπατῶν ἀναγινώσκεις; — οὐ. — οὕτως οὐδὲ πυρέσσων. ἀλλ' ἂν καλῶς περιπατῇς, ἔχεις τὸ τοῦ περιπατοῦντος; ἂν καλῶς πυρέξῃς, ἔχεις τὰ τοῦ πυρέσσοντος. [13] τί ἐστὶ καλῶς πυρέσσειν; μὴ θεὸν μέμψασθαι, μὴ ἄνθρωπον, μὴ θλιβῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν γινομένων, εὖ καὶ καλῶς προσδέχεσθαι τὸν θάνατον, ποιεῖν τὰ προστασώμενα: ὅταν ὁ ἱατρός εἰσέρχεται, μὴ φοβεῖσθαι, τί εἶπη, μὴδ' ἂν εἶπη 'κομψῶς ἔχεις,' ὑπερχαίρειν: τί γάρ σοι ἀγαθὸν εἶπεν; ὅτε γὰρ ὑγίαινες, τί σοι ἦν ἀγαθόν; [14] μὴδ' ἂν εἶπη 'κακῶς ἔχεις,' ἀθυμεῖν: τί γάρ ἐστι τὸ κακῶς ἔχειν; ἐγγίζειν τῷ διαλυθῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος. τί οὖν δεινόν ἐστιν; ἐὰν νῦν μὴ ἐγγίσης, ὕστερον οὐκ ἐγγιεῖς; ἀλλὰ ὁ κόσμος μέλλει ἀνατρέπεσθαι σοῦ ἀποθανόντος; [15] τί οὖν κολακεύεις τὸν ἱατρόν; τί λέγεις 'ἐὰν σὺ θέλῃς, κύριε, καλῶς ἔξω;' τί παρέχεις αὐτῷ ἀφορμὴν τοῦ ἐπᾶραι ὀφρῶν; οὐχὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀξίαν αὐτῷ ἀποδίδως, ὡς σκυτεῖ περὶ τὸν πόδα, ὡς τέκτονι περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, οὕτως καὶ τῷ ἱατρῷ περὶ τὸ σωματίον, τὸ οὐκ ἐμόν, τὸ φύσει νεκρόν; τούτων ὁ καιρὸς ἐστὶ τῷ πυρέσσοντι: ἂν ταῦτα ἐκπληρώσῃ, ἔχει τὰ αὐτοῦ. [16] οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἔργον τοῦ φιλοσόφου ταῦτα τὰ ἐκτὸς τηρεῖν, οὔτε τὸ οἰνάριον οὔτε τὸ ἐλάδιον οὔτε τὸ σωματίον, ἀλλὰ τί; τὸ ἴδιον ἡγεμονικόν. τὰ δ' ἔξω πῶς; μέχρι τοῦ μὴ ἀλογίστως κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέφεσθαι. [17] ποῦ οὖν ἔτι καιρὸς τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι; ποῦ οὖν ἔτι καιρὸς ὀργῇ; ποῦ φόβου περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, περὶ τῶν μηδενὸς ἀξίων; [18] δύο γὰρ ταῦτα πρόχειρα ἔχειν δεῖ: ὅτι ἔξω τῆς προαιρέσεως οὐδέν ἐστιν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακὸν καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ προηγεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐπακολουθεῖν.

[19] 'οὐκ ἔδει οὕτως μοι προσενεχθῆναι τὸν ἀδελφόν.' οὐ: ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐκεῖνος ὄψεται. ἐγὼ δ', ὡς ἂν προσενεχθῇ, αὐτὸς ὡς δεῖ χρῆσθαι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. [20] τοῦτο γὰρ ἐμόν ἐστιν, ἐκεῖνο δ' ἀλλότριον: τοῦτο οὐδεὶς κωλύσαι δύναται, ἐκεῖνο κωλύεται.

σποράδην τινά.

εἰσὶ τινες ὡς ἐκ νόμου διατεταγμένοι κολάσεις τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι τῇ θεῇ διοικήσει: [2] 'ὅς ἂν ἄλλο τι ἡγήσῃται ἀγαθὸν παρὰ τὰ προαιρετικά, φθονεῖτω, ἐπιθυμείτω, κολακευέτω, ταρασσέσθω: ὃς ἂν ἄλλο κακόν, λυπείσθω, πενθεῖτω, θρηνεῖτω, δυστυχεῖτω.' [3] καὶ ὅμως οὕτως πικρῶς κολαζόμενοι ἀποστῆναι οὐ δυνάμεθα.

μὲμνησο, τί λέγει ὁ ποιητὴς περὶ τοῦ ξένου: [4]

ξεῖν', οὐ μοι θέμις ἔστ' ἰ καὶ, οὐδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι,

ξεῖνον ἀτιμῆσαι: πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσιν ἅπαντες

ξεῖνοί τε πωχοί τε.

τοῦτο οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ πατρὸς πρόχειρον ἔχειν: [5] οὐ μοι θέμις ἔστ' οὐδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι, πατέρ' ἀτιμῆσαι: πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσιν ἅπαντες τοῦ Πατρώου: [6] καὶ ἐπ' ἀδελφῷ: πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσιν ἅπαντες τοῦ Ὅμογιου. καὶ οὕτως κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας σχέσεις εὐρήσομεν ἐπὶ τὴν Δία.

περὶ ἀσκήσεως.

τὰς ἀσκήσεις οὐ δεῖ διὰ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν καὶ παραδόξων ποιεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ τοι τῶν θανατοποιῶν οὐδὲν διοίσομεν οἱ λέγοντες φιλοσοφεῖν. [2] δύσκολον γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ σχοινίου περιπατεῖν καὶ οὐ μόνον δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον. τούτου ἕνεκα δεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς μελετᾶν ἐπὶ σχοινίου περιπατεῖν ἢ φοίνικα ἰστάνειν ἢ ἀνδριάντας περιλαμβάνειν; [3] οὐδαμῶς. οὐκ ἐστὶ τὸ δύσκολον πᾶν καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς ἄσκησιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσφορον τῷ προκειμένῳ ἐκπονηθῆναι. [4] τί δ' ἐστὶ τὸ προκείμενον ἐκπονηθῆναι; ὀρέξει καὶ ἐκκλίσει ἀκωλύτως ἀναστρέφεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ τί ἐστίν, μήτε ὀρεγόμενον ἀποτυγχάνειν μήτ' ἐκκλίνοντα περιπίπτειν. πρὸς τοῦτο οὖν καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν ῥέπειν δεῖ. [5] ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναπότευκτον σχεῖν τὴν ὀρεξιν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλινῶν ἀπερίπτωτον ἄνευ μεγάλης καὶ συνεχοῦς ἀσκήσεως, ἴσθι ὅτι, ἐὰν ἔξω ἐάσης ἀποστρέφεσθαι αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀπροαίρετα, οὔτε τὴν ὀρεξιν ἐπιτευκτικὴν ἔξεις οὔτε τὴν ἐκκλινῶν ἀπερίπτωτον. [6] καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔθος ἰσχυρόν προηγῆται πρὸς μόνα ταῦτα εἰθισμένων ἡμῶν χρῆσθαι ὀρέξει καὶ ἐκκλίσει, δεῖ τῷ ἔθει τούτῳ ἐναντίον ἔθος ἀντιθεῖναι καὶ ὅπου ὁ πολὺς ὄλισθος τῶν φαντασιῶν, ἐκεῖ ἀντιτιθέναι τὸ ἀσκητικόν.

[7] Ἐτεροκλινῶς ἔχω πρὸς ἡδονήν: ἀνατοιχίσω ἐπὶ τὸ ἐναντίον ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἕνεκα. ἐκκλιτικῶς ἔχω πόνον: τρίψω μου καὶ γυμνάσω πρὸς τοῦτο τὰς φαντασίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀποστῆναι τὴν ἐκκλινῶν ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ τοιούτου. [8] τίς γάρ ἐστιν ἀσκητής; ὁ μελετῶν ὀρέξει μὲν μὴ χρῆσθαι, ἐκκλίσει δὲ πρὸς μόνα τὰ προαιρετικά χρῆσθαι καὶ μελετῶν μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς δυσκαταπονήτοις. καθ' ὃ καὶ ἄλλω πρὸς ἄλλα μᾶλλον ἀσκητέον. [9] τί οὖν ὧδε ποιεῖ τὸ φοίνικα στῆσαι ἢ τὸ στέγην δερματίνην καὶ ὄλμον καὶ ὑπερον περιφέρειν; [10] ἄνθρωπε, ἄσκησον, εἰ γοργὸς εἶ, λοιδορούμενος ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀτιμασθεὶς μὴ ἀχθεσθῆναι. εἴθ' οὕτως προσβῆθι, ἵνα, κὰν πλήξῃ σέ τις, εἴπῃς

αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι ‘δόξον ἀνδριάντα περιειληφέναι.’ [11] εἶτα καὶ οἰναρίῳ κομπῶς χρῆσθαι, μὴ εἰς τὸ πολὺ πίνειν (καὶ γὰρ περὶ τοῦτο ἐπαρίστεροι ἀσκηταὶ εἰσιν) , ἀλλὰ πρῶτον εἰς τὸ ἀποσχέσθαι, καὶ κορασιδίου ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ πλακουνταρίου. εἶτα ποτε ὑπὲρ δοκιμασίας, εἰ ἄρα, καθήσεις εὐκαίρως αὐτὸς σαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γινῶναι, εἰ ὁμοίως ἡττώσιν σε αἱ φαντασίαι. [12] τὰ πρῶτα δὲ φεῦγε μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων. ἄνισος ἡ μάχη κορασιδίῳ κομπῶ πρὸς νέον ἀρχόμενον φιλοσοφεῖν: χύτρα, φασί, καὶ πέτρα οὐ συμφωνεῖ. [13]

μετὰ τὴν ὄρεξιν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλίσιν δεύτερος τρόπος ὁ περὶ τὴν ὀρμὴν καὶ ἀφορμὴν: ἴν’ εὐπειθὴς τῷ λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ καιρόν, μὴ παρὰ τόπον, μὴ παρὰ ἄλλην τινὰ τοιαύτην ἀσυμμετρίαν. [14] τρίτος ὁ περὶ τὰς συγκαταθέσεις, ὁ πρὸς τὰ πιθανὰ καὶ ἐλκυστικά. [15] ὥς γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν ἀνεξέταστον βίον μὴ ζῆν, οὕτως ἀνεξέταστον φαντασίαν μὴ παραδέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ λέγειν ‘ἐκδεξαι, ἄφες ἶδω, τίς εἶ καὶ πόθεν ἔρχῃ,’ ὥς οἱ νυκτοφύλακες ‘δεῖξόν μοι τὰ συνθήματα.’ ‘ἔχεις τὸ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως σύμβολον, ὃ δεῖ τὴν παραδεχθισομένην ἔχειν φαντασίαν;’ [16] καὶ λοιπὸν ὅσα τῷ σώματι προσάγεται ὑπὸ τῶν γυμναζόντων αὐτό, ἂν μὲν ὧδέ που ῥέπῃ πρὸς ὄρεξιν καὶ ἐκκλίσιν, εἴη ἂν καὶ αὐτὰ ἀσκητικά: ἂν δὲ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν, ἔξω νενευκότος ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλο τι θηρωμένου καὶ θεατὰς ζητοῦντος τοὺς ἐροῦντας ‘ὧς μεγάλου ἀνθρώπου.’ [17] διὰ τοῦτο καλῶς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἔλεγεν ὅτι ‘ὅταν θέλῃς σαυτῷ ἀσκήσαι, διψῶν ποτε καύματος ἐφέλकुσαι βρόγχον ψυχροῦ καὶ ἐκπτυσσον καὶ μηδενὶ εἴπῃς.’

τί ἐρημία καὶ ποῖος ἔρημος.

ἐρημία ἐστὶ κατάστασις τις ἀβοηθήτου. οὐ γὰρ ὁ μόνος ὢν εὐθὺς καὶ ἔρημος, ὥσπερ οὐδ’ ὁ ἐν πολλοῖς ὢν οὐκ ἔρημος. [2] ὅταν γοῦν ἀπολέσωμεν ἢ ἀδελφὸν ἢ υἱὸν ἢ φίλον, ᾧ προσαναπαυόμεθα, λέγομεν ἀπολελειφθαι ἐρημοί, πολλάκις ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὄντες, τοσοῦτου ὄχλου ἡμῖν ἀπαντῶντος καὶ τοσοῦτων συνοικούντων, ἔσθ’ ὅτε πλήθος δούλων ἔχοντες. [3] θέλει γὰρ ὁ ἔρημος κατὰ τὴν ἔννοιαν ἀβοηθήτός τις εἶναι καὶ ἐκκειμένος τοῖς βλάπτειν βουλομένοις. διὰ τοῦτο, ὅταν ὁδεύωμεν, τότε μάλιστα ἐρήμους λέγομεν ἑαυτούς, ὅταν εἰς ληστὰς ἐμπέσωμεν. οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ὄψις ἐξαίρεται ἐρημίας, ἀλλὰ πιστοῦ καὶ αἰδήμονος καὶ ὠφελίμου. [4] ἐπεὶ εἰ τὸ μόνον εἶναι ἀρκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἐρημον εἶναι, λέγε ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκπυρώσει ἐρημὸς ἐστὶ καὶ κατακλαίει αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ: ‘τάλας ἐγώ, οὔτε τὴν Ἥραν ἔχω οὔτε τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν οὔτε τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα οὔτε Ὀλῶς ἢ ἀδελφὸν ἢ υἱὸν ἢ ἐγγονον ἢ συγγενῆ.’ [5] ταῦτα καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ τινες ὅτι ποιεῖ μόνος ἐν τῇ ἐκπυρώσει. οὐ γὰρ ἐπινοοῦσι διεξαγωγὴν μόνου καὶ ἀπὸ τινος φυσικοῦ ὁρμώμενοι, ἀπὸ τοῦ φύσει κοινωνικοῦ εἶναι καὶ φιλαλλήλου καὶ ἡδέως συναναστρέφεσθαι ἀνθρώποις. [6] ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἦττον δεῖ τινα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο παρασκευὴν ἔχειν τὸ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ ἀρκεῖν, δύνασθαι αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ συνεῖναι: [7] ὥς ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ σύνεστιν καὶ ἡσυχάζει ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐννοεῖ τὴν διοίκησιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οἷα ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν ἐπινοίαις γίνεται πρεπούσαις ἑαυτῷ, οὕτως καὶ ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς λαλεῖν, μὴ προσδεῖσθαι ἄλλων, διαγωγῆς μὴ ἀπορεῖν: [8] ἐφιστάνειν τῇ θεῇ διοικήσει, τῇ αὐτῶν πρὸς τᾶλλα σχέσει: ἐπιβλέπειν, πῶς πρότερον εἶχομεν

πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα, πῶς νῦν: τίνα ἐστὶν ἔτι τὰ θλίβοντα: πῶς ἂν θεραπευθῇ καὶ ταῦτα, πῶς ἐξαιρεθῇ: εἴ τίνα ἐξεργασίας δεῖται τούτων, κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον ἐξεργάζεσθαι.

[9] ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὅτι εἰρήνην μεγάλην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἡμῖν δοκεῖ παρέχειν, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐκέτι πόλεμοι οὐδὲ μάχαι οὐδὲ ληστήρια μεγάλα οὐδὲ πειρατικά, ἀλλ' ἐξεστὶν πάσῃ ὥρᾳ ὁδεύειν, πλεῖν ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ δυσμάς. [10] μὴ τι οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ πυρετοῦ δύναται ἡμῖν εἰρήνην παρασχεῖν, μὴ τι καὶ ἀπὸ ναυαγίου, μὴ τι καὶ ἀπὸ ἐμπρησμοῦ ἢ ἀπὸ σεισμοῦ ἢ ἀπὸ κεραυνοῦ; ἄγε ἀπ' ἔρωτος; οὐ δύναται. ἀπὸ πένθους; οὐ δύναται. ἀπὸ φθόνου; οὐ δύναται. ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς τούτων: [11] ὁ δὲ λόγος ὁ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων εἰρήνην παρέχειν. καὶ τί λέγει; 'ἂν μοι προσέχητε, ὧ ἄνθρωποι, ὅπου ἂν ἦτε, ὅ τι ἂν ποιῆτε, οὐ λυπηθήσεσθε, οὐκ ὀργισθήσεσθε, οὐκ ἀναγκασθήσεσθε, οὐ καλυθθήσεσθε, ἀπαθεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐλεύθεροι διάξετε ἀπὸ πάντων.' [12] ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην τις ἔχων οὐχὶ κεκηρυγμένην οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος (πόθεν γὰρ αὐτῷ ταύτην κηρύξει;), ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεκηρυγμένην διὰ τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἄρκεται, ὅταν ἡ μόνος, ἐπιβλέπων καὶ ἐνθυμούμενος [13] 'νῦν ἐμοὶ κακὸν οὐδὲν δύναται συμβῆναι, ἐμοὶ ληστὴς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐμοὶ σεισμός οὐκ ἔστιν, πάντα εἰρήνης μεστά, πάντα ἀταραξίας: πᾶσα ὁδός, πᾶσα πόλις, πᾶσα σύνοδος, γείτων, κοινωνὸς ἀβλαβής. ἄλλος παρέχει τροφάς, ὃ μέλει, ἄλλος ἐσθῆτα, ἄλλος αἰσθήσεις ἔδωκεν, ἄλλος προλήψει. [14] ὅταν δὲ μὴ παρέχῃ τὰναγκαῖα, τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν σημαίνει, τὴν θύραν ἥνοιζεν καὶ λέγει σοι 'ἔρχου.' ποῦ; εἰς οὐδὲν δεινόν, ἀλλ' ὅθεν ἐγένου, εἰς τὰ φίλα καὶ συγγενή, εἰς τὰ στοιχεῖα. [15] ὅσον ἦν ἐν σοὶ πυρός, εἰς πῦρ ἅπεισιν, ὅσον ἦν γηδίου, εἰς γῆδιον, ὅσον πνευματίου, εἰς πνευμάτιον, ὅσον ὕδατιου, εἰς ὕδατιον. οὐδεὶς Ἄιδης οὐδ' Ἀχέρων οὐδὲ Κωκυτὸς οὐδὲ Πυριφλεγέθων, ἀλλὰ πάντα θεῶν μεστὰ καὶ δαιμόνων;' [16] ταῦτά τις ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ἔχων καὶ βλέπων τὸν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἄστρα καὶ γῆς ἀπολαύων καὶ θαλάσσης ἔρημός ἐστιν οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ ἀβοήθητος. [17] 'τί οὖν; ἂν τις ἐπελθὼν μοι μόνῳ ἀποσφάξῃ με;' μωρέ, σὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ τὸ σωματίον.

[18] ποῖα οὖν ἔτι ἐρημία, ποῖα ἀπορία; τί χεῖρνας ἑαυτοὺς ποιῶμεν τῶν παιδαρίων; ἅ τίνα ὅταν ἀπολειφθῇ μόνα, τί ποιεῖ; ἄρα τὰ ὀστράκια καὶ σποδὸν οἰκοδομεῖ τί ποτε, εἴτα καταστρέφει καὶ πάλιν ἄλλο οἰκοδομεῖ: καὶ οὕτως οὐδέποτε ἀπορεῖ διαγωγῆς. [19] ἐγὼ οὖν, ἂν πλεύσητε ὑμεῖς, μέλλω καθήμενος κλαίειν ὅτι μόνος ἀπελείφθην καὶ ἔρημος οὕτως; οὐκ ὀστράκια ἔξω, οὐ σποδόν; ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα ὑπ' ἀφροσύνης ταῦτα ποιεῖ, ἡμεῖς δ' ὑπὸ φρονήσεως δυστυχοῦμεν;

[20] πᾶσα μεγάλη δύναμις ἐπισφαλῆς τῷ ἀρχομένῳ. φέρειν οὖν δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φύσιν. [21] ... ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῷ φθισικῷ. μελέτησόν ποτε διαγωγὴν ὡς ἄρρωστος, ἵνα ποθ' ὡς ὑγιαίνων διαγάγῃς. ἀσίτησον, ὑδροπότησον: ἀπόσχου ποτὲ παντάπασιν ὀρέξεως, ἵνα ποτὲ καὶ εὐλόγως ὀρεχθῇς. εἰ δ' εὐλόγως, ὅταν ἔχῃς τι ἐν σεαυτῷ ἀγαθόν, εὖ ὀρεχθήσῃ. [22] οὐ: ἀλλ' εὐθέως ὡς σοφοὶ διάγειν ἐθέλομεν καὶ ὠφελεῖν ἀνθρώπους. ποῖαν ὠφέλειαν; τί ποιεῖς; σαυτὸν γὰρ ὠφέλησας; ἀλλὰ προτρέψαι αὐτοὺς θέλεις. σὺ γὰρ προτρέψαι; θέλεις αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖσαι. [23]

δείξον αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ, οἷους ποιεῖ φιλοσοφία, καὶ μὴ φλυαρεῖ. ἐσθίων τοὺς συνεσθίοντας ὠφέλει, πίνων τοὺς πίνοντας, εἰκὼν πᾶσι, παραχωρῶν, ἀνεχόμενος, οὕτως αὐτοὺς ὠφέλει καὶ μὴ κατεξέρα αὐτῶν τὸ σεαυτοῦ φλέγμα.

σποράδην τινά.

ὡς οἱ κακοὶ τραγωδοὶ μόνοι ᾄσαι οὐ δύνανται, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῶν, οὕτως ἔνιοι μόνοι περιπατῆσαι οὐ δύνανται. [2] ἄνθρωπε, εἴ τις εἶ, καὶ μόνος περιπάτησον καὶ σαυτῷ λάλησον καὶ μὴ ἐν τῷ χορῷ κρύπτου. [3] σκώφθητί ποτε, περίβλεψαι, ἐνσείσθητι, ἵνα γνῶς, τίς εἶ.

[4] ὅταν τις ὕδωρ πίνη ἢ ποιῇ τι ἀσκητικόν, ἐκ πάσης ἀφορμῆς λέγει αὐτὸ πρὸς πάντας. [5] ‘ἐγὼ ὕδωρ πίνω.’ διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ὕδωρ πίνεις, διὰ γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ πίνειν; ἄνθρωπε, εἴ σοι λυσιτελεῖν πίνειν, πίνε: εἰ δὲ μή, γελοῖως ποιεῖς. [6] εἰ δὲ συμφέρει σοὶ καὶ πίνεις, σιώπα πρὸς τοὺς δυσαρεστοῦντας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. τί οὖν; αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἀρέσκειν θέλεις;

[7] τῶν πραττομένων τὰ μὲν προηγουμένως πράττεται, τὰ δὲ κατὰ περίστασιν, τὰ δὲ κατ’ οἰκονομίαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ συμπεριφοράν, τὰ δὲ κατ’ ἔνστασιν.

[8] δύο ταῦτα ἐξελεῖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἷησιν καὶ ἀπιστίαν. οἷησις μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ δοκεῖν μηδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι, ἀπιστία δὲ τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν μὴ δυνατόν εἶναι εὐροεῖν τοσούτων περιεστηκότων. [9] τὴν μὲν οὖν οἷησιν ἔλεγχος ἐξαίρει, καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον ποιεῖ Σωκράτης. ὅτι δ’ οὐκ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα, σκέψαι καὶ ζητήσον. οὐδὲν σε βλάψει ἢ ζητήσις αὕτη: [10] καὶ σχεδὸν τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ, ζητεῖν, πῶς ἐνδέχεται ἀπαραποδίστως ὀρεῖε χρῆσθαι καὶ ἐκκλίσει.

[11] ‘κρεῖσσων εἰμὶ σοῦ: ὁ γὰρ πατήρ μου ὑπατικός ἐστιν.’ ἄλλος λέγει [12] ‘ἐγὼ δεδημάρχηκα, σὺ δ’ οὐ.’ εἰ δ’ ἵπποι ἦμεν, ἔλεγες ἂν ὅτι ‘ὁ πατήρ μου ὠκύτερος ἦν’ ἢ ὅτι ‘ἐγὼ ἔχω πολλὰς κριθὰς καὶ χόρτον’ ἢ ὅτι ‘κομπὰ περιτραχήλια;’ εἰ οὖν ταῦτά σου λέγοντος εἶπον ὅτι ‘ἔστω ταῦτα, τρέχωμεν οὖν;’ [13] ἄγε, ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπου οὖν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον οἶον ἐφ’ ἵππου δρόμος, ἐξ οὗ γνωσθήσεται ὁ χεῖρων καὶ ὁ κρείττων; μήποτ’ ἐστὶν αἰδώς, πίστις, δικαιοσύνη; [14] τούτοις δείκνυε κρεῖττονα σεαυτόν, ἵν’ ὥς ἄνθρωπος ἢ κρεῖττων. ἂν μοι λέγῃς ὅτι ‘μεγάλα λακτίζω,’ ἐρῶ σοὶ κἀγὼ ὅτι ‘ἐπὶ ὄνου ἔργῳ μέγα φρονεῖς.’

ὅτι δεῖ περισκεμμένως ἔρχεσθαι ἐφ’ ἕκαστα.

ἐκάστου ἔργου σκόπει τὰ καθηγούμενα καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα καὶ οὕτως ἔρχου ἐπ’ αὐτό. εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἥξεις προθύμως ἅτε μηδὲν τῶν ἐξῆς ἐντεθυμημένος, ὕστερον δ’ ἀναφανέντων τινῶν αἰσχυρῶς ἀποστήσῃ. [2] ‘θέλω Ὀλύμπια νικήσαι.’ ἀλλὰ σκόπει τὰ καθηγούμενα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα: καὶ οὕτως ἂν σοὶ λυσιτελῇ, ἅπτου τοῦ ἔργου. [3] δεῖ σε εὐτακτεῖν, ἀναγκοφαγεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι πεμμάτων, γυμνάζεσθαι πρὸς ἀνάγκην, ὥρα τεταγμένη, ἐν καύματι, ἐν ψύχει: μὴ ψυχρὸν πίνειν, μὴ οἶνον ὅτ’ ἔτυχεν: ἀπλῶς ὥς ἰατρῷ γὰρ παραδεδωκέναι **σεαυτὸν** τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ: [4] εἴτα ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι παρορύσσεσθαι, ἐστὶν ὅτε χεῖρα ἐκβαλεῖν, σφυρὸν στρέψαι, πολλὴν ἀφὴν καταπιεῖν, μαστιγωθῆναι: καὶ μετὰ τούτων πάντων ἔσθ’ ὅτε νικηθῆναι. [5] ταῦτα λογισάμενος, ἂν ἔτι θέλῃς, ἔρχου ἐπὶ τὸ ἀθλεῖν: εἰ δὲ μή, ὄρα ὅτι ὥς τὰ

παιδιά ἀναστραφήση, ἃ νῦν μὲν ἀθλητὰς παίζει, νῦν δὲ μονομάχους, νῦν δὲ σαλπίζει, εἴτα τραγωδεῖ ὅ τι ἂν ἴδῃ καὶ θαυμάσῃ. [6] οὕτως καὶ σὺ νῦν μὲν ἀθλητὴς, νῦν δὲ μονομάχος, εἴτα φιλόσοφος, εἴτα ῥήτωρ, ὅλη δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὥς ὁ πίθηκος πᾶν ὃ ἂν ἴδῃς μιμῇ καὶ ἀεὶ σοι ἄλλο ἐξ ἄλλου ἀρέσκει, τὸ σύνθηδες δ' ἀπαρέσκει. [7] οὐ γὰρ μετὰ σκέψεως ἦλθες ἐπὶ τι οὐδὲ περιοδεύσας ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ βασανίσας, ἀλλ' εἰκῇ καὶ κατὰ ψυχρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν. [8]

Οὕτως τινὲς ἰδόντες φιλόσοφον καὶ ἀκούσαντές τινος οὕτως λέγοντος, ὡς Εὐφράτης λέγει (καίτοι τίς οὕτως δύναται εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐκεῖνος;), θέλουσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ φιλοσοφεῖν. [9] ἄνθρωπε, σκέψαι πρῶτον τί ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἴτα καὶ τὴν σαντοῦ φύσιν, τί δύνασαι βαστάσαι. εἰ παλαιστής, ἰδοῦ σου τοὺς ὤμους, τοὺς μηρούς, τὴν ὀσφύν. [10] ἄλλος γὰρ πρὸς ἄλλο τι πέφυκεν. δοκεῖς ὅτι ταῦτα ποιῶν δύνασαι φιλοσοφεῖν; δοκεῖς ὅτι δύνασαι ὡσαύτως ἐσθίειν, ὡσαύτως πίνειν, ὁμοίως ὀργίζεσθαι, ὁμοίως δυσαρεστεῖν; [11] ἀγρυπνήσαι δεῖ, πονῆσαι, νικῆσαι τινὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων, ὑπὸ παιδαρίου καταφρονηθῆναι, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων καταγελασθῆναι, ἐν παντὶ ἔλασσον ἔχειν, ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἐν τιμῇ, ἐν δίκῃ. [12] ταῦτα περισκεψάμενος, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προσέρχου, εἰ θέλεις ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι τούτων ἀπάθειαν, ἐλευθερίαν, ἀταραξίαν. εἰ δὲ μή, μὴ πρόσαγε, μὴ ὡς τὰ παιδιά νῦν μὲν φιλόσοφος, ὕστερον δὲ τελώνης, εἴτα ῥήτωρ, εἴτα ἐπίτροπος Καίσαρος. [13] ταῦτα οὐ συμφωνεῖ: ἓνα σε δεῖ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν: ἢ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν σε δεῖ ἐξεργάζεσθαι τὸ σαντοῦ ἢ τὰ ἐκτός: ἢ περὶ τὰ ἔσω φιλοπονεῖν ἢ περὶ τὰ ἔξω: τοῦτ' ἔστι φιλοσόφου στάσιν ἔχειν ἢ ἰδιώτου.

Ρούφῳ τις ἔλεγεν Γάλβα σφαγέντος ὅτι [14] 'νῦν προνοία ὁ κόσμος διοικεῖται;': ὁ δὲ 'μὴ παρέργως ποτ', ἔφη, 'ἀπὸ Γάλβα κατεσκεύασα, ὅτι προνοία ὁ κόσμος διοικεῖται;'

ὅτι εὐλαβῶς δεῖ συγκαθιέναι εἰς συμπεριφοράν.

ἀνάγκη τὸν συγκαθιέντα τισὶν ἐπιπλέον ἢ εἰς λαλιὰν ἢ εἰς συμπόσια ἢ ἀπλῶς εἰς συμβίωσιν ἢ αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις ἐξομοιωθῆναι ἢ ἐκείνους μεταθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ. [2] καὶ γὰρ ἄνθρακα ἀπεσβεσμένον ἂν θῇ παρὰ τὸν καιόμενον, ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀποσβέσει ἢ ἐκεῖνος τοῦτον ἐκκαύσει. [3] τηλικούτου οὖν τοῦ κινδύνου ὄντος εὐλαβῶς δεῖ τοῖς ἰδιώταις συγκαθίσσθαι εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας συμπεριφορὰς μεμνημένους, ὅτι ἀμήχανον τὸν συνανατριβόμενον τῷ ἡσβολωμένῳ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ἀσβόλης: τί γὰρ ποιήσεις, [4] ἂν περὶ μονομάχων λαλήῃς, ἂν περὶ ἵππων, ἂν περὶ ἀθλητῶν, ἂν τὸ ἔτι τούτων χειρόν περὶ ἀνθρώπων: 'ὁ δεῖνα κακός, ὁ δεῖνα ἀγαθός: τοῦτο καλῶς ἐγένετο, τοῦτο κακῶς:' ἔτι ἂν σκώπτῃ, ἂν γελοιάξῃ, ἂν κακοηθίζῃται; [5] ἔχει τις ὑμῶν παρασκευὴν οἷαν ὁ κιθαριστικὸς τὴν λύραν λαβών, ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἀψάμενος τῶν χορδῶν γινῶναι τὰς ἀσυμφῶνους καὶ ἀρμόσασθαι τὸ ὄργανον; οἷαν εἶχεν δύναμιν Σωκράτης, ὥστ' ἐν πάσῃ συμπεριφορᾷ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ τοὺς συνόντας; [6] πόθεν ὑμῖν; ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὑμᾶς περιάγεσθαι.

[7] διὰ τί οὖν ἐκεῖνοι ὑμῶν ἰσχυρότεροι; ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τὰ σαπρὰ ταῦτα ἀπὸ δογμάτων λαλοῦσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ κομψὰ ἀπὸ τῶν χειλῶν: διὰ τοῦτο ἄτονά ἐστι καὶ νεκρά, καὶ σικχᾶναι ἔστιν ἀκούοντα ὑμῶν τοὺς προτρεπτικούς καὶ

τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν ταλαίπωρον, ἣ ἄνω κάτω θρυλεῖται. οὕτως ὑμᾶς οἱ ἰδιῶται νικῶσιν. [8] πανταχοῦ γὰρ ἰσχυρὸν τὸ δόγμα, ἀνίκητον τὸ δόγμα. [9] μέχρις ἂν οὖν παγῶσιν ἐν ὑμῖν αἱ κομψαὶ ὑπολήψεις καὶ δυναμὶν τινα περιποιήσῃτε πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, συμβουλευέω ὑμῖν εὐλαβῶς τοῖς ἰδιώταις συγκαταβαίνειν: εἰ δὲ μή, καθ' ἡμέραν ὥς κηρὸς ἐν ἡλίῳ διατακῆσεται, ὑμῶν εἴ τινα ἐν τῇ σχολῇ ἐγγράφετε. [10] μακρὰν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου πού ποτε ὑπάγετε, μέχρις ἂν κηρίνας τὰς ὑπολήψεις ἔχητε. [11] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν πατρίδων συμβουλεύουσιν ἀποχωρεῖν οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ὅτι τὰ παλαιὰ ἔθῃ περισπᾷ καὶ οὐκ ἔῃ ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι τινὰ ἄλλου ἐθισμοῦ, οὐδὲ φέρομεν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας καὶ λέγοντας 'εἶδ' ὁ δεῖνα φιλοσοφεῖ, ὁ τοῖος καὶ ὁ τοῖος.' [12] οὕτως καὶ οἱ ἱατροὶ τοὺς μακρονοσοῦντας ἐκπέμπουσιν εἰς ἄλλην χώραν καὶ ἄλλον ἀέρα καλῶς ποιοῦντες. [13] καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀντεισαγάγετε ἄλλα ἔθῃ: πῆξατε ὑμῶν τὰς ὑπολήψεις, ἐναθλεῖτε αὐταῖς. [14] οὐ: ἀλλ' ἐνθεν ἐπὶ θεωρίαν, εἰς μονομαχίαν, εἰς ξυστόν, εἰς κίρκον: εἴτ' ἐκεῖθεν ὧδε καὶ πάλιν ἐνθεν ἐκεῖ οἱ αὐτοί. [15] καὶ ἔθος κομψὸν οὐδέν, οὔτε προσοχή οὔτ' ἐπιστροφή ἐφ' αὐτὸν καὶ παρατήρησις 'πῶς χρῶμαι ταῖς προσπιπτούσαις φαντασίαις; κατὰ φύσιν ἢ παρὰ φύσιν; πῶς ἀποκρίνωμαι πρὸς αὐτάς; ὥς δεῖ ἢ ὥς οὐ δεῖ; ἐπιλέγω τοῖς ἀπροαιρέτοις, ὅτι οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐμέ;' [16] εἰ γὰρ μήπω οὕτως ἔχητε, φεύγετε ἔθῃ τὰ πρότερον, φεύγετε τοὺς ἰδιώτας, εἰ θέλετε ἄρξασθαι ποτέ τινες εἶναι.

περὶ προνοίας.

ὅταν τῇ προνοίᾳ ἐγκαλῇς, ἐπιστράφηθι καὶ γνώσῃ, ὅτι κατὰ λόγον γέγονεν. [2] ‘ναί, ἀλλ’ ὁ ἄδικος πλέον ἔχει.’ ἐν τίνι; ἐν ἀργυρίῳ: πρὸς γὰρ τοῦτό σου κρείττων ἐστίν, ὅτι κολακεύει, ἀναισχυντεῖ, ἀγρυπνεῖ. τί θαυμαστόν; [3] ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο βλέπε, εἰ ἐν τῷ πιστὸς εἶναι πλέον σου ἔχει, εἰ ἐν τῷ αἰδήμων. οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσεις: ἀλλ’ ὅπου κρείττων, ἐκεῖ σαυτὸν εὐρήσεις πλέον ἔχοντα. [4] κἀγὼ ποτ’ εἰπὼν τινι ἀγανακτοῦντι, ὅτι Φιλόστοργος εὐτυχεῖ, ‘Ἦθελες ἂν σὺ μετὰ Σούρα κοιμᾷσθαι;—’μὴ γένοιτο,’ φησίν, [5] ‘ἐκεῖνη ἡ ἡμέρα.’ — τί οὖν ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ λαμβάνει τι ἀνθ’ οὗ πωλεῖ; ἢ πῶς μακαρίζεις τὸν διὰ τούτων, ἃ σὺ ἀπεύχῃ, κτῶμενον ἐκεῖνα; ἢ τί κακὸν ποιεῖ ἡ πρόνοια, εἰ τοῖς κρείττοσι τὰ κρείττω δίδωσιν; ἢ οὐκ ἔστι κρείττον αἰδήμονα εἶναι ἢ πλούσιον; ὠμολόγει. τί οὖν ἀγανακτεῖς, ἄνθρωπε, ἔχων τὸ κρείττον; [6] μένησθε οὖν αἰεὶ καὶ πρόχειρον ἔχετε, ὅτι νόμος οὗτος φυσικὸς τὸν κρείττονα τοῦ χείρονος πλέον ἔχειν, ἐν ᾧ κρείττων ἐστίν, καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀγανακτήσετε. [7] ‘ἀλλ’ ἡ γυνὴ μοι κακῶς χρήται.’ καλῶς. ἂν τίς σου πυνθάνηται, τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο, λέγε ‘ἡ γυνὴ μοι κακῶς χρήται.’ ‘ἄλλο οὖν οὐδέν;’ [8] οὐδέν. ‘ὁ πατὴρ μοι οὐδέν δίδωσιν.’ ... ὅτι δὲ κακὸν ἐστίν, τοῦτο ἔσωθεν αὐτῷ δεῖ προσθεῖναι καὶ προσκαταψεύσασθαι; [9] διὰ τοῦτο οὐ δεῖ τὴν πενίαν ἐκβάλλειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόγμα τὸ περὶ αὐτῆς, καὶ οὕτως εὐροήσομεν.

ὅτι οὐ δεῖ πρὸς τὰς ἀγγελίας ταράσσεσθαι.

ὅταν σοί τι προσαγγελθῇ ταρακτικόν, ἐκεῖνο ἔχε πρόχειρον, ὅτι ἀγγελία περὶ οὐδενὸς προαιρετικοῦ γίνεται. μὴ τι γὰρ δύναται σοί τις ἀγγεῖλαι, [2] ὅτι κακῶς ὑπέλαβες ἢ κακῶς ὠρέχθης; — οὐδαμῶς. — ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἀπέθανέν τις: τί οὖν πρὸς σέ; ὅτι σε κακῶς τις λέγει: τί οὖν πρὸς σέ; [3] ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ τάδε τινὰ ἐτοιμάζεται: ἐπὶ τίνα; μὴ τι ἐπὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν; πόθεν δύναται; ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ σωματίον, ἐπὶ τὸ κτησείδιον: ἐσώθης, οὐκ ἐπὶ σέ. [4] οὐκοῦν ἀλλ’ ὁ κριτῆς ἀποφαίνεται ὅτι ἡσέβησας. περὶ Σωκράτους δ’ οὐκ ἀπεφάναντο οἱ δικασταί; μὴ τι σὸν ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκεῖνον ἀποφίνασθαι; — οὐ. — τί οὖν ἔτι σοι μέλει; [5] ἔστι τι τοῦ πατρός σου ἔργον, ὃ ἂν μὴ ἐκπληρώσῃ, ἀπώλεσεν τὸν πατέρα, τὸν φιλόστοργον, τὸν ἡμερον. ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν ζῆτει τούτου ἔνεκα αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι. οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἐν ἄλλῳ μὲν τις ἁμαρτάνει, εἰς ἄλλο δὲ βλάπτεται. [6] πάλιν σὸν ἔργον τὸ ἀπολογηθῆναι εὐσταθῶς, αἰδημόνως, ἀοργήτως. εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀπώλεσας καὶ σὺ τὸν υἱόν, τὸν αἰδήμονα, τὸν γενναῖον. [7] τί οὖν; ὁ κριτῆς ἀκίνδυνός ἐστιν; οὐ: ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖν’ τὰ ἴσα κινδυνεύεται. τί οὖν ἔτι φοβῇ, τί ἐκεῖνος κρινεῖ; τί σοὶ καὶ τῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ κακῶ; [8] σὸν κακὸν ἐστὶ τὸ κακῶς ἀπολογηθῆναι: τοῦτο φυλάσσου μόνον: κριθῆναι δ’ ἢ μὴ κριθῆναι ὥσπερ ἄλλου ἐστὶν ἔργον, οὕτως κακὸν ἄλλου ἐστίν. [9] ‘ἀπειλεῖ σοι ὁ δεῖνα.’ ἐμοί; οὐ. ‘ψέγει σε.’ αὐτὸς ὄψεται, πῶς ποιεῖ τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον. ‘μέλλει σε κατακρινεῖν ἀδίκως.’ ἄθλιος.

τίς στάσις ιδιώτου καὶ φιλοσόφου.

ἡ πρώτη διαφορὰ ιδιώτου καὶ φιλοσόφου: ὁ μὲν λέγει ‘οὐαὶ μοι διὰ τὸ παιδάριον, διὰ τὸν ἀδελφόν, οὐαὶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα,’ ὁ δ’, ἂν ποτ’ εἰπεῖν ἀναγκασθῇ, ‘οὐαὶ μοι’ [2] ἐπιστήσας λέγει ‘δὶ ἐμέ.’ προαίρεσιν γὰρ οὐδὲν δύναται κωλῦσαι ἢ βλάψαι ἀπροαίρετον εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ ἑαυτήν. [3] ἂν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ῥέψωμεν καὶ αὐτοί, ὥσθ’ ὅταν δυσοδοῶμεν, αὐτοὺς αἰτιάσθαι καὶ

μεμνησθαι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ταραχῆς ἢ ἀκαταστασίας αἰτίον ἐστὶν ἢ δόγμα, ὁμνύω ὑμῖν πάντας θεούς, ὅτι προεκόψ [4] αμεν. νῦν δ' ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐληλύθαμεν. εὐθὺς ἔτι παίδων ἡμῶν ὄντων ἢ τιτθῇ, εἴ ποτε προσεπτάισαμεν χάσκοντες, οὐχὶ ἡμῖν ἐπέπλησεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν λίθον ἔτυπεν. τί γὰρ ἐποίησεν ὁ λίθος; διὰ τὴν τοῦ παιδίου σου μωρίαν ἔδει μεταβῆναι αὐτόν; [5] πάλιν ἂν μὴ εὖρωμεν φαγεῖν ἐκ βαλανείου, οὐδέποθ' ἡμῶν καταστέλλει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὁ παιδαγωγός, ἀλλὰ δέρει τὸν μάγειρον. ἄνθρωπε, μὴ γὰρ ἐκείνου σε παιδαγωγὸν κατεστήσαμεν; ἀλλὰ τοῦ παιδίου ἡμῶν: τοῦτο ἐπανόρθου, τοῦτο ὠφέλει. [6] οὕτως καὶ αὐξηθέντες φαινόμεθα παιδιά. παῖς γὰρ ἐν μουσικοῖς ὁ ἄμουσος, ἐν γραμματικοῖς ὁ ἀγράμματος, ἐν βίῳ ὁ ἀπαίδευτος.

ὅτι ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐκτός ἐστιν ὠφελεῖσθαι.

ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρητικῶν φαντασιῶν πάντες σχεδὸν τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀπέλιπον, οὐχὶ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐκτός. [2] οὐδεὶς λέγει ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἡμέραν εἶναι, κακὸν τὸ νύκτα εἶναι, μέγιστον δὲ κακῶν τὸ τρία τέσσαρα εἶναι. ἀλλὰ τί; [3] τὴν μὲν ἐπιστήμην ἀγαθόν, τὴν δ' ἀπάτην κακόν, ὥστε καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ψεῦδος ἀγαθὸν συνίστασθαι, τὴν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ ψεῦδος εἶναι αὐτό. [4] ἔδει οὖν οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου. ὑγεία ἀγαθόν, νόσος δὲ κακόν; οὐ, ἄνθρωπε. ἀλλὰ τί; τὸ καλῶς ὑγιαίνειν ἀγαθόν, τὸ κακῶς κακόν. — ὥστε καὶ ἀπὸ νόσου ἐστὶν ὠφελῆσθαι; — τὸν θεόν σοι, ἀπὸ θανάτου γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν; ἀπὸ πληρώσεως γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν, [5] μικρά σοι δοκεῖ ὁ Μενουκεὺς ὠφελῆσθαι, ὅτ' ἀπέθνησκεν; — τοιαυτὰ τις εἰπὼν ὠφελῆθει ἢ οἷα ἐκεῖνος ὠφελήθη. — ἔα, ἄνθρωπε, οὐκ ἐτήρησεν τὸν φιλόπατριν, τὸν μεγαλόφρονα, τὸν πιστόν, τὸν γενναῖον; ἐπιζήσας δὲ οὐκ ἀπώλλυεν ταῦτα πάντα; [6] οὐ περιποιεῖτο τὰ ἐναντία; τὸν δειλὸν οὐκ ἀνελάμβανεν, τὸν ἀγεννῆ, τὸν μισόπατριν, τὸν φιλόψυχον; ἄγε δοκεῖ σοι μικρά ὠφελῆσθαι ἀποθανόν; [7] οὐ; ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ Ἀδμήτου πατὴρ μεγάλα ὠφελήθη ζήσας οὕτως ἀγεννῶς καὶ ἀθλίως; [8] ὕστερον γὰρ οὐκ ἀπέθανεν; παύσασθε, τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, τὰς ὕλας θαυμάζοντες, παύσασθ' ἑαυτοὺς δούλους ποιοῦντες πρῶτον τῶν πραγμάτων, εἶτα δι' αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ταῦτα περιποιεῖν ἢ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δυναμένων.

ἐστὶν οὖν ἀπὸ τούτων ὠφελῆσθαι; [9] — ἀπὸ πάντων. — καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιδοροῦντος; — τί δ' ὠφελεῖ τὸν ἀθλητὴν ὁ προσγυμναζόμενος; τὰ μέγιστα. καὶ οὗτος ἐμοῦ προγυμναστής γίνεται: τὸ ἀνεκτικόν μου γυμνάζει, τὸ ἀόργητον, τὸ πρᾶον. [10] οὐ; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τοῦ τραχήλου καθάπτων καὶ τὴν ὀσφύν μου καὶ τοὺς ὤμους καταρτίζων ὠφελεῖ με καὶ ὁ ἀλείπτης καλῶς ποιῶν λέγει 'ἄρον ὑπερον ἀμφοτέραις' καὶ ὅσω βαρύτερός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος, τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον ὠφελοῦμαι ἐγώ; εἰ δέ τις πρὸς ἀοργησίαν με γυμνάζει, οὐκ ὠφελεῖ με; [11] τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ὠφελεῖσθαι. κακὸς γείτων; αὐτῷ; ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ ἀγαθός; γυμνάζει μου τὸ εὖγνωμον, τὸ ἐπιεικές. [12] κακὸς πατήρ; αὐτῷ; ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ ἀγαθός. τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ῥαβδίον: 'οὐ θέλεις,' φησὶν, 'ἄψαι καὶ χρυσοῦν ἔσται.' οὐ; ἀλλ' ὁ θέλεις φέρε κάγῳ αὐτὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω. φέρε νόσον, φέρε θάνατον, φέρε ἀπορίαν, φέρε λοιδορίαν, δίκην τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων: πάντα ταῦτα τῷ ῥαβδίῳ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ὠφέλιμα ἔσται. [13] 'τὸν θάνατον τί ποιήσεις;' τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ ἵνα σε κοσμήσῃ ἢ ἵνα δεξιῆς 2ε ἔργῳ δι' αὐτοῦ, τί ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος τῷ βουλήματι τῆς φύσεως παρακολουθῶν; [14] 'τὴν νόσον τί

ποιήσεις;’ δείξω αὐτῆς τὴν φύσιν, διαπρέσω ἐν αὐτῇ, εὐσταθήσω, εὐροήσω, τὸν ἱατρὸν οὐ κολακεύσω, οὐκ εὐξομαι ἀποθανεῖν. [15] τί ἔτι ἄλλο ζητεῖς; πᾶν ὃ ἂν ᾧ, ἐγὼ αὐτὸ ποιήσω μακάριον, εὐδαιμονικόν, σεμνόν, ζηλωτόν.

οὐ: ἀλλὰ [16] ‘βλέπε μὴ νοσήσης: κακόν ἐστιν.’ οἷον εἴ τις ἔλεγεν ‘βλέπε μὴ λάβῃς ποτὲ φαντασίαν τοῦ τὰ τρία τέσσαρα εἶναι: κακόν ἐστιν.’ ἄνθρωπε, πῶς κακόν; ἂν ὁ δεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπολάβω, πῶς ἔτι με βλάψει; οὐχὶ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ὠφελήσῃ; [17] ἂν οὖν περὶ πενίας ὁ δεῖ ὑπολάβω, ἂν περὶ νόσου, ἂν περὶ ἀναρχίας, οὐκ ἄρκεῖ μοι; οὐκ ὠφέλιμα ἔσται; πῶς οὖν ἔτι ἐν τοῖς ἐκτὸς τὰ κακὰ καὶ τὰγαθὰ δεῖ με ζητεῖν; [18] ἀλλὰ τί; ταῦτα μέχρι ὧδε, εἰς οἶκον δ’ οὐδεὶς ἀποφέρει: ἀλλ’ εὐθύς πρὸς τὸ παιδάριον πόλεμος, πρὸς τοὺς γείτονας, πρὸς τοὺς σκώψαντας, πρὸς τοὺς καταγελάσαντας. [19] καλῶς γένοιτο Λεσβίω, ὅτι με καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐξελέγχει μηδὲν εἰδότα.

πρὸς τοὺς εὐκόλως ἐπὶ τὸ σοφιστεῦν ἐρχομένους.

ὅτι τὰ θεωρήματα ἀναλαβόντες ψιλὰ εὐθύς αὐτὰ ἐξεμέσαι θέλουσιν ὡς οἱ στομαχικοὶ τὴν τροφήν. [2] πρῶτον αὐτὸ πέψον, εἴθ’ οὕτω μὴ ἐξεμέσης: εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔμετος τῷ ὄντι γίνεται, πρᾶγμ’ ἀκάθαρτον καὶ ἄβρωτον. [3] ἀλλ’ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀναδοθέντων δεῖξόν τινα ἡμῖν μεταβολὴν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τοῦ σεαυτοῦ, ὡς οἱ ἀθληταὶ τοὺς ὤμους, ἀφ’ ὧν ἐγυμνάσθησαν καὶ ἔφαγον, ὡς οἱ τὰς τέχνας ἀναλαβόντες, ἀφ’ ὧν ἔμαθον. [4] οὐκ ἔρχεται ὁ τέκτων καὶ λέγει ‘ἀκούσατέ μου διαλεγομένου περὶ τῶν τεκτονικῶν,’ ἀλλ’ ἐκμισθωσάμενος οἰκίαν ταύτην κατασκευάσας δείκνυσιν, ὅτι ἔχει τὴν τέχνην. [5] τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ σὺ ποιήσον: φάγε ὡς ἄνθρωπος, πίε ὡς ἄνθρωπος, κοσμήθητι, γάμησον, παιδοποιήσον, πολίτευσαι: ἀνάσχου λοιδορίας, ἔνεγκε ἀδελφὸν ἀγνώμονα, ἔνεγκε πατέρα, ἔνεγκε υἱόν, γείτονα, σύνοδον. [6] ταῦτα ἡμῖν δεῖξον, ἵν’ ἴδωμεν, ὅτι μεμάθηκας ταῖς ἀληθείαις τι τῶν φιλοσόφων. οὐ: ἀλλ’ ‘ἐλθόντες ἀκούσατέ μου σχόλια λέγοντος.’ ὕπαγε, ζῆτε τίνων κατεξεράσεις. [7] ‘καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐξηγήσομαι τὰ Χρυσίππεια ὡς οὐδεὶς, τὴν λέξιν διαλύσω καθαρῶτατα, προσθήσω ἃν ποὺ καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Ἀρχεδέμου φοράν.’ [8]

εἴτα τούτου ἔνεκα ἀπολίπωσιν οἱ νέοι τὰς πατρίδας καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς τοὺς αὐτῶν, ἵν’ ἐλθόντες λεξεῖδιά σου ἐξηγουμένου ἀκούσωσιν; [9] οὐ δεῖ αὐτοὺς ὑποστρέψαι ἀνεκτικούς, συνεργητικούς, ἀπαθεῖς, ἀταράχους, ἔχοντάς τι ἐφόδιον τοιοῦτον εἰς τὸν βίον, ἀφ’ οὗ ὁρμώμενοι φέρειν δυνήσονται τὰ συμπίπτοντα καλῶς καὶ κοσμεῖσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν; [10] καὶ πόθεν σοι μεταδιδόναι τούτων ὧν οὐκ ἔχεις; αὐτὸς γὰρ ἄλλο τι ἐποίησας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ περὶ ταῦτα κατετρίβης, πῶς οἱ συλλογισμοὶ ἀναλυθήσονται, πῶς οἱ μεταπίπτοντες, πῶς οἱ τῷ ἡρωτῆσθαι περαίνοντες; [11] ‘ἀλλ’ ὁ δεῖνα σχολὴν ἔχει: διὰ τί μὴ κἀγὼ σχῶ;’ οὐκ εἰκὴ ταῦτα γίνεται, ἀνδράποδον, οὐδ’ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡλικίαν εἶναι δεῖ καὶ βίον καὶ θεὸν ἡγεμόνα. [12] οὐ: ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ λιπομένοισιν οὐδεὶς ἀνάγεται μὴ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ παρακαλέσας αὐτοὺς βοηθοὺς οὐδὲ σπεύρουσιν ἄλλως οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἰ μὴ τὴν Δήμητρα ἐπικαλεσάμενοι: τηλικούτου δ’ ἔργου ἀπάμενός τις ἄνευ θεῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἄσεται καὶ οἱ τοῦτω προσιόντες εὐτυχῶς προσελεύσονται; [13] τί ἄλλο ποιεῖς, ἄνθρωπε, ἢ τὰ μυστήρια ἐξορχῇ καὶ λέγεις ‘οἴκημά ἐστι καὶ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, ἰδοὺ καὶ ἐνθάδε. ἐκεῖ ἱεροφάντης; καὶ ἐγὼ ποιήσω ἱεροφάντην. ἐκεῖ κήρυξ; κἀγὼ κήρυκα

καταστήσω. ἐκεῖ δαδούχος: κἀγὼ δαδούχον. ἐκεῖ δᾶδες: καὶ ἐνθάδε. αἱ φωναὶ αἱ αὐταί: τὰ γινόμενα τί διαφέρει ταῦτα ἐκείνων;’ [14] ἀσεβέστετε ἄνθρωπε, οὐδὲν διαφέρει; καὶ παρὰ τόπον ταῦτα ὠφελεῖ καὶ παρὰ καιρόν: καὶ μετὰ θυσίας δὲ καὶ μετ’ εὐχῶν καὶ προηγουμένη καὶ προδιακείμενον τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι ἱεροῖς προσελεύσεται καὶ ἱεροῖς παλαιοῖς. οὕτως ὠφέλιμα γίνεται τὰ μυστήρια, [15] οὕτως εἰς φαντασίαν ἐρχόμεθα, ὅτι ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐπανορθώσει τοῦ βίου κατεστάθη πάντα ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν. [16] σὺ δ’ ἐξαγγέλλεις αὐτὰ καὶ ἐξορχῇ παρὰ καιρόν, παρὰ τόπον, ἄνευ θυμάτων, ἄνευ ἀγνείας: οὐκ ἐσθῆτα ἔχεις ἦν δεῖ τὸν ἱεροφάντην, οὐ κόμην, οὐ στρόφιον οἶον δεῖ, οὐ φωνήν, οὐχ ἡλικίαν, οὐχ ἡγνευκας ὡς ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ’ αὐτὰς μόνας τὰς φωνὰς ἀνελιφῶς λέγεις. ἱεραὶ εἰσιν αἱ φωναὶ αὐταὶ καθ’ αὐτάς;

[17] ἄλλον τρόπον δεῖ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἔλθεῖν: μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, μυστικόν ἐστιν, οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν οὐδὲ τῷ τυχόντι δεδομένον. [18] ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ σοφὸν εἶναι τυχόν ἐξαρκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιμεληθῆναι νέων: δεῖ δὲ καὶ προχειρότητά τινα εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα πρὸς τοῦτο, νῆ τὸν Δία, καὶ σῶμα ποιὸν καὶ πρὸ πάντων τὸν θεὸν συμβουλευεῖν ταύτην τὴν χώραν κατασχεῖν, [19] ὡς Σωκράτει συνεβούλευεν τὴν ἐλεγκτικὴν χώραν ἔχειν, ὡς Διογένης τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ ἐπιτληκτικὴν, ὡς Ζήνωνι τὴν διδασκαλικὴν καὶ δογματικὴν. [20] σὺ δ’ ἱατρεῖον ἀνοίγεις ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔχων ἢ φάρμακα, ποῦ δὲ ἢ πῶς ἐπιτίθεται ταῦτα, μήτε εἰδὼς μήτε πολυπραγμονήσας. [21] ‘ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖνος ταῦτα, κολλύρια: κἀγὼ ἔχω.’ μὴ τι οὖν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν χρηστικὴν αὐτοῖς; μὴ τι οἶδας καὶ πότε καὶ πῶς ὠφελήσει καὶ τίνα; [22] τί οὖν κυβεύεις ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις, τί ῥαδιουργεῖς, τί ἐπιχειρεῖς πράγματι μὴδὲν σοι προσήκοντι; ἄφες αὐτὸ τοῖς δυναμένοις, τοῖς κοσμοῦσι. μὴ προστρίβου καὶ αὐτὸς αἴσχος φιλοσοφία διὰ σαυτοῦ, μὴδὲ γίνου μέρος τῶν διαβαλλόντων τὸ ἔργον. [23] ἀλλὰ εἰ σε ψυχαγωγεῖ τὰ θεωρήματα, καθήμενος αὐτὰ στρέφε αὐτὸς ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ: φιλόσοφον δὲ μὴδέποτ’ εἴπῃς σεαυτὸν μὴδ’ ἄλλου ἀνάσχη λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ λέγε ‘πεπλάνηται: ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐτ’ ὀρέγομαι ἄλλως ἢ πρότερον οὐδ’ ὁρμῶ ἐπ’ ἄλλα οὐδὲ συγκατατίθεμαι ἄλλοις οὐδ’ ὅλως ἐν χρήσει φαντασιῶν παρήλλαχά τι ἀπὸ τῆς πρότερον καταστάσεως.’ [24] ταῦτα φρόνει καὶ λέγε περὶ σεαυτοῦ, εἰ θέλεις τὰ κατ’ ἀξίαν φρονεῖν: εἰ δὲ μή, κύβευε καὶ ποιεῖ ἃ ποιεῖς. ταῦτα γὰρ σοι πρέπει.

περὶ Κυνισμοῦ.

πυθομένου δὲ τῶν γνωρίμων τινὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃς ἐφαίνετο ἐπιρρεπῶς ἔχων πρὸς τὸ κυνίσαι, Ποῖόν τινα εἶναι δεῖ τὸν κυνίζοντα καὶ τίς ἢ πρόληψις ἢ τοῦ πράγματος, Σκεψόμεθα κατὰ σχολήν. [2] τοσοῦτον δ’ ἔχω σοι εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ὁ δίχα θεοῦ τηλικούτῳ πράγματι ἐπιβαλλόμενος θεοχόλωτός ἐστι καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δημοσία θέλει ἀσχημονεῖν. [3] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν οἰκίᾳ καλῶς οἰκουμένη παρελθὼν τις αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ λέγει ‘ἐμὲ δεῖ οἰκονόμον εἶναι.’ εἰ δὲ μή, ἐπιστραφεῖς ὁ κύριος καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν σοβαρῶς διατασσόμενον, ἐλκύσας ἔτεμεν. [4] οὕτως γίνεται καὶ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ταύτῃ πόλει. ἐστὶ γὰρ τις καὶ ἐνθάδ’ οἰκοδεσπότης ἕκαστα ὁ διατάσσων. [5] ‘σὺ ἥλιος εἶ: δύνασαι περιερχόμενος ἐνιαυτὸν ποιεῖν καὶ ὥρας καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς αὔξειν καὶ τρέφειν καὶ ἀνέμους κινεῖν καὶ ἀνιέναι καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων θερμαίνειν συμμέτρως: ὕπαγε, περιέρχου καὶ

οὕτως διακίνει ἀπὸ τῶν μεγίστων ἐπὶ τὰ μικρότατα. [6] σὺ μοσχάριον εἶ: ὅταν ἐπιφανῇ λέων, τὰ σαντοῦ πρᾶσσε: εἰ δὲ μὴ, οἰμῶξεις. σὺ ταῦρος εἶ, προσελθὼν μάχου: σοὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐπιβάλλει καὶ πρέπει καὶ δύνασαι αὐτὸ ποιεῖν. [7] σὺ δύνασαι ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπὶ Ἴλιον: ἴσθι Ἀγαμέμνων. σὺ δύνασαι τῷ Ἑκτορι μονομαχεῖσαι: ἴσθι Ἀχιλλεύς.’ [8] εἰ δὲ Θεορίτης παρελθὼν ἀντεποιεῖτο τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣ οὐκ ἂν ἔτυχεν ἢ τυχὼν ἂν ἡσχημόνησεν ἐν πλείοσι μάρτυσι.

[9] καὶ σὺμβούλευσαι περὶ πράγματος ἐπιμελῶς: οὐκ ἔστιν οἶον δοκεῖ σοι. [10] ‘τριβώνιον καὶ νῦν φορῶ καὶ τόθ’ ἔξω, κοιμῶμαι καὶ νῦν σκληρῶς καὶ τότε κοιμήσομαι, πηρίδιον προσλήψομαι καὶ ξύλον καὶ περιερχόμενος αἰτεῖν ἄρξομαι τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, λοιδορεῖν: κἂν ἴδω τινὰ δρωπακιζόμενον, ἐπιτιμήσω αὐτῷ, κἂν τὸ κόμιον πεπλακότα ἢ ἐν κοκκίνοις περιπατοῦντα.’ [11] εἰ τοιοῦτόν τι φαντάζη τὸ πρᾶγμα, μακρὰν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ: μὴ προσέλθης, οὐδὲν ἔστι πρὸς σέ. [12] εἰ δ’ οἷόν ἐστι φανταζόμενος οὐκ ἀπαξιότις σεαυτόν, σκέψαι ἡλικῶ πρᾶγματι ἐπιχειρεῖς. [13]

πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς κατὰ σαντὸν οὐκέτι δεῖ σε ὅμοιον ἐν οὐδενὶ φαίνεσθαι οἷς νῦν ποιεῖς, οὐ θεῶ ἐγκαλοῦντα, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων: ὄρεξιν ἄραι σε δεῖ παντελῶς, ἐκκλίσιν ἐπὶ μόνῃ μεταθεῖναι τὰ προαιρετικά: σοὶ μὴ ὀργὴν εἶναι, μὴ μῆνιν, μὴ φθόνον, μὴ ἔλεον: μὴ κοράσιόν σοι φαίνεσθαι καλόν, μὴ δοξάριον, μὴ παιδάριον, μὴ πλακουντάριον. [14] ἐκεῖνο γὰρ εἰδέναι σε δεῖ, ὅτι οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τοὺς τοίχους προβέβληνται καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ σκότος, ὅταν τι τῶν τοιούτων ποιῶσιν, καὶ τὰ κρύψοντα πολλὰ ἔχουσιν. κέκλεικε τὴν θύραν, ἔστακέν τινα πρὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος: ‘ἂν τις ἔλθῃ, λέγε ὅτι ἔξω ἐστίν, οὐ σχολάζει.’ [15] ὁ Κυνικός δ’ ἀντὶ πάντων τούτων ὀφείλει τὴν αἰδῶ προβεβλησθαι: εἰ δὲ μὴ, γυμνὸς καὶ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ ἀσχημονήσῃ. τοῦτο οἰκία ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, τοῦτο θύρα, τοῦτο οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος, τοῦτο σκότος. [16] οὔτε γὰρ θέλειν τι δεῖ ἀποκρύπτειν αὐτὸν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ (εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀπῆλθεν, ἀπώλεσε τὸν Κυνικόν, τὸν ὑπαιθρον, τὸν ἐλεύθερον, ἥρκται τι τῶν ἐντὸς φοβεῖσθαι, ἥρκται χρειαῖν ἔχειν τοῦ ἀποκρύψοντος) οὔτε ὅταν θέλῃ δύναται. τοῦ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποκρύψῃ ἢ πῶς; [17] ἂν δ’ ἀπὸ τύχης ἐμπέσῃ ὁ παιδευτὴς ὁ κοινός, ὁ παιδαγωγός, οἷα πάσχειν ἀνάγκη; [18] ταῦτ’ οὖν δεδωκότα ἐπιθαρρεῖν οἷόν τ’ ἔτι ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς ἐπιστατεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις; [19] ἀμήχανον, ἀδύνατον. πρῶτον οὖν τὸ ἡγεμονικόν σε δεῖ τὸ σαντοῦ καθαρὸν ποιῆσαι καὶ τὴν ἔνστασιν ταύτην: [20] ‘νῦν ἐμοὶ ὕλη ἐστὶν ἢ ἐμὴ διάνοια, ὥς τῷ τέκτονι τὰ ξύλα, ὥς τῷ σκυτεῖ τὰ δέρματα: ἔργον δ’ ὀρθὴ χρῆσις τῶν φαντασιῶν. [21] τὸ σωματίον δὲ οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐμέ: τὰ τούτου μέρη οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐμέ. θάνατος; ἐρχέσθω, ὅταν θέλῃ, εἴτε ὅλου εἴτε μέρους τινός. [22] φυγὴ; καὶ ποῦ δύναται τις ἐκβαλεῖν; ἔξω τοῦ κόσμου οὐ δύναται. ὅπου δ’ ἂν ἀπέλθω, ἐκεῖ ἥλιος, ἐκεῖ σελήνη, ἐκεῖ ἄστρα, ἐνύπνια, οἰωνοί, ἢ πρὸς θεοὺς ὁμιλία.’ [23]

εἶθ’ οὕτως παρασκευασάμενον οὐκ ἔστι τούτοις ἀρκεῖσθαι τὸν ταῖς ἀληθείαις Κυνικόν, ἀλλ’ εἰδέναι δεῖ, ὅτι ἄγγελος ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἀπέσταλται καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν ὑποδείξων αὐτοῖς, ὅτι πεπλάνηνται καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ζητοῦσι τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ, ὅπου οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπου δ’ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἐνθυμοῦνται, [24] καὶ ὥς ὁ Διογένης

ἀπαχθείς πρὸς Φίλιππον μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην κατάσκοπος εἶναι. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι κατάσκοπός ἐστιν ὁ Κυνικός τοῦ τίνα ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φίλα καὶ τίνα πολέμια. [25] καὶ δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς κατασκευάμενον ἐλθόντ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι τάληθ' ἢ μήθ' ὑπὸ φόβου ἐκπλαγέντα, ὥστε τοὺς μὴ ὄντας πολεμίους δεῖξαι, μήτε τινὰ ἄλλον τρόπον ὑπὸ τῶν φαντασιῶν παραταραχθέντα ἢ συγχυθέντα.

[26] δεῖ οὖν αὐτὸν δύνασθαι ἀνατεινόμενον, ἂν οὕτως τύχη, καὶ ἐπὶ σκιήν τραγικὴν ἀνερχόμενον λέγειν τὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους: ἰὼ ἄνθρωποι, ποῖ φέρεσθε; τί ποιεῖτε, ὦ ταλαίπωροι; ὡς τυφλοὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω κυλίεσθε; ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἀπέρχεσθε τὴν οὖσαν ἀπολελοιπότες, ἀλλαχοῦ ζητεῖτε τὸ εὖρουν καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμονικόν, ὅπου οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἄλλου δεικνύοντος πιστεύετε. [27] τί αὐτὸ ἔξω ζητεῖτε; ἐν σώματι οὐκ ἔστιν. εἰ ἀπιστεῖτε, ἴδετε Μύρωνα, ἴδετε Ὀφέλλιον. ἐν κτῆσει οὐκ ἔστιν. εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖτε, ἴδετε Κροῖσον, ἴδετε τοὺς νῦν πλουσίους, ὅσης οἰμωγῆς ὁ βίος αὐτῶν μεστός ἐστιν. ἐν ἀρχῇ οὐκ ἔστιν. εἰ δὲ μή γε, ἔδει τοὺς δις καὶ τρις ὑπάτους εὐδαίμονας εἶναι: οὐκ εἰσὶ δέ. [28] τίσιν περὶ τούτου πιστεύσομεν; ὑμῖν τοῖς ἔξωθεν τὰ ἐκείνων βλέπουσιν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φαντασίας περιλαμπομένοις ἢ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις; [29] τί λέγουσιν; ἀκούσατε αὐτῶν, ὅταν οἰμώζωσιν, ὅταν στένωσιν, ὅταν δι' αὐτὰς τὰς ὑπατείας καὶ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀθλιώτερον οἶωνται καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερον ἔχειν. [30] ἐν βασιλείᾳ οὐκ ἔστιν. εἰ δὲ μή, Νέρων ἂν εὐδαίμων ἐγένετο καὶ Σαρδανάπαλλος. ἀλλ' οὐδ' Ἀγαμέμνων εὐδαίμων ἦν καίτοι κομψότερος ὢν Σαρδαναπάλλου καὶ Νέρωνος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄλλων ῥεγκόντων ἐκεῖνος τί ποιεῖ;

πολλὰς ἐκ κεφαλῆς προθελύμους ἔλκετο χαίτας.

καὶ αὐτὸς τί λέγει;

πλάζομαι ὧδε,

φησὶν, καὶ

ἀλαλύκτημαι: κραδίη δέ μοι ἔξω

στηθέων ἐκθρόσκει.

τάλας, τί τῶν σῶν ἔχει κακῶς; [31] ἡ κτῆσις; οὐκ ἔχει. τὸ σῶμα; οὐκ ἔχει. ἀλλὰ πολύχρυσος εἶ καὶ πολύχαλκος: τί οὖν σοι κακόν ἐστιν; ἐκεῖνο, ὃ τι ποτὲ ἡμέληταί σου καὶ κατέφθαρται, ὃ ὀρεγόμεθα, ὃ ἐκκλίνομεν, ὃ ὀρμῶμεν καὶ ἀφορμῶμεν. [32] πῶς ἡμέληται; ἀγνοεῖ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πρὸς ἣν πέφυκε καὶ τὴν τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τί ἴδιον ἔχει καὶ τί ἀλλότριον. καὶ ὅταν τι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κακῶς ἔχη, λέγει 'οὐαί μοι, οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες κινδυνεύουσι.' [33] ταλαίπωρον ἡγεμονικόν καὶ μόνον ἀτημέλητον καὶ ἀθεράπευτον. 'μέλλουσιν ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὸ τῶν Τρώων ἀναιρεθέντες.' ἂν δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Τρῶες μὴ ἀποκτείνωσιν, οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνωσιν; 'ναί, ἀλλ' οὐχ' ὑφ' ἐν πάντες.' τί οὖν διαφέρει; εἰ γὰρ κακόν ἐστι τὸ ἀποθανεῖν, ἂν τε ὁμοῦ ἂν τε καθ' ἓνα ὁμοίως κακόν ἐστιν. μή τι ἄλλο τι μέλλει γίνεσθαι ἢ τὸ σωματίον χωρίζεσθαι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ; [34] οὐδέν. σοὶ δὲ ἀπολλυμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡ θύρα κέκλεισται; οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποθανεῖν; 'ἔξεστιν.' τί οὖν πενθεῖς; 'οὐαῖ, βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς σκηπτρον ἔχων.' ἀτυχῆς βασιλεὺς οὐ γίνεται: οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀτυχῆς θεός. [35] τί οὖν εἶ; ποιμὴν ταῖς ἀληθείαις; οὕτως γὰρ κλᾶεις ὡς οἱ ποιμένες, ὅταν λύκος ἀρπάσῃ τι τῶν προβάτων αὐτῶν: καὶ οὗτοι δὲ πρόβατά εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀρχόμενοι. [36] τί δὲ καὶ ἥρχου; μὴ τι ὄρεξις ὑμῖν ἐκινδυνεύετο, μὴ τι ἐκκλίσαις,

μή τι ὀρμή, μή τι ἀφορμή; ‘οὐ,’ φησίν, ‘ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου τὸ γυναικάριον ἠρπάγη.’ [37] οὐκ οὖν κέρδος μέγα στερηθῆναι μοιχικοῦ γυναικαρίου; ‘καταφρονηθῶμεν οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν Τρώων;’ τίνων ὄντων; φρονίμων ἢ ἀφρόνων; εἰ φρονίμων, τί αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖτε; εἰ ἀφρόνων, τί ὑμῖν μέλει;

[38] ‘ἐν τίνι οὖν ἔστι τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τούτοις οὐκ ἔστιν; εἰπὲ ἡμῖν, κύριε ἄγγελε καὶ κατάσκοπε.’ ‘ὅπου οὐ δοκεῖτε οὐδὲ θέλετε ζητῆσαι αὐτό. εἰ γὰρ ἠθέλετε, εὗρετε ἂν αὐτὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ὃν οὐδ’ ἂν ἔξω ἐπλάζεσθε οὐδ’ ἂν ἐζητεῖτε τὰ ἀλλότρια ὡς ἴδια. [39] ἐπιστρέψατε αὐτοὶ ἐφ’ ἑαυτούς, καταμάθετε τὰς προλήψεις ἃς ἔχετε. ποῖον τι φαντάζεσθε τὸ ἀγαθόν; τὸ εὖρουν, τὸ εὐδαιμονικόν, τὸ ἀπαραπόδιστον. ἄγε, μέγα δ’ αὐτὸ φυσικῶς οὐ φαντάζεσθε; ἀξιόλογον οὐ φαντάζεσθε; ἀβλαβὲς οὐ φαντάζεσθε; [40] ἐν ποίᾳ οὖν ὕλῃ δεῖ ζητεῖν τὸ εὖρουν καὶ ἀπαραπόδιστον; ἐν τῇ δούλῃ ἢ ἐν τῇ ἐλευθέρᾳ;’ ἐν τῇ ἐλευθέρᾳ.’ ‘τὸ σωματίον οὖν ἐλεύθερον ἔχετε ἢ δοῦλον;’ ‘οὐκ ἴσμεν.’ ‘οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι πυρετοῦ δοῦλόν ἐστιν, ποδάγρας, ὀφθαλμίας, δυσεντερίας, τυράννου, πυρός, σιδήρου, παντὸς τοῦ ισχυροτέρου;’ [41] ‘ναὶ δοῦλον.’ ‘πῶς οὖν ἔτι ἀνεμπόδιστον εἶναι τι δύναται τῶν τοῦ σώματος; πῶς δὲ μέγα ἢ ἀξιόλογον τὸ φύσει νεκρόν, ἢ γῆ, ὁ πηλός; τί οὖν; οὐδὲν ἔχετε ἐλεύθερον;’ ‘μήποτε οὐδέν.’ [42] ‘καὶ τίς ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάσαι δύναται συγκαταθέσθαι τῷ ψευδεῖ φαινομένῳ;’ ‘οὐδεῖς.’ ‘τίς δὲ μὴ συγκαταθέσθαι τῷ φαινομένῳ ἀληθεῖ;’ ‘οὐδεῖς.’ ‘ἐνθάδ’ οὖν ὁρᾶτε, ὅτι ἔστι τι ἐν ὑμῖν ἐλεύθερον φύσει. [43] ὀρέγεσθαι δ’ ἢ ἐκκλίνειν ἢ ὀρμᾶν ἢ ἀφορμᾶν ἢ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἢ προτίθεσθαι τίς ὑμῶν δύναται μὴ λαβὼν φαντασίαν λυσιτελοῦς ἢ μὴ καθήκοντος;’ ‘οὐδεῖς.’ ‘ἔχετε οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀκώλυτον καὶ ἐλεύθερον. [44] ταλαίπωροι, τοῦτο ἐξεργάζεσθε, τούτου ἐπιμέλεσθε, ἐνταῦθα ζητεῖτε τὸ ἀγαθόν.’

[45] καὶ πῶς ἐνδέχεται μηδὲν ἔχοντα, γυμνόν, ἄοικον, ἀνέστιον, αὐχμῶντα, ἄδουλον, ἄπολιν διεξάγειν εὐρώως; [46] ἰδοὺ ἀπέσταλκεν ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς τὸν δείξοντα ἔργῳ, ὅτι ἐνδέχεται. [47] ‘ἴδετέ με, ἄοικός εἰμι, ἄπολις, ἀκτήμων, ἄδουλος; χαμαὶ κοιμῶμαι: οὐ γυνή, οὐ παιδία, οὐ πραιτωρίδιον, ἀλλὰ γῆ μόνον καὶ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἐν τριβωνάριον. [48] καὶ τί μοι λείπειν; οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄλυπος, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄφοβος, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐλεύθερος; πότε ὑμῶν εἶδέν με τις ἐν ὀρέξει με ἀποτυγχάνοντα, πότ’ ἐν ἐκκλίσει περιπίπτοντα; πότ’ ἐμεμψάμην ἢ θεὸν ἢ ἄνθρωπον, πότ’ ἐνεκάλεσά τινι; μή τις ὑμῶν ἐσκυθρωπακότα με εἶδεν; πῶς δ’ ἐντυγχάνω τούτοις, [49] οὓς ὑμεῖς φοβεῖσθε καὶ θαυμάζετε; οὐχ ὡς ἀνδραπόδοις; τίς με ἰδὼν οὐχὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ὁρᾶν οἶεται καὶ δεσπότην;’

[50] ἴδε κυνικαὶ φωναί, ἴδε χαρακτήρ, ἴδ’ ἐπιβολή. οὐ: ἀλλὰ πηρίδιον καὶ ξύλον καὶ γνάθοι μεγάλαι: καταφαγεῖν πᾶν ὃ εἶν δῶς ἢ ἀποθησαυρίσαι ἢ τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι λοιδορεῖσθαι ἀκαίρως ἢ καλὸν τὸν ὥμον δεικνύειν. [51] τηλικούτῳ πράγματι ὁρᾷς πῶς μέλλεις ἐγχειρεῖν; ἔσοπτρον πρῶτον λάβε, ἴδε σου τοὺς ὦμους, κατάμαθε τὴν ὀσφύν, τοὺς μηρούς. Ὀλύμπια μέλλεις ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἄνθρωπε, οὐχὶ τινά ποτε ἀγῶνα ψυχρὸν καὶ ταλαίπωρον. [52] οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις νικηθῆναι μόνον καὶ ἐξελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης βλεπούσης δεῖ ἀσχημονῆσαι, οὐχὶ Ἀθηναίων μόνον ἢ

Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ Νικοπολιτῶν, εἴτα καὶ δέρεσθαι δεῖ τὸν εἰκὴ ἐξελθόντα, πρὶν δὲ τοῦ δαρῆναι διψῆσαι, καυματισθῆναι, πολλὴν ἀφὴν καταπιεῖν.

[53] βούλευσαι ἐπιμελέστερον, γνῶθι σαυτὸν, ἀνάκρινον τὸ δαιμόνιον, δίχα θεοῦ μὴ ἐπιχειρήσης. ἂν γὰρ συμβουλευέσῃ, ἴσθι ὅτι μέγαν σε θέλει γενέσθαι ἢ πολλὰς πληγὰς λαβεῖν. [54] καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο λίαν κομπῶν τῷ Κυνικῷ παραπέλεκται: δέρεσθαι αὐτὸν δεῖ ὡς ὄνον καὶ δερόμενον φιλεῖν αὐτοὺς τοὺς δέροντας ὡς πατέρα πάντων, ὡς ἀδελφόν. [55] οὐ: ἀλλ' ἂν τίς σε δέρῃ, κραύγαζε στὰς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ 'ὦ Καῖσαρ, ἐν τῇ σῇ εἰρήνῃ οἷα πάσχω; ἄγωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνθύπατον.' [56] Κυνικῷ δὲ Καῖσαρ τί ἐστὶν ἢ ἀνθύπατος ἢ ἄλλος ἢ ὁ καταπεπομφῶς αὐτὸν καὶ ὃ λατρεύει, ὁ Ζεὺς; ἄλλον τινὰ ἐπικαλεῖται ἢ ἐκεῖνον; οὐ πέπεισται δ', ὅ τι ἂν πάσῃ τούτων, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸν γυμνάζει; [57] ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ Εὐρυσθέως γυμναζόμενος οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν ἄθλιος εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀόκνως ἐπετέλει πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα: Οὗτος δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἀθλούμενος καὶ γυμναζόμενος μέλλει κεκραγένοι καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν, ἄξιος φορεῖν τὸ σκῆπτρον τὸ Διογένους; ἄκουε, τί λέγει ἐκεῖνος πυρέσσων πρὸς τοὺς παριόντας: [58] 'κακαί,' ἔφη, 'κεφαλαί, οὐ μενεῖτε; ἀλλ' ἀθλητῶν μὲν ὄλεθρον ἢ μάχην ὀψόμενοι ἅπιτε ὁδὸν τοσαύτην εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν: πυρετοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου μάχην ἰδεῖν οὐ βούλεσθε;' [59] ταχὺ γ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐνεκάλεσεν τῷ θεῷ καταπεπομφότι αὐτὸν ὡς παρ' ἄξιαν αὐτῷ χρωμένῳ, ὅς γε ἐνεκαλλωπίζετο ταῖς περιστάσεσι καὶ θέαμα εἶναι ἡξίου τῶν παριόντων. ἐπὶ τίνι γὰρ ἐγκαλέσει; ὅτι εὐσχημονεῖ; ὅτι κατηγορεῖ; ὅτι λαμπροτέραν ἐπιδείκνυται τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ; [60] ἄγε, περὶ πενίας δὲ τί λέγει, περὶ θανάτου, περὶ πόνου; πῶς συνέκρινεν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ τῇ μεγάλῳ βασιλείῳ; [61] μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲ συγκριτὸν ᾔετο εἶναι. ὅπου γὰρ ταραχαὶ καὶ λῦπαι καὶ φόβοι καὶ ὀρέξεις ἀτελεῖς καὶ ἐκκλίσεις περιπίπτουσιν καὶ φθόνοι καὶ ζηλοτυπίαί, ποῦ ἐκεῖ πάροδος εὐδαιμονίας; ὅπου δ' ἂν ἡ σαπρὰ δόγματα, ἐκεῖ πάντα ταῦτα εἶναι ἀνάγκη.

[62] πυθομένου δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου, εἰ νοσήσας ἀξιοῦντος φίλου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ὥστε νοσοκομηθῆναι ὑπακούσει, Ποῦ δὲ φίλον μοι δώσεις Κυνικῷ; [63] ἔφη. δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄλλον εἶναι τοιοῦτον, ἵν' ἄξιος ἦ φίλος αὐτοῦ ἀριθμεῖσθαι. κοινωνὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι δεῖ τοῦ σκῆπτρου καὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ διάκονον ἄξιον, εἰ μέλλει φιλίας ἀξιοθῆσθαι, ὡς Διογένης Ἀντισθένης ἐγένετο, ὡς Κράτης Διογένους. [64] ἢ δοκεῖ σοι, ὅτι, ἂν χαίρειν αὐτῷ λέγῃ προσερχόμενος, φίλος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ κάκεῖνος αὐτὸν ἄξιον ἡγήσεται τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν; [65] ὥστε ἂν σοι δοκῇ καὶ ἐνθυμηθῇς τι τοιοῦτον, κοπρίαν μᾶλλον περιβλέπου κομπήν, ἐν ἣ πυρέξεις, ἀποσκέπουσιν τὸν βορέαν, ἵνα μὴ περιψυγῇς. [66] σὺ δέ μοι δοκεῖς θέλειν εἰς οἶκόν τινος ἀπελθὼν διὰ χρόνου χορτασθῆναι. τί οὖν σοι καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγματι τηλικούτῳ;

[67] γάμος δ', ἔφη, καὶ παῖδες προηγουμένως παραληφθήσονται ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυνικοῦ; — ἂν μοι σοφῶν, ἔφη, δῶς πόλιν, τάχα μὲν οὐδ' ἥξει τις ραδίως ἐπὶ τὸ κυνίζειν. τίνων γὰρ ἕνεκα ἀναδέχεται ταύτην τὴν διεξαγωγὴν; ὅμως δ' ἂν ὑποθώμεθα, [68] οὐδὲν κωλύσει καὶ γῆμαι αὐτὸν καὶ παιδοποιήσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἄλλη τοιαύτη καὶ ὁ πενθερὸς ἄλλος τοιοῦτος καὶ τὰ παιδιά οὕτως ἀνατραφήσεται. [69] τοιαύτης δ' οὕσης καταστάσεως, οἷα νῦν

ἔστιν, ὥς ἐν παρατάξει, μή ποτ' ἀπερίσπαστον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν Κυνικόν, ὅλον πρὸς τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπιφοιτᾷν ἀνθρώποις δυνάμενον, οὐ προσδεδεμένον καθήκουσιν ιδιωτικοῖς οὐδ' ἐμπεπλεγμένον σχέσεσιν, ἃς παραβαίνων οὐκέτι σώσει τὸ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πρόσωπον, τηρῶν δ' ἀπολεῖ τὸν ἄγγελον καὶ κατάσκοπον καὶ κήρυκα τῶν θεῶν; [70] ὅρα γάρ, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύει δεῖ τινα τῷ πενθερῷ, ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγενέσι τῆς γυναικός, αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικί: εἰς νοσοκομίας λοιπὸν ἐκκλείεται, εἰς πορισμόν. [71] ἴνα τᾶλλα ἀφῶ, δεῖ αὐτὸν κουκκούμιον, ὅπου θερμὸν ποιήσει τῷ παιδίῳ, ἵν' αὐτὸ λούσῃ εἰς σκάφην: ἐρίδια τεκούσῃ τῇ γυναικί, ἔλαιον, κραβάττιον, ποτήριον (γίνεται ἤδη πλείω σκευάρια) [72] : τὴν ἄλλην ἀσχολίαν, τὸν περισπασμόν. ποῦ μοι λοιπὸν ἐκεῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ τοῖς κοινοῖς προσευκαιρῶν,

ὧ λαοὶ τ' ἐπιτετράφεται καὶ τόσσα μέμηλεν:

ὃν δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπισκοπεῖν, τοὺς γεγαμηκότας, τοὺς πεπαιδοποιημένους, τίς καλῶς χρῆται τῇ αὐτοῦ γυναικί, τίς κακῶς, τίς διαφέρεται, ποία οἰκία εὐσταθεῖ, ποία οὐ, ὥς ἱατρὸν περιερχόμενον καὶ τῶν σφυγμῶν ἀπτόμενον; [73] 'σὺ πυρέττεις, σὺ κεφαλαλγεῖς, σὺ ποδαγρᾷς: σὺ ἀνάτεινον, σὺ φάγε, σὺ ἀλούτησον: σὲ δεῖ τμηθῆναι, σὲ δεῖ καυθῆναι.' [74] ποῦ σχολὴ τῷ εἰς τὰ ιδιωτικὰ καθήκοντα ἐνδεδεμένῳ; οὐ δεῖ αὐτὸν πορίσαι ἱματίδια τοῖς παιδίοις; ἄγε, πρὸς γραμματιστὴν ἀποστεῖλαι πινακίδια ἔχοντα, γραφεῖα, τιτάρια, καὶ τούτοις κραβάττιον ἐτοιμάσαι; οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας ἐξελθόντα δύναται Κυνικὰ εἶναι: εἰ δὲ μή, κρεῖσσον ἢν αὐτὰ γενόμενα ῥῖναι ἢ οὕτως ἀποκτεῖναι. [75] σκόπει, ποῦ κατάγομεν τὸν Κυνικόν, πῶς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφαιρούμεθα. [76] — ναί: ἀλλὰ Κράτης ἔγχευεν. — περίστασίν μοι λέγεις ἐξ ἔρωτος γενομένην καὶ γυναῖκα τιθεῖς ἄλλον Κράτητα. ἡμεῖς δὲ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν γάμων καὶ ἀπεριστάτων ζητοῦμεν καὶ οὕτως ζητοῦντες οὐχ εὐρίσκομεν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει προηγούμενον τῷ Κυνικῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα.

Πῶς οὖν ἔτι, φησίν, διασώσει τὴν κοινωνίαν; [77] — τὸν θεόν σοι: μείζονα δ' εὐεργετοῦσιν ἀνθρώπους οἱ ἢ δύο ἢ τρία κακόρυγχα παιδιά ἀνθ' αὐτῶν εἰσάγοντες ἢ οἱ ἐπισκοποῦντες πάντας κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρώπους, τί ποιοῦσιν, πῶς διάγουσιν, τίνος ἐπιμελοῦνται, τίνος ἀμελοῦσι παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον; [78] καὶ Θηβαίους μείζονα ὠφέλησαν ὅσοι τεκνία αὐτοῖς κατέλιπον Ἐπαμινώνδου τοῦ ἀτέκνου ἀποθανόντος; καὶ Ὀμήρου πλείονα τῇ κοινωνίᾳ συνεβάλετο Πρίαμος ὁ πεντήκοντα γεννήσας περικαθάρματα ἢ Δαναὸς ἢ Αἴολος; [79] εἴτα στρατηγία μὲν ἢ σύνταγμά τινα ἀπείρξει γάμου ἢ παιδοποιίας καὶ οὐ δόξει οὗτος ἀντ' οὐδενὸς ἡλλάχθαι τὴν ἀτεκνίαν, ἢ δὲ τοῦ Κυνικοῦ βασιλεία οὐκ ἔσται ἀνταξία; [80] μήποτε οὐκ αἰσθανόμεθα τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ φανταζόμεθα κατ' ἀξίαν τὸν χαρακτήρα τὸν Διογένους, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς νῦν ἀποβλέπομεν, τοὺς τραπεζῆας πυλαωρούς, οἱ οὐδὲν μιμοῦνται ἐκείνους ἢ εἰ ὅτι ἄρα πόρδωνες γίνονται, ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν; [81] ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἡμᾶς ἐκίνει ταῦτα οὐδ' ἂν ἐπεθαυμάζομεν, εἰ μὴ γαμήσει ἢ παιδοποιήσεται. ἄνθρωπε, πάντας ἀνθρώπους πεπαιδοποιῆται, τοὺς ἄνδρας υἱοὺς ἔχει, τὰς γυναῖκας θυγατέρας: πᾶσιν οὕτως προσέρχεται, οὕτως πάντων κήδετα. [82] ἢ σὺ δοκεῖς ὑπὸ περιεργίας λιοδορεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν; ὥς πατήρ αὐτὸ ποιεῖ, ὥς ἀδελφός

καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πατρὸς ὑπηρετῆς τοῦ Διός.

[83] ἂν σοι δόξη, πυθοῦ μου καὶ εἰ πολιτεύσεται. σαννίων, μείζονα πολιτεῖαν ζητεῖς, ἥς πολιτεύσεται; [84] ἢ ἐν Ἀθηναίοις παρελθὼν ἐρεῖ τις περὶ προσόδων ἢ πόρων, ὃν δεῖ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διαλέγεσθαι, ἐπίσης μὲν Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπίσης δὲ Κορινθίοις, ἐπίσης δὲ Ῥωμαίοις οὐ περὶ πόρων οὐδὲ περὶ προσόδων οὐδὲ περὶ εἰρήνης ἢ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ περὶ εὐδαιμονίας ἢ καὶ κακοδαιμονίας, περὶ εὐτυχίας καὶ δυστυχίας, περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας; [85] τηλικαύτην πολιτεῖαν πολιτευομένου ἀνθρώπου σύ μου πυθάνῃ εἰ πολιτεύσεται; πυθοῦ μου καί, εἰ ἄρξει: πάλιν ἐρῶ σοι: μωρέ, ποῖαν ἀρχὴν μείζονα, ἥς ἄρχει;

[86] χρεῖα μέντοι καὶ σώματος ποιοῦ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ. ἐπεὶ τοι ἂν φθισικὸς προέρχῃται, λεπτὸς καὶ ὠχρὸς, οὐκέτι ὁμοίαν ἔμφασιν ἢ μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ ἔχει.

[87] δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιδεικνύοντα παριστάνειν τοῖς ιδιώταις ὅτι ἐνδέχεται δίχα τῶν θαυμαζομένων εἶναι ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐνδείκνυσθαι, ὅτι ἡ ἀφελὴς καὶ λιτὴ καὶ ὑπαιθρος δίαίτα οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμα λυμαίνεται: [88] 'ἰδοὺ καὶ τούτου μάρτυς εἰμὶ ἐγὼ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἐμόν.' ὥς Διογένης ἐποίει: στίλβων γὰρ περιήρχετο καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ἐπέστρεφε τοὺς πολλοὺς. [89] ἐλεούμενος δὲ Κυνικὸς ἐπαίτης δοκεῖ: πάντες ἀποστρέφονται, πάντες προσκόπτουσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥυπαρὸν αὐτὸν δεῖ φαίνεσθαι, ὥς μηδὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀποσοβεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν αὐχμὸν αὐτοῦ δεῖ καθαρὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀγωγόν. [90]

δεῖ δὲ καὶ χάριν πολλὴν προσεῖναι φυσικὴν τῷ Κυνικῷ καὶ ὀξύτητα (εἰ δὲ μή, μῦξα γίνεται, ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν), ἵνα ἐτοίμως δύνηται καὶ παρακειμένως πρὸς τὰ ἐπίπιπτοντα ἀπαντᾶν. [91] ὥς Διογένης πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα 'σὺ εἰ ὁ Διογένης ὁ μὴ οἰόμενος εἶναι θεοῦς;' 'καὶ πῶς,' ἔφη, 'σὲ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸν νομίζων;' [92] πάλιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπιστάντι αὐτῷ κοιμωμένῳ καὶ εἰπόντι

οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὐδεῖν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα

ἐνυπνος ἔτι ὢν ἀπήντησεν

ὦ λαοὶ τ' ἐπιτετράφαται καὶ τόσσα μέμηλεν.

[93] πρὸ πάντων δὲ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν αὐτοῦ δεῖ καθαρώτερον εἶναι τοῦ ἡλίου: εἰ δὲ μή, κυβευτὴν ἀνάγκη καὶ ῥαδιουργόν, ὅστις ἐνεχόμενός τι αὐτὸς κακῷ ἐπιτιμήσει τοῖς ἄλλοις. [94] ὅρα γάρ, οἷόν ἐστιν. τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τούτοις καὶ τυράννοις οἱ δορυφόροι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παρεῖχε τὸ ἐπιτιμᾶν τισιν καὶ δύνασθαι καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας καὶ αὐτοῖς οὖσι κακοῖς, τῷ Κυνικῷ ἀντὶ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων τὸ συνειδὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην παραδίδωσιν. [95] ὅταν ἴδῃς, ὅτι ὑπερηγρύπνηκεν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων καὶ πεπόνηκεν καὶ καθαρὸς μὲν κεκοίμηται, καθαρώτερον δ' αὐτὸν ἔτι ὁ ὕπνος ἀφῆκεν, ἐντεθύμηται δ', ὅσα ἐντεθύμηται ὡς φίλος τοῖς θεοῖς, ὡς ὑπηρετῆς, ὡς μετέχων τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Διός, πανταχοῦ δ' αὐτῷ πρόχειρον τὸ

ἄγου δέ μ' ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ σύ γ' ἡ Πεπρωμένη,

καὶ ὅτι εἰ ταύτῃ τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον, ταύτῃ γινέσθω: [96] διὰ τί μὴ θαρρήσῃ παρρησιάζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, πρὸς τὰ τέκνα, ἀπλῶς πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς; [97] διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε περίεργος οὔτε πολυπράγμων ἐστὶν ὁ οὕτω διακεείμενος: οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἀλλότρια πολυπραγμονεῖ, ὅταν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐπισκοπῇ, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἴδια. εἰ δὲ μή, λέγε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν πολυπράγμονα, ὅταν

τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπισκοπῇ καὶ ἐξετάζῃ καὶ παραφυλάσσει καὶ τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας κολάζῃ. [98] ἐὰν δ' ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχων πλακουντάριον ἐπιτιμᾷς ἄλλοις, ἐρῶ σοι: οὐ θέλεις μᾶλλον ἀπελθὼν εἰς γωνίαν καταφαγεῖν ἐκεῖνο ὃ κέκλοφας; τί δὲ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις; [99] τίς γὰρ εἶ; ὁ ταῦρος εἶ ἢ ἡ βασίλισσα τῶν μελισσῶν; δεῖξόν μοι τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οἷα ἐκεῖνη ἐκ φύσεως ἔχει. εἰ δὲ κηφὴν εἶ ἐπιδικαζόμενος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν μελισσῶν, οὐ δοκεῖς ὅτι καὶ σὲ καταβαλλοῦσιν οἱ συμπολιτευόμενοι, ὥς αἱ μέλισσαι τοὺς κηφῆνας; [100]

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνεκτικὸν τοσοῦτον ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν Κυνικόν, ὥστ' αὐτὸν ἀναίσθητον δοκεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ λίθον: οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν λαιδορεῖ, οὐδεὶς τύπτει, οὐδεὶς ὑβρίζει: τὸ σωματίον δ' αὐτοῦ δέδωκεν αὐτὸς χρῆσθαι τῷ θέλοντι ὥς βούλεται. [101] μέμνηται γάρ, ὅτι τὸ χεῖρον ἀνάγκη νικᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, ὅπου χεῖρόν ἐστιν, τὸ δὲ σωματίον τῶν πολλῶν χεῖρον, τὸ ἀσθενέστερον τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων. [102] οὐδέποτε οὖν εἰς τοῦτον καταβαίνει τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅπου δύναται νικηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων εὐθὺς ἐξίσταται, τῶν δούλων οὐκ ἀντιπιοεῖται. ὅπου δὲ προαίρεσις καὶ χρήσις τῶν φαντασιῶν, [103] ἐκεῖ ὅφει, ὅσα ὄμματα ἔχει, ἴν' εἴπῃς, ὅτι Ἄργος τυφλὸς ἦν πρὸς αὐτόν. [104] μή που συγκατάθεσις προπετής, μή που ὀρμὴ εἰκαία, μή που ὄρεξις ἀποτευκτική, μή που ἔκκλισις περιπτωτική, μή που ἐπιβολὴ ἀτελής, μή που μέμψις, μή που ταπείνωσις ἢ φθόνος; [105] ὥδε ἡ πολλὴ προσοχὴ καὶ σύντασις, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἔνεκα ὑπτιος ῥέγκει: εἰρήνη πᾶσα. ληστὴς προαιρέσεως οὐ γίνεται, τύραννος οὐ γίνεται. [106] σωματίου δέ; ναί. καὶ κτησείδιου; ναί: καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ τιμῶν. τί οὖν αὐτῷ τούτων μέλει; ὅταν οὖν τις διὰ τούτων αὐτὸν ἐκφοβῇ, λέγει αὐτῷ 'ὑπάγε, ζῆται τὰ παιδιά: ἐκείνοις τὰ προσωπεῖα φοβερά ἐστίν, ἐγὼ δ' οἶδα, ὅτι ὀστράκινά ἐστιν, ἔσωθεν δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχει.'

[107] περὶ τοιούτου πράγματος βουλευῇ. ὥστε ἐὰν σοὶ δόξῃ, τὸν θεόν σοι, ὑπέρθου καὶ ἰδοὺ σοὶ πρῶτον τὴν παρασκευήν. [108] ἰδοὺ γάρ, τί καὶ ὁ Ἔκτωρ λέγει τῇ Ἀνδρομάχῃ: 'ὑπάγε,' φησὶν, 'μᾶλλον εἰς οἶκον καὶ ὕφαινε:

πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει

πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί.

' [109] οὕτως καὶ τῆς ἰδίας παρασκευῆς συνήσθετο καὶ τῆς ἐκείνης ἀδυναμίας.

πρὸς τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας καὶ διαλεγομένους ἐπιδεικτικῶς.

τίς εἶναι θέλεις, σαιτῷ πρῶτον εἰπέ: εἴθ' οὕτως ποιεῖ ἢ ποιεῖς. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων οὕτως ὁρῶμεν γινόμενα. [2] οἱ ἀθλοῦντες πρῶτον κρίνουσιν, τίνες εἶναι θέλουσιν, εἴθ' οὕτως τὰ ἐξῆς ποιοῦσιν. εἰ δολιχοδρόμος, τοιαύτη τροφή, τοιοῦτος περίπατος, τοιαύτη τρῖψις, τοιαύτη γυμνασία: εἰ σταδιοδρόμος, πάντα ταῦτα ἄλλοῖα: εἰ πένταθλος, ἔτι ἄλλοιότερα. οὕτως εὐρήσεις καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνῶν. [3] εἰ τέκτων, τοιαῦτα ἔξεις: εἰ χαλκεύς, τοιαῦτα. ἕκαστον γὰρ τῶν γινομένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἂν μὲν ἐπὶ μηδὲν ἀναφέρωμεν, εἰκῇ ποιήσομεν: ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ὃ μὴ δεῖ, διεσφαλμένως. [4] λοιπὸν ἢ μὲν τίς ἐστι κοινὴ ἀναφορά, ἢ δ' ἰδίᾳ. πρῶτον ἴν' ὥς ἄνθρωπος. ἐν τούτῳ τί περιέχεται; μὴ ὥς πρόβατον, † εἰ βλαπτικῶς † καὶ ἐπιεικῶς, ὥς θηρίον. [5] ἢ δ' ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα ἐκάστου καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν. ὁ κιθαρωδὸς ὥς κιθαρωδός, ὁ

τέκτων ὡς τέκτων, ὁ φιλόσοφος ὡς φιλόσοφος, ὁ ῥήτωρ ὡς ῥήτωρ. [6] ὅταν οὖν λέγῃς ‘δεῦτε καὶ ἀκούσατέ μου ἀναγιγνώσκοντος ὑμῖν,’ σκέψαι πρῶτον μὴ εἰκῇ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν. εἴτ’ ἂν εὕρῃς, ὅτι ἀναφέρεις, σκέψαι, εἰ ἐφ’ ὃ δεῖ. ὠφελῆσαι θέλεις ἢ ἐπαινεθῆναι; [7] εὐθὺς ἀκούεις λέγοντος ‘ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπαίνου τίς λόγος;’ καὶ καλῶς λέγει. οὐδὲν γὰρ τῷ μουσικῷ, καθὼς μουσικός ἐστιν, οὐδὲ τῷ γεωμετρικῷ. [8] οὐκοῦν ὠφελῆσαι θέλεις; πρὸς τί; εἰπέ καὶ ἡμῖν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ τρέχωμεν εἰς τὸ ἀκροατήριόν σου. νῦν δύναται τις ὠφελῆσαι ἄλλους μὴ αὐτὸς ὠφελημένος; οὐ. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς τεκτονικὴν ὁ μὴ τέκτων οὐδ’ εἰς σκυτικὴν ὁ μὴ σκυτεύς.

[9] θέλεις οὖν γινῶναι, εἰ ὠφέλῃσαι; φέρε σου τὰ δόγματα, φιλόσοφε. τίς ἐπαγγελία ὀρέξεως; μὴ ἀποτυγχάνειν. τίς ἐκκλίσεως; [10] μὴ περιπίπτειν. ἄγε, πληροῦμεν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν; εἰπέ μοι τάληθῃ: ἂν δὲ ψεύσῃ, ἐρῶ σοι: πρῶτην ψυχρότερόν σου τῶν ἀκροατῶν συνελθόντων καὶ μὴ ἐπιβοησάντων σοι τεταπεινωμένος ἐξῆλθες: [11] πρῶτην ἐπαινεθείς περιήρχου καὶ πᾶσιν ἔλεγες ‘τί σοι ἔδοξα;’ ‘θαυμαστῶς, κύριε, τὴν ἐμήν σοι σωτηρίαν.’ ‘πῶς δ’ εἶπον ἐκεῖνο;’ ‘τὸ ποῖον;’ ‘ὅπου διέγραψα τὸν Πᾶνα καὶ τὰς Νύμφας.’ [12] ‘ὑπερφυῶς.’ εἰτά μοι λέγεις, ἐν ὀρέξει καὶ ἐκκλίσει κατὰ φύσιν ἀναστρέφῃ; ὕπαγε, ἄλλον πείθε. [13] τὸν δεῖνα δὲ πρῶτην οὐκ ἐπήνεις παρὰ τὸ σοὶ φαινόμενον; τὸν δεῖνα δ’ οὐκ ἐκολάκευες τὸν συγκλητικόν; ἡθελές σου τὰ παιδία εἶναι τοιαῦτα; — μὴ γένοιτο. [14] — τίνος οὖν ἕνεκα ἐπήνεις καὶ περιεῖπες αὐτόν; — εὐφυῆς νεανίσκος καὶ λόγων ἀκουστικός. — πόθεν τοῦτο; — ἐμὲ θαυμάζει. — εἴρηκας τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. εἰτα τί δοκεῖ σοι; αὐτοὶ σου οὗτοι οὐ καταφρονοῦσιν λεληθότως; [15] ὅταν οὖν ἄνθρωπος συνειδῶς ἑαυτῷ μὴτὲν ἀγαθὸν μὴτε πεποιηκότι μὴτ’ ἐνθυμουμένῳ εὕρῃ φιλόσοφον τὸν λέγοντα ‘μεγαλοφυῆς καὶ ἀπλοῦς καὶ ἀκέραιος,’ τί δοκεῖς ἄλλο αὐτὸν λέγειν ἢ ‘οὗτός τινά ποτέ μου χρεῖαν ἔχει;’ [16] ἢ εἰπέ μοι, τί μεγαλοφυοῦς ἔργον ἐπιδέδεικται; ἰδοὺ σύνεστί σοι τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ, διαλεγόμενου σου ἀκήκοεν, ἀναγιγνώσκοντος ἀκήκοεν. κατέσταλται, ἐπέστραπται ἐφ’ αὐτόν; ἥσθηται, ἐν οἷσις κακοῖς ἐστίν; ἀποβέβληκεν οἷσιν; ζητεῖ τὸν διδάξοντα; [17] — ζητεῖ, φησί. — τὸν διδάξοντα, πῶς δεῖ βιοῦν; οὐ, μωρέ: ἀλλὰ πῶς δεῖ φράζειν: τοῦτου γὰρ ἕνεκα καὶ σὲ θαυμάζει. ἄκουσον αὐτοῦ, τίνα λέγει. ‘οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος πάνυ τεχνικώτατα γράφει, Δίωνος πολὺ κάλλιον.’ ὅλον ἄλλο ἐστίν. [18] μὴ τι λέγει ‘ὁ ἄνθρωπος αἰδήμων ἐστίν, οὗτος πιστός ἐστιν, οὗτος ἀτάραχος ἐστίν;’ εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλεγεν, εἶπον ἂν αὐτῷ ‘ἐπειδὴ οὗτος πιστός ἐστιν, οὗτος ὁ πιστός τί ἐστίν;’ καὶ εἰ μὴ εἶχεν εἰπεῖν, προσέθηκα ἂν ὅτι ‘πρῶτον μάθε, τί λέγεις, εἴθ’ οὕτως λέγε.’ [19]

Οὕτως οὖν κακῶς διακείμενος καὶ χάσκων περὶ τοὺς ἐπαινέσοντας καὶ ἀριθμῶν τοὺς ἀκούοντάς σου θέλεις ἄλλους ὠφελεῖν; ‘σήμερόν μου πολλῶν πλείονες ἤκουσαν.’ ‘ναί, πολλοί.’ ‘δοκοῦμεν ὅτι πεντακόσιοι.’ ‘οὐδὲν λέγεις: θές αὐτοὺς χιλίους.’ ‘Δίωνος οὐδέποτε’ ἤκουσαν τοσοῦτοι.’ ‘πόθεν αὐτῷ;’ ‘καὶ κομπῶς αἰσθάνονται λόγων.’ [20] ‘τὸ καλόν, κύριε, καὶ λίθον κινῆσαι δύναται.’ ἰδοὺ φωναὶ φιλοσόφου, ἰδοὺ διάθεσις ὠφελήσοντος ἀνθρώπους: ἰδοὺ ἀκηκοὺς ἄνθρωπος λόγου, ἀνεγνωκὺς τὰ Σωκρατικά ὡς Σωκρατικά, οὐχὶ δ’ ὡς Λυσίου καὶ Ἰσοκράτους. ‘πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα, τίσιν ποτέ λόγοις. οὐ: ἀλλὰ

τῖνι ποτὲ λόγῳ: τοῦτ' ἐκείνου λειότερον.' [21] μὴ γὰρ ἄλλως αὐτὰ ἀνεγνώκατε ἢ ὡς ῥῥάρια; ὡς εἴ γε ἀνεγινώσκετε ὡς δεῖ, οὐκ ἂν πρὸς τοῦτοις ἐγίνεσθε, ἀλλ' ἐκείνο μᾶλλον ἐβλέπετε 'ἐμὲ δ' Ἄνυτος καὶ Μέλητος ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δύνανται, βλάψαι δ' οὐ' καὶ ὅτι 'ὡς ἐγὼ αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος οἷος μηδενὶ προσέχειν τῶν ἐμῶν ἢ τῷ λόγῳ, ὃς ἂν μοι σκοπούμενῳ βέλτιστος φαίνεται.' [22] διὰ τοῦτο τίς ἤκουσέ ποτε Σωκράτους λέγοντος ὅτι 'οἶδ' αὖτις καὶ διδάσκω;' ἀλλὰ ἄλλον ἀλλαχοῦ ἐπεμπευ. τοιγαροῦν ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦντες φιλοσόφοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συσταθῆναι κάκεῖνος ἀπῆγεν καὶ συνίστανεν. [23] οὐ: ἀλλὰ προσπέμπων ἔλεγεν 'ἄκουσόν μου σήμερον διαλεγομένου ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ Κοδράτου.' τί σου ἀκούσω; ἐπιδειξάι μοι θέλεις, ὅτι κομπῶς συντιθεῖς τὰ ὀνόματα; συντιθεῖς, ἄνθρωπε: καὶ τί σοι ἀγαθὸν ἐστίν; [24] 'ἀλλ' ἐπαίνεσόν με.' τί λέγεις τὸ ἐπαίνεσον; 'εἰπέ μοι 'οὐᾶ' καὶ 'θαυμαστῶς'.' ἰδοὺ λέγω. εἰ δ' ἐστὶν ἐπαινος ἐκείνο, ὃ τι ποτὲ λέγουσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι τῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κατηγορίᾳ, τί σε ἔχω ἐπαινέσαι; εἰ ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ τὸ φράζειν ὀρθῶς, δίδαζόν με καὶ ἐπαίνεσω. [25] τί οὖν; ἀηδῶς δεῖ τῶν τοιούτων ἀκούειν; μὴ γένοιτο. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲ κιθαρωδοῦ ἀηδῶς ἀκούω: μὴ τι οὖν τούτου ἕνεκα κιθαρωδεῖν με δεῖ στάντα; ἄκουσον, τί λέγει Σωκράτης: 'οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν πρόποι, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὥσπερ μεираκίῳ πλάττοντι λόγους εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι.' ὥσπερ μεираκίῳ' φησίν. [26] ἔστι γὰρ τῷ ὄντι κομπὸν τὸ τεχνίον ἐκλέξαι ὀνομάτια καὶ ταῦτα συνθεῖναι καὶ παρελθόντα εὐφυῶς ἀναγνῶναι ἢ εἰπεῖν καὶ μεταξὺ ἀναγινώσκοντα ἐπιφθέγγασθαι ὅτι 'τούτοις οὐ πολλοὶ δύνανται παρακολουθεῖν, μὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν σωτηρίαν.'

φιλόσοφος δ' ἐπ' ἀκρόασιν παρακαλεῖ; [27] — οὐχὶ δ' ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἄγει αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν τροφήν, οὕτως δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἄγει τοὺς ὠφεληθησομένους; ποῖος ἱατρὸς παρακαλεῖ, ἵνα τις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θεραπευθῇ; καίτοι νῦν ἀκούω ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἱατροὶ παρακαλοῦσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ: πλὴν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ παρεκαλοῦντο. [28] 'παρακαλῶ σε ἐλθόντα ἀκούσαι, ὅτι σοι κακῶς ἐστὶ καὶ πάντων μᾶλλον ἐπιμελῇ ἢ οὐ δεῖ σε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ ὅτι ἀγνοεῖς τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ καὶ κακοδαίμων εἶ καὶ δυστυχής.' κομπὴ παράκλησις. καὶ μὴν ἂν μὴ ταῦτα ἐμποιῇ ὁ τοῦ φιλοσόφου λόγος, νεκρός ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ λέγων. [29] εἴθε λέγειν ὁ Ροῦφος 'εἰ εὐσχολεῖτε ἐπαινέσαι με, ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν λέγω.' τοιγαροῦν οὕτως ἔλεγεν, ὥσθ' ἕκαστον ἡμῶν καθήμενον οἶεσθαι, ὅτι τίς ποτε αὐτὸν διαβέβληκεν: οὕτως ἤπτετο τῶν γιγνομένων, οὕτως πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐτίθει τὰ ἐκάστου κακά. [30] ἱατρεῖόν ἐστίν, ἄνδρες, τὸ τοῦ φιλοσόφου σχολεῖν: οὐ δεῖ ἡσθέντας ἐξελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀλγίσαντας. ἔρχεσθε γὰρ οὐχ ὑγιεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὤμον ἐκβεβληκῶς, ὁ δ' ἀπόστημα ἔχων, ὁ δὲ σύριγγα, ὁ δὲ κεφαλαλγῶν. [31] εἴτ' ἐγὼ καθίσας ὑμῖν λέγω νοημάτια καὶ ἐπιφωνημάτια, ἵν' ὑμεῖς ἐπαινέσαντές με ἐξέλθητε, ὁ μὲν τὸν ὤμον ἐκφέρων οἶον εἰσήνεγκεν, ὁ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡσαύτως ἔχουσιν, ὁ δὲ τὴν σύριγγα, ὁ δὲ τὸ ἀπόστημα; [32] εἴτα τούτου ἕνεκα ἀποδημήσωσιν ἄνθρωποι νεώτεροι καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπολίπωσιν καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ τὸ κτησίδιον, ἵνα σοι 'οὐᾶ' φῶσιν ἐπιφωνημάτια λέγοντι; τοῦτο Σωκράτης ἐποίει, τοῦτο Ζήνων, τοῦτο Κλεάνθης;

[33] τί οὖν; οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ προτρεπτικὸς χαρακτήρ; — τίς γὰρ οὐ λέγει; ὡς ὁ

ἐλεγκτικός, ὥς ὁ διδασκαλικός. τίς οὖν πώποτε τέταρτον εἶπεν μετὰ τούτων τὸν ἐπιδεικτικόν; [34] τίς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ προτρεπτικός; δύνασθαι καὶ ἐνὶ καὶ πολλοῖς δεῖξαι τὴν μάχην ἐν ἣ κυλίνονται: καὶ ὅτι μᾶλλον πάντων φροντίζουσιν ἢ ὦν θέλουσιν. θέλουσι μὲν γὰρ τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα, ἀλλαχοῦ δ' αὐτὰ ζητοῦσι. [35] τοῦτο ἵνα γένηται, δεῖ τεθῆναι χίλια βάθρα καὶ παρακληθῆναι τοὺς ἀκουσομένους καὶ σὲ ἐν κομπῷ στολίῳ ἢ τριβωνάριῳ ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ πούλβινον διαγράφειν, πῶς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀπέθανεν; παύσασθε, τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, καλὰ ὀνόματα καὶ πράγματα καταισχύνοντες, ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς. [36] οὐδὲν προτρεπτικώτερον ἢ ὅταν ὁ λέγων ἐμφαίνῃ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὅτι χρειάν αὐτῶν ἔχει. [37] ἢ εἰπέ μοι, τίς ἀκούων ἀναγινώσκοντός σου ἢ διαλεγομένου περὶ αὐτοῦ ἠγωνίασεν ἢ ἐπεστράφη; εἰς αὐτὸν ἢ ἐξελθὼν εἶπεν ὅτι 'καλῶς μου ἦπατο ὁ φιλόσοφος: οὐκέτι δεῖ ταῦτα ποιεῖν;' [38] οὐχὶ δ', ἂν λίαν εὐδοκιμῆς, λέγει πρὸς τινά 'κομπῶς ἔφρασεν τὰ περὶ τὸν Ξέρξην,' ἄλλος 'οὐ: ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Πύλαις μάχην;' τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀκρόασις φιλοσόφου;

περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προσπάσχειν τοῖς οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν.

Τὸ ἄλλου παρὰ φύσιν σοὶ κακὸν μὴ γινέσθω: οὐ γὰρ συνταπεινοῦσθαι πέφυκας οὐδὲ συνατυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ συνευτυχεῖν. [2] ἂν δέ τις ἀτυχῇ, μέμνησο, ὅτι παρ' αὐτὸν ἀτυχεῖ. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν, ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσταθεῖν ἐποίησεν. [3] πρὸς τοῦτο ἀφορμὰς ἔδωκεν, τὰ μὲν ἴδια δοὺς ἐκάστω, τὰ δ' ἄλλότρια: τὰ μὲν κωλυτὰ καὶ ἀφαιρετὰ καὶ ἀναγκαστὰ οὐκ ἴδια, τὰ δ' ἀκώλυτα ἴδια: τὴν δ' οὐσίαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ, ὥσπερ ἦν ἄξιον τὸν κηδόμενον ἡμῶν καὶ πατρικῶς προιστάμενον, ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις. [4] 'ἀλλ' ἀποκεχώρηκα τοῦ δεινός καὶ ὀδυνάται.' διὰ τί γὰρ τὰ ἄλλότρια ἴδια ἠγήσατο; διὰ τί, ὅτε σε βλέπων ἔχαιρεν, οὐκ ἐπελογίζετο, ὅτι θνητὸς εἶ, ἀποδημητικὸς εἶ; τοιγαροῦν τίνει δίκας τῆς αὐτοῦ μωρίας. [5] σὺ δ' ἀντὶ τίνος; ἐπὶ τί κλάεις σεαυτόν; ἢ οὐδὲ σὺ ταῦτα ἐμελέτησας, ἀλλ' ὥς τὰ γύναια τὰ οὐδενὸς ἄξια πᾶσιν οἷς ἔχαιρες ὥς αἰεὶ συνεσόμενος συνῆς, τοῖς τόποις, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ταῖς διατριβαῖς; καὶ νῦν κλαίων ἐκάθισας, ὅτι μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς βλέπεις καὶ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις διατρίβεις. [6] τούτου γὰρ ἄξιος εἶ, ἵνα καὶ τῶν κοράκων καὶ κορωνῶν ἀθλιώτερος ᾦς, οἷς ἔξεστιν ἵπτασθαι, ὅπου θέλουσιν, καὶ μετοικοδομεῖν τὰς νεοσσιὰς καὶ τὰ πελάγη διαπερᾶν μὴ στένουσιν μηδὲ ποθοῦσι τὰ πρῶτα. [7] — ναί: ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄλογα εἶναι πάσχει αὐτά. — ἡμῖν οὖν λόγος ἐπὶ ἀτυχίᾳ καὶ κακοδαιμονίᾳ δέδοται ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν, ἵν' ἄθλιοι, ἵνα πενθοῦντες διατελῶμεν; [8] ἢ πάντες ἔστωσαν ἀθάνατοι καὶ μηδεὶς ἀποδημείτω, μηδ' ἡμεῖς ποῦ ἀποδημῶμεν, ἀλλὰ μένωμεν ὥς τὰ φυτὰ προσερριζωμένοι: ἂν δέ τις ἀποδημήσῃ τῶν συνήθων, καθήμενοι κλαίωμεν καὶ πάλιν, ἂν ἔλθῃ, ὀρχώμεθα καὶ κροτῶμεν ὥς τὰ παιδία; [9]

[10] οὐκ ἀπογαλακτίσομεν ἤδη ποθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ μεμνησόμεθα ὧν ἠκούσαμεν παρὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων; εἰ γε μὴ ὥς ἐπαιδῶν αὐτῶν ἠκούομεν, ὅτι ὁ κόσμος οὗτος μία πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ οὐσία, ἐξ ἧς δεδημιούργηται, μία καὶ ἀνάγκη περιόδόν τινα εἶναι καὶ παραχώρησιν ἄλλων ἄλλοις καὶ τὰ μὲν διαλύεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐπιγίνεσθαι, τὰ μὲν μένειν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, τὰ δὲ κινεῖσθαι. [11] πάντα δὲ φίλων μεστά, πρῶτα μὲν θεῶν, εἶτα καὶ ἀνθρώπων φύσει πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀκειωμένων: καὶ δεῖ τοὺς μὲν παρεῖναι ἀλλήλοις, τοὺς δ'

ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, τοῖς μὲν συνοῦσι χαίροντας, τοῖς δ' ἀπαλλαττομένοις μὴ ἀχθομένους. [12] ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος πρὸς τῷ φύσει μεγαλόφρων εἶναι καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων καταφρονητικὸς ἔτι κάκεινο ἔσχηκε τὸ μὴ ἐρριζῶσθαι μηδὲ προσπεφυκέναι τῇ γῇ, ἀλλὰ ἄλλοι' ἐπ' ἄλλους ἴσθαι τόπους ποτὲ μὲν χρεῖων τινων ἐπειγουσῶν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θέας ἔνεκα.

καὶ τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ τὸ συμβᾶν τοιοῦτόν τι ἦν: [13]

πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω:

καὶ ἔτι πρόσθεν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ περιελθεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην

ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντα

καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐκβάλλοντα καὶ καθαίροντα, τὴν δ' ἀντεισάγοντα. [14] καίτοι πόσους οἶει φίλους ἔσχεν ἐν Θήβαις, πόσους ἐν Ἀργεῖ, πόσους ἐν Ἀθήναις, πόσους δὲ περιερχόμενος ἐκτίσαστο, ὅς γε καὶ ἐγάμει, ὅπου καιρὸς ἐφάνη αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπαῖδοποιεῖτο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπέλειπεν οὐ στένων οὐδὲ ποθῶν οὐδ' ὥς ὀρφανοὺς ἀφίεις; [15] ἦδει γάρ, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὀρφανός, ἀλλὰ πάντων αἰεὶ καὶ διηνεκῶς ὁ πατὴρ ἐστὶν ὁ κηδόμενος. [16] οὐ γὰρ μέχρι λόγου ἠκηκόει, ὅτι πατὴρ ἐστὶν ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅς γε καὶ αὐτοῦ πατέρα ᾤετο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκάλει καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀφορῶν ἔπραττεν ἅ ἔπραττεν. τοιγάρτοι πανταχοῦ ἐξῆν αὐτῷ διάγειν εὐδαιμόνως. [17] οὐδέποτε δ' ἐστὶν οἶόν τ' εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ πόθον τῶν οὐ παρόντων τὸ γὰρ εὐδαιμονοῦν ἀπέχειν δεῖ πάντα ἃ θέλει, πεπληρωμένῳ τινὶ εὐοικέσαι: οὐ δίψος δεῖ προσεῖναι αὐτῷ, οὐ λιμόν. [18] — ἀλλ' ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπεπόνθει πρὸς τὴν γυναικα καὶ ἔκλαιεν ἐπὶ πέτραις καθεζόμενος. — σὺ δ' Ὀμήρῳ πάντα προσέχεις καὶ τοῖς μύθοις αὐτοῦ; ἢ εἰ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἔκλαεν, τί ἄλλο ἢ ἐδυστύχει; τίς δὲ καλὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς δυστυχεῖ; [19] τῷ ὄντι κακῶς διοικεῖται τὰ ὅλα, εἰ μὴ ἐπιμελεῖται ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν, ἵν' ὧσιν ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ, εὐδαιμόνες. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα οὐ θεμιτὰ οὐδ' ὅσια ἐνθυμηθῆναι, [20] ἀλλ' ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς, εἰ μὲν ἔκλαεν καὶ ὠδύρετο, οὐκ ἦν ἀγαθός. τίς γὰρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν ὁ οὐκ εἰδώς, ὅς ἐστιν; τίς δ' οἶδεν ταῦτα ἐπιλελησμένος, ὅτι φθαρτὰ τὰ γενόμενα καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπῳ συνεῖναι οὐ δυνατόν ἀεὶ; [21] τί οὖν; τῶν μὴ δυνατῶν ἐφίεσθαι ἀνδραποδῶδες, ἡλίθιον, ξένου θεομαχοῦντος, ὥς μόνον οἶόν τε, τοῖς δόγμασι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ.

ἀλλ' ἡ μήτηρ μου στένει μὴ ὀρῶσά με. [22] — διὰ τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔμαθεν τούτους τοὺς λόγους; καὶ οὐ τοῦτό φημι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιμελητέον τοῦ μὴ οἰμῶζειν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ δεῖ θέλειν τὰ ἀλλότρια ἐξ ἅπαντος. [23] λύπη δ' ἡ ἄλλου ἀλλότριόν ἐστιν, ἢ δ' ἐμὴ ἐμόν. ἐγὼ οὖν τὸ μὲν ἐμόν παύσω ἐξ ἅπαντος, ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστιν: τὸ δ' ἀλλότριον πειράσομαι κατὰ δύναμιν, ἐξ ἅπαντος δ' οὐ πειράσομαι. [24] εἰ δὲ μή, θεομαχήσω, ἀντιθήσω πρὸς τὸν Δία, ἀντιδιατάξομαι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ ὅλα. καὶ τάπιχειρα τῆς θεομαχίας ταύτης καὶ ἀπειθείας οὐ παῖδες παίδων ἐκτίσουσιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ μεθ' ἡμέραν, νυκτὸς διὰ τῶν ἐνυπνίων ἐκπηδῶν, ταρασσόμενος, πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀπαγγελίαν τρέμων, ἐξ ἐπιστολῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἡρτημένην ἔχων τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ ἀπάθειαν. [25] ἀπὸ Ῥώμης τις ἦκει. 'μόνον μὴ τι κακόν.' τί δὲ κακὸν ἐκεῖ σοι συμβῆναι δύναται, ὅπου μὴ εἶ; ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. 'μόνον μὴ τι κακόν.' οὕτως σοι πᾶς τόπος δύναται δυστυχίας εἶναι αἴτιος. οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἐκεῖ σε ἀτυχεῖν, [26] ὅπου αὐτὸς εἶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ

πέραν θαλάσσης καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων; οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς σοι τὰ πράγματα ἔχει; [27] — τί οὖν, ἂν ἀποθάνωσιν οἱ ἐκεῖ φίλοι; — τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο ἢ οἱ θνητοὶ ἀπέθανον; ἢ πῶς ἅμα μὲν γηρᾶσαι θέλεις, ἅμα δὲ μηδενὸς τῶν στεργομένων μὴ εἶδεῖν θάνατον; [28] οὐκ οἶσθ', ὅτι ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα ἀποβαίνειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ μὲν πυρετὸν γενέσθαι κρείττονα, τοῦ δὲ ληστήν, τοῦ δὲ τύραννον; [29] τοιοῦτο γὰρ τὸ περιέχον, τοιοῦτον οἱ συνόντες, ψυχή καὶ καύματα καὶ τροφαὶ ἀσύμμετροι καὶ ὁδοιπορίαι καὶ πλοῦς καὶ ἄνεμοι καὶ περιστάσεις ποικίλαι: τὸν μὲν ἀπώλεσαν, τὸν δ' ἐξώρισαν, τὸν δ' εἰς πρεσβειάν, ἄλλον δ' εἰς στρατ[30] εἶαν ἐνέβαλον. κάθησο τοίνυν πρὸς πάντα ταῦτα ἐπτοημένος, πενθῶν, ἀτυχῶν, δυστυχῶν, ἐξ ἄλλου ἡρτημένος καὶ τούτου οὐχ ἑνός, οὐ δυεῖν, ἀλλὰ μυρίων ἐπὶ μυρίοις.

[31] ταῦτα ἤκουες παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, ταῦτ' ἐμάνθανες; οὐκ οἶσθ', ὅτι στρατεία τὸ χρῆμά ἐστιν; τὸν μὲν δεῖ φυλάττειν, τὸν δὲ κατασκοπήσοντα ἐξιέναι, τὸν δὲ καὶ πολεμήσοντα: οὐχ οἶόν τ' εἶναι πάντας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ οὐδ' ἄμεινον. [32] σὺ δ' ἄφεις ἐκτελεῖν τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγκαλεῖς, ὅταν τί σοι προσταχθῇ τραχύτερον, καὶ οὐ παρακολουθεῖς, οἷον ἀποφαίνεις, ὅσον ἐπὶ σοί, τὸ στράτευμα, ὅτι ἂν σε πάντες μιμήσωνται, οὐ τάφρον σκάψει τις, οὐ χάρακα περιβαλεῖ, οὐκ ἀγρυπνήσει, οὐ κινδυνεύσει, ἀλλὰ ἄχρηστος δόξει στρατεῦσθαι. [33] πάλιν ἐν πλοίῳ ναύτης ἂν πλήρης, μίαν χώραν κάτεχε καὶ ταύτην προσλιπάrei: ἂν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἰστὸν ἀναβῆναι δέη, μὴ θέλε, ἂν εἰς τὴν πῤῥωραν διαδραμεῖν, μὴ θέλε: καὶ τίς ἀνέξεταί σου κυβερνήτης; οὐχὶ δ' ὥς σκεῦος ἄχρηστον ἐκβαλεῖ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἐμπόδιον καὶ κακὸν παράδειγμα τῶν ἄλλων ναυτῶν; [34] οὕτως δὲ καὶ ἐνθάδε: στρατεία τίς ἐστὶν ὁ βίος ἐκάστου καὶ αὕτη μακρὰ καὶ ποικίλη. τηρεῖν σε δεῖ τὸ τοῦ στρατιώτου καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς νεῦμα πράσσειν ἕκαστα: [35] εἰ οἶόν τε, μαντευόμενον ἂ θέλει. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁμοῖος ἐκεῖνος ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὗτος οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἥθους ὑπεροχὴν. [36] τέταξαι ἐν πόλει † ἡγεμονία καὶ οὐκ ἐν ταπεινῇ τινὶ χώρᾳ, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ βουλευτῆς. οὐκ οἶσθ', ὅτι τὸν τοιοῦτον ὀλίγα μὲν δεῖ οἰκονομεῖν, τὰ πολλὰ δ' ἀποδημεῖν ἄρχοντα ἢ ἀρχόμενον ἢ ὑπηρετοῦντά τινι ἀρχῇ ἢ στρατευόμενον ἢ δικάζοντα; εἰτά μοι θέλεις ὥς φυτὸν προσηρτῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις καὶ προσερριζῶσθαι; [37] — ἡδὺν γάρ ἐστιν. — τίς οὐ φησιν; ἀλλὰ καὶ ζωμὸς ἡδύς ἐστι καὶ γυνὴ καλὴ ἡδύ ἐστιν. τί ἄλλο λέγουσιν οἱ τέλους ποιούμενοι τὴν ἡδονήν;

[38] οὐκ αἰσθάνῃ, τίνων ἀνθρώπων φωνὴν ἀφῆκας; ὅτι Ἐπικουρεῖων καὶ κιναιδῶν; εἰτα τὰ ἐκείνων ἔργα πράσσω καὶ τὰ δόγματα ἔχων τοὺς λόγους ἡμῖν λέγεις τοὺς Ζήνωνος καὶ Σωκράτους; οὐκ ἀπορρίψεις ὥς μακροτάτῳ τὰλλότριά, οἷς κοσμῇ μηδὲν σοι προσήκουσιν; [39] ἢ τί ἄλλο θέλουσιν ἐκεῖνοι ἢ καθεύδειν ἀπαραποδίστως καὶ ἀναναγκάστως καὶ ἀναστάντες ἐφ' ἡσυχίας χασμήσασθαι καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀποπλῦναι, εἰτα γράψαι καὶ ἀναγνῶναι ἂ θέλουσιν, εἰτα φλυαρῆσαί τί ποτ' ἐπαινούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, ὃ τι ἂν λέγωσιν, εἰτα εἰς περίπατον προελθόντες καὶ ὀλίγα περιπατήσαντες λούσασθαι, εἰτα φαγεῖν, εἰτα κοιμηθῆναι, οἷαν δὴ κοίτην καθεύδειν τοὺς τοιούτους εἰκός — τί ἂν τις λέγοι; ἔξεστιν γὰρ τεκμαίρεσθαι. [40] ἄγε, φέρε μοι καὶ σὺ τὴν σαυτοῦ διατριβήν, ἣν ποθεῖς, ζηλωτὰ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ

Σωκράτους καὶ Διογένους. τί θέλεις ἐν Ἀθήναις ποιεῖν; ταῦτα αὐτά; [41] μή τι ἕτερα; τί οὖν Στωικὸν σαυτὸν εἶναι λέγεις; εἴτα οἱ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας καταψευδόμενοι κολάζονται πικρῶς, τοὺς δ' οὕτως μεγάλου καὶ σεμνοῦ καταψευδομένους πράγματος καὶ ὀνόματος ἀθῶους ἀπαλλάττεσθαι δεῖ; [42] ἢ τοῦτο γε οὐ δυνατόν, ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος θεῖος καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ ἀναπόδραστος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰς μεγίστας εἰσπρασσόμενος κολάσεις παρὰ τῶν τὰ μέγιστα ἀμαρτανόντων; [43] τί γὰρ λέγει; 'ὁ προσποιοῦμενος τὰ μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔστω ἀλαζών, ἔστω κενόδοξος; ὁ ἀπειθὼν τῇ θεῇ διοικήσει ἔστω ταπεινός, ἔστω δοῦλος, λυπεῖσθω, φθονεῖτω, ἐλεεῖτω, τὸ κεφάλαιον πάντων, δυστυχεῖτω, θρηνεῖτω.'

[44] τί οὖν; θέλεις με τὸν δεῖνα θεραπεύειν; ἐπὶ θύραις αὐτοῦ πορεύεσθαι; — εἰς τοῦτο αἰρεῖ λόγος, ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὑπὲρ τῶν συγγενῶν, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων, διὰ τί μὴ ἀπέλθης; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τὰς τοῦ σκυτέως οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ πορευόμενος, ὅταν δέῃ ὑποδημάτων, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ κηπουροῦ, ὅταν θιδράκων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς τῶν πλουσίων, ὅταν τινὸς ὁμοίου δέῃ; [45] — ναί: τὸν σκυτέα γὰρ οὐ θαυμάζω. — μηδὲ τὸν πλούσιον. — οὐδὲ τὸν κηπουρὸν κολακεύσω. — μηδὲ τὸν πλούσιον. πῶς οὖν τύχω οὗ δέομαι; [46] — ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω ὅτι 'ὡς τευξόμενος ἀπέρχου;' οὐχὶ δὲ μόνον, ἵνα πράξῃς τὸ σαυτῷ πρέπον; [47] — τί οὖν ἔτι πορεύομαι; — ἴν' ἀπέλθῃς, ἵνα ἀποδεδωκὼς ἦς τὰ τοῦ πολίτου ἔργα, τὰ ἀδελφοῦ, τὰ φίλου. [48] καὶ λοιπὸν μέμνησο, ὅτι πρὸς σκυτέα ἀφῖξαι, πρὸς λαχανοπώλῃν, οὐδενὸς μεγάλου ἢ σεμνοῦ ἔχοντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν, κἂν αὐτὸ πολλοῦ πωλῇ. ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς θίδρακας ἀπέρχῃ: ὀβολοῦ γὰρ εἰσιν, ταλάντου δ' οὐκ εἰσίν. [49] οὕτως κἀνταῦθα. τοῦ ἐπὶ θύρας ἔλθειν ἄξιον τὸ πρᾶγμα: ἔστω, ἀφίξομαι. τοῦ διαλεχθῆναι οὕτως: ἔστω, διαλεχθῆσομαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα δεῖ καταφιλῆσαι καὶ θωπεῦσαι δι' ἐπαίνου. ἄπαγε, ταλάντου ἐστίν: οὐ λυσιτελεῖ μοι οὐδὲ τῇ πόλει οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἀπολέσαι καὶ πολίτην ἀγαθὸν καὶ φίλον.

[50] ἀλλὰ δόξεις μὴ προτεθυμῆσθαι μὴ ἀνύσας. πάλιν ἐπελάθου, τίνος ἔνεκα ἐλήλυθας; οὐκ οἶσθ', ὅτι ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ τοῦ δόξαι ἔνεκα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πεπρᾶχθαι καλῶς; [51] — τί οὖν ὄφελος αὐτῷ τοῦ πρᾶξαι καλῶς; — τί δ' ὄφελος τῷ γράφοντι τὸ Δίωνος ὄνομα, ὡς χρή γράφειν; αὐτὸ τὸ γράψαι. — ἔπαθλον οὖν οὐδέν; — σὺ δὲ ζητεῖς ἔπαθλον ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ μείζον τοῦ τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια πράττειν; [52] ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δ' οὐδεὶς ἄλλο οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖν σοι δοκεῖ τὸ ἐστεφανῶσθαι Ὀλύμπια. οὕτως σοι μικρὸν καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξιον εἶναι φαίνεται τὸ εἶναι καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐδαίμονα; [53] πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπὸ θεῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν εἰσηγμένος καὶ ἤδη τῶν ἀνδρὸς ἔργων ὀφείλων ἄπτεσθαι τιτθὰς ἐπιποθεῖς καὶ μάμμην καὶ κάμπτει σε καὶ ἀποθλύνει κλαίοντα γύναια μωρά; οὕτως οὐδέποτε παύσει παιδίον: ὦν νήπιον; οὐκ οἶσθ', ὅτι ὁ τὰ παιδίου ποιῶν ὅσῳ πρεσβύτερος τοσοῦτῳ γελοιότερος; [54]

ἐν Ἀθήναις δ' οὐδένα ἐώρας εἰς οἶκον αὐτοῦ φοιτῶν; — ὃν ἐβουλόμην. — καὶ ἐνθάδε τοῦτον θέλε ὁρᾶν καὶ ὃν βούλει ὄψει: μόνον μὴ ταπεινῶς, μὴ μετ' ὀρέξεως ἢ ἐκκλίσεως καὶ ἔσται τὰ σὰ καλῶς. [55] τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν ἐστὶν οὐδ' ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ θύραις στήναι, ἀλλ' ἐνδον ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν. [56] ὅταν τὰ ἐκτὸς καὶ ἀπροαίρετα ἡτιμακῶς ἦς καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῶν σὸν ἡγῆμένος, μόνα δ'

ἐκεῖνα σά, τὸ κρίναι καλῶς, τὸ ὑπολαβεῖν, τὸ ὀρμηῆσαι, τὸ ὀρεχθῆναι, τὸ ἐκκλῖναι, ποῦ ἔτι κολακείας τόπος, ποῦ ταπεινοφροσύνης; τί ἔτι ποθεῖς τὴν ἡσυχίαν τὴν ἐκεῖ, τί τοὺς συνήθεις τόπους; [57] ἔκδεξαι βραχὺ καὶ τούτους πάλιν ἔξεις συνήθεις. εἴτα ἂν οὕτως ἀγεννῶς ἔχῃς, πάλιν καὶ τούτων ἀπαλλαττόμενος κλαίῃ καὶ στένε.

Πῶς οὖν γένωμαι φιλόστοργος; [58] — ὡς γενναῖος, ὡς εὐτυχής: οὐδέποτε γὰρ αἰρεῖ ὁ λόγος ταπεινὸν εἶναι οὐδὲ κατακλᾶσθαι οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλου κρέμασθαι οὐδὲ μέμψασθαι ποτε θεὸν ἢ ἄνθρωπον. [59] οὕτως μοι γίνου φιλόστοργος ὡς ταῦτα τηρήσων: εἰ δὲ διὰ τὴν φιλοστοργίαν ταύτην, τῆντινά ποτε καὶ καλεῖς φιλοστοργίαν, δοῦλος μέλλεις εἶναι καὶ ἄθλιος, οὐ λυσιτελεῖ φιλόστοργον εἶναι. [60] καὶ τί κωλύει φιλεῖν τινα ὡς θνητόν, ὡς ἀποδημητικόν; ἢ Σωκράτης οὐκ ἐφίλει τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ; ἀλλ' ὡς ἐλεύθερος, ὡς μεμνημένος, ὅτι πρῶτον δεῖ θεοῖς εἶναι φίλον. [61] διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν παρέβη τῶν πρεπόντων ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ οὔτ' ἀπολογούμενος οὐθ' ὑποτιμώμενος οὔτ' ἔτι πρόσθεν βουλεύων ἢ στρατευόμενος. [62] ἡμεῖς δὲ πάσης προφάσεως πρὸς τὸ ἀγγεννεῖς εἶναι εὐποροῦμεν, οἱ μὲν διὰ παῖδα, οἱ δὲ διὰ μητέρα, ἄλλοι δὲ δι' ἀδελφοῦς. [63] δι' οὐδένα δὲ προσήκει δυστυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ εὐτυχεῖν διὰ πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς κατασκευάσαντα. [64] ἄγε, Διογένης δ' οὐκ ἐφίλει οὐδένα, ὃς οὕτως ἡμερος ἦν καὶ φιλόανθρωπος, ὥστε ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοσοῦτους πόνους καὶ ταλαιπωρίας τοῦ σώματος ἄσμενος ἀναδέχεσθαι; [65] ἀλλ' ἐφίλει πῶς; ὡς τοῦ Διὸς διάκονον ἔδει, ἅμα μὲν κηδόμενος, ἅμα δ' ὡς τῷ θεῷ ὑποτεταγμένος. διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσα γῆ πατρις ἦν ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ, [66] ἐξαίρετος δ' οὐδεμία: καὶ ἀλούς οὐκ ἐπόθει τὰς Ἀθήνας οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐκεῖ συνήθεις καὶ φίλους, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς πειραταῖς συνήθης ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐπανορθοῦν ἐπειρᾶτο. καὶ πραθεῖς ὕστερον ἐν Κορίνθῳ διῆγεν οὕτως ὡς πρόσθεν ἐν Αῠθήναις καὶ εἰς Περραιβοῦς δ' ἂν ἀπελθὼν ὡσαύτως εἶχεν. [67] οὕτως ἐλευθερία γίνεται. διὰ τοῦτο ἔλεγεν ὅτι 'ἐξ οὗ μ' Ἀντισθένης ἡλευθέρωσεν, οὐκέτι ἐδούλευσα.' [68] πῶς ἡλευθέρωσεν; ἄκουε, τί λέγει: 'ἐδίδαξέν με τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐμὰ. κτῆσις οὐκ ἐμή: συγγενεῖς, οἰκεῖοι, φίλοι, φήμη, συνήθεις τόποι, διατριβή, πάντα ταῦτα ὅτι ἀλλότρια. [69] 'σὸν οὖν τί; χρῆσις φαντασιῶν.' ταύτην ἔδειξέν μοι ὅτι ἀκώλυτον ἔχω, ἀνανάγκαστον: οὐδεὶς ἐμποδίσαι δύναται, οὐδεὶς βιάσασθαι ἄλλως χρήσασθαι ἢ ὡς θέλω. [70] τίς οὖν ἔτι ἔχει μου ἐξουσίαν; Φίλιππος ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ Περδίκκας ἢ ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς; πόθεν αὐτοῖς; τὸν γὰρ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου μέλλοντα ἡττᾶσθαι πολὺ πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων δεῖ ἡττᾶσθαι.' [71] οὔτινος οὖν οὐχ ἡδονὴ κρείττων ἐστίν, οὐ πόνος, οὐ δόξα, οὐ πλοῦτος, δύναται δ', ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξη, τὸ σωματίον ὅλον προσπύσας τινὶ ἀπελθεῖν, τίνος ἔτι οὗτος δοῦλός ἐστιν, τίνι ὑποτέτακται; [72] εἰ δ' ἡδέως ἐν Αῠθήναις διῆγεν καὶ ἡττητο ταύτης τῆς διατριβῆς, ἐπὶ παντὶ ἂν ἦν τὰ ἐκείνου πράγματα, ὁ ἰσχυρότερος κύριος ἂν ἦν λυπῆσαι αὐτόν. [73] πῶς ἂν δοκεῖς τοὺς πειρατὰς ἐκολάκευεν, ἴν' αὐτὸν Αῠθηναίων τινὶ πωλήσωσιν, ἴν' ἴδῃ ποτὲ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τὸν καλὸν καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν; [74] τίς ὦν εἵδῃς, ἀνδράποδον; [75] δοῦλος καὶ ταπεινός; καὶ τί σοι ὄφελος; — οὐ: ἀλλ' ἐλεύθερος. — δεῖξον, πῶς ἐλεύθερος. ἰδοὺ ἐπεὶ ληπταί σου τίς ποτε οὗτος ὁ ἐξάγων σε ἀπὸ τῆς συνήθους σοι

διατριβῆς καὶ λέγει· ‘δοῦλος ἐμὸς εἶ· ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστι κωλῦσαί σε διάγειν ὡς θέλεις, ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ τὸ ἀνεῖναι σε, τὸ ταπεινοῦν· ὅταν θέλω, πάλιν εὐφραίνῃ καὶ μετέωρος πορεύῃ εἰς Ἀθήνας.’ [76] τί λέγεις πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν δουλαγωγοῦντά σε; ποῖον αὐτῷ καρπιστὴν δίδως; ἢ οὐδ’ ὅλως ἀντιβλέπεις, ἀλλ’ ἀφείς τοὺς πολλοὺς λόγους ἱκετεύεις, ἵνα ἀφεθῇς; [77] ἄνθρωπε, εἰς φυλακὴν σε δεῖ χαίροντα ἀπιέναι, σπεύδοντα, φθάνοντα τοὺς ἀπάγοντας. εἰτά μοι σὺ μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διάγειν ὀκνεῖς, τὴν Ἑλλάδα ποθεῖς; ὅταν δ’ ἀποθνήσκῃς δέῃ, καὶ τότε μέλλεις ἡμῶν κατακλαίειν, ὅτι τὰς Ἀθήνας οὐ μέλλεις βλέπειν καὶ ἐν Λυκείῳ οὐ περιπατήσεις; [78] ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀπεδήμησας; τοῦτου ἔνεκα ἐζήτησάς τι συμβαλεῖν, ἵν’ ὠφεληθῇς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ; ποῖαν ὠφέλειαν; συλλογισμοὺς ἵν’ ἀναλύσης ἐκτικώτερον ἢ ἐφοδεύσης ὑποθετικούς; καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἀδελφὸν ἀπέλιπες, πατρίδα, φίλους, οἰκείους, ἵνα ταῦτα μαθὼν ἐπανεέλθῃς; ὥστ’ οὐχ ὑπὲρ εὐσταθείας ἀπεδήμεις, [79] οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀταραξίας, οὐχ ἵν’ ἀβλαβὴς γενόμενος μηκέτι μηδένα μέμῃ, μηδενὶ ἐγκαλῇς, μηδεὶς σε ἀδικῇ καὶ οὕτως τὰς σχέσεις ἀποσφύξης ἀπαραποδίστως; [80] καλὴν ἐστείλω ταύτην τὴν ἐμπορίαν, συλλογισμοὺς καὶ μεταπίπτοντας καὶ ὑποθετικούς; κἂν σοι φανῇ, ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καθίσας πρόγραψον ὡς οἱ φαρμακοπῶλαι. [81] οὐκ ἀρνήσῃ καὶ ὅσα ἔμαθες εἰδέναι, ἵνα μὴ διαβάλῃς τὰ θεωρήματα ὡς ἄχρηστα; τί σοι κακὸν ἐποίησεν φιλοσοφία; τί σε ἡδίκησε Χρύσιππος, ἵν’ αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόνους ἔργῳ αὐτὸς ἀχρήστους ἐξελέγχῃς; οὐκ ἦρκει σοι τὰ ἐκεῖ κακά, ὅσα εἶχες αἰτία τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ πενθεῖν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπεδήμησας, ἀλλὰ πλείω προσέλαβες; [82] κἂν ἄλλους πάλιν ἔχῃς συνήθεις καὶ φίλους, ἔξεις πλείονα τοῦ οἰμῶζεν αἰτία, κἂν πρὸς ἄλλην χώραν προσπαθῇς. τί οὖν ζῆς; ἵνα λύπας ἄλλας ἐπ’ ἄλλαις περιβάλῃ, δι’ ἃς ἀτυχεῖς; [83] εἰτά μοι καλεῖς τοῦτο φιλοστοργίαν; ποῖαν, ἄνθρωπε, φιλοστοργίαν; εἰ ἀγαθὸν ἐστίν, οὐδενὸς κακοῦ αἴτιον γίνεται· εἰ κακὸν ἐστίν, οὐδὲν μοι καὶ αὐτῇ ἐγὼ πρὸς τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ πέφυκα, πρὸς κακὰ οὐ πέφυκα.

[84] τίς οὖν ἡ πρὸς τοῦτο ἄσκησις; πρῶτον μὲν ἡ ἀνωτάτω καὶ κυριωτάτῃ καὶ εὐθύς ὥσπερ ἐν πύλαις, ὅταν τινὶ προσπάσχῃς, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀναφαιρέτων, ἀλλὰ τινὶ τοιοῦτῳ γένει, οἷόν ἐστι χύτρα, οἷον ὑάλινον ποτήριον, ἵν’ ὅταν καταγῇ, μεμνημένος μὴν μὴ παραχθῇς. [85] οὕτως καὶ ἐνθάδ’, ἐὰν παιδίον σαντοῦ καταφιλήῃς, ἐὰν ἀδελφόν, ἐὰν φίλον, μηδέποτε ἐπιδῶς τὴν φαντασίαν εἰς ἅπαν μὴδὲ τὴν διάχυσιν ἐάσης προελθεῖν ἐφ’ ὅσον αὐτὴ θέλει, ἀλλ’ ἀντίσπασον, κώλυσον, οἷον οἱ τοῖς θριαμβεύουσιν ἐφεστῶτες ὀπισθεν καὶ ὑπομιμνήσκοντες, ὅτι ἄνθρωποι εἰσιν. [86] τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ σὺ ὑπομίμησκε σεαυτόν, ὅτι θνητὸν φιλεῖς, οὐδὲν τῶν σεαυτοῦ φιλεῖς· ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος σοι δέδοται, οὐκ ἀναφαίρετον οὐδ’ εἰς ἅπαν, ἀλλ’ ὡς σῦκον, ὡς σταφυλὴ, τῇ τεταγμένη ὥρᾳ τοῦ ἔτους· ἂν δὲ χειμῶνος ἐπιποθῇς, μωρὸς εἶ. οὕτως κἂν τὸν υἱὸν ἢ τὸν φίλον τότε ποθῇς, [87] ὅτε οὐ δέδοταί σοι, ἴσθι, ὅτι χειμῶνος σῦκον ἐπιποθεῖς. οἷον γάρ ἐστι χειμῶν πρὸς σῦκον, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι πᾶσα ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ὅλων περίστασις πρὸς τὰ κατ’ αὐτὴν ἀναιρούμενα. καὶ λοιπὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαίρεις τινί, [88] τὰς ἐναντίας φαντασίας σαντῷ πρόσβαλε. τί κακὸν ἐστὶ μεταξὺ καταφιλοῦντα τὸ παιδίον ἐπιπελλίζοντα λέγειν ‘αὔριον ἀποθανῇ,’ τῷ φίλῳ ὡσαύτως ‘αὔριον ἀποδημήσεις ἢ σὺ ἢ ἐγὼ καὶ οὐκέτι ὁψόμεθα

ἀλλήλους;’ [89] — ἀλλὰ δύσφημά ἐστι ταῦτα. — καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐπασιδῶν ἐνίαι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ὠφελουσιν, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφομαι, μόνον ὠφελείτω. σὺ δὲ δύσφημα καλεῖς ἄλλα ἢ τὰ κακοῦ τινος σημαντικά; δύσφημόν ἐστι δειλία, [90] δύσφημον ἀγέννεια, πένθος, λύπη, ἀναισχυντία: ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα δύσφημά ἐστιν. καίτοι γε οὐδὲ ταῦτα ὀκνεῖν δεῖ φθέγγεσθαι ὑπὲρ φυλακῆς τῶν πραγμάτων. [91] δύσφημον δέ μοι λέγεις ὄνομα φυσικοῦ τινὸς πράγματος σημαντικόν; λέγε δύσφημον εἶναι καὶ τὸ θερισθῆναι τοὺς στάχυν: ἀπώλειαν γὰρ σημαίνει τῶν σταχύν: ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τοῦ κόσμου. λέγε δύσφημον καὶ τὸ φυλλορροεῖν καὶ τὸ ἰσχάδα γίνεσθαι ἀντὶ σύκου καὶ ἀσταφίδας ἐκ σταφυλῆς. [92] πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν προτέρων εἰσὶν εἰς ἕτερα μεταβολαί: οὐκ ἀπώλεια, ἀλλὰ τεταγμένη τις οἰκονομία καὶ διοίκησις. τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἀποδημία, καὶ μεταβολὴ μικρά: [93] τοῦτο θάνατος, μεταβολὴ μεζίων ἐκ τοῦ νῦν ὄντος οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ νῦν μὴ ὄν. [94] — οὐκέτι οὖν ἔσομαι; — οὐκ ἔσει: ἀλλ’ ἄλλο τι, οὗ νῦν ὁ κόσμος χρεῖαν ἔχει. καὶ γὰρ σὺ ἐγένου οὐχ ὅτε σὺ ἠθέλησας, ἀλλ’ ὅτε ὁ κόσμος χρεῖαν ἔσχεν.

[95] διὰ τοῦτο ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς μεμνημένος, τίς τ’ ἐστὶ καὶ πόθεν ἐλήλυθεν καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος γέγονεν, πρὸς μόνῳ τούτῳ ἐστίν, πῶς τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν ἐκπληρώσῃ εὐτάκτως καὶ εὐπειθῶς τῷ θεῷ. [96] ‘ἔτι μ’ εἶναι θέλεις; ὡς ἐλεύθερος, ὡς γενναῖος, ὡς σὺ ἠθέλησας: σὺ γὰρ με ἀκώλυτον ἐποίησας ἐν τοῖς ἔμοις. [97] ἀλλ’ οὐκέτι μου χρεῖαν ἔχεις; καλῶς σοι γένοιτο: καὶ μέχρι νῦν διὰ σέ ἔμμενον, δι’ ἄλλον οὐδένα, καὶ νῦν σοι πειθόμενος ἀπέρχομαι.’ [98] ‘πῶς ἀπέρχῃ;’ ‘πάλιν ὡς σὺ ἠθέλησας, ὡς ἐλεύθερος, ὡς ὑπηρέτης σός, ὡς ἡσθημένος σου τῶν προσταγμάτων καὶ ἀπαγορευμάτων. [99] μέχρι δ’ ἂν οὗ διατρίβω ἐν τοῖς σοῖς, τίνα με θέλεις εἶναι; ἄρχοντα ἢ ιδιώτην, βουλευτὴν ἢ δημότην, στρατιώτην ἢ στρατηγόν, † παιδευτὴν ἢ οἰκοδεσπότην; ἢν ἂν χώραν καὶ τάξιν ἐγχειρίσῃς, ὡς λέγει ὁ Σωκράτης, μυριάκις ἀποθανοῦμαι πρότερον ἢ ταύτην ἐγκαταλείψω. [100] ποῦ δέ μ’ εἶναι θέλεις; ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἢ ἐν Αθήναις ἢ ἐν Θήβαις ἢ ἐν Γυάραις; μόνον ἐκεῖ μου μέμνησο. [101] ἂν μ’ ἐκεῖ πέμπῃς, ὅπου κατὰ φύσιν διεξαγωγή οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων, οὐ σοὶ ἀπειθῶν ἔξεμι, ἀλλ’ ὡς σοῦ μοι σημαίνοντος τὸ ἀνακλητικόν: οὐκ ἀπολείπω σε: μὴ γένοιτο: ἀλλ’ αἰσθάνομαι, ὅτι μου χρεῖαν οὐκ ἔχεις. ἂν δὲ διδῶται κατὰ φύσιν διεξαγωγή, [102] οὐ ζητήσω ἄλλον τόπον ἢ ἐν ᾧ εἰμὶ ἢ ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἢ μεθ’ ὧν εἰμί.’

[103] ταῦτα νυκτός, ταῦτα ἡμέρας πρόχειρα ἔστω: ταῦτα γράφειν, ταῦτα ἀναγιγνώσκειν: περὶ τούτων τοὺς λόγους ποιεῖσθαι, αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτόν, πρὸς ἕτερον ‘μή τι ἔχεις μοι πρὸς τοῦτο βοηθῆσαι;’ καὶ πάλιν ἄλλῳ [104] προσελθεῖν καὶ ἄλλῳ. εἶτα ἂν τι γένηται τῶν λεγομένων ἀβουλήτων, εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον ἐπικουφίσει σε, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπροσδόκητον. [105] μέγα γὰρ ἐπὶ πάντων τὸ ‘ἦδεν θνητὸν γεγεννηκώς.’ οὕτως γὰρ ἐρεῖς καὶ ὅτι ‘ἦδεν θνητὸς ὢν,’ ‘ἦδεν ἀποδημητικὸς ὢν,’ ‘ἦδεν ἐκβλητὸς ὢν,’ [106] ‘ἦδεν εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπότακτος ὢν.’ εἴτ’ ἂν ἐπιστρέφῃς κατὰ σαυτὸν καὶ ζητήσῃς τὴν χώραν, ἐξ ἧς ἐστὶ τὸ συμβεβηκός, εὐθὺς ἀναμνησθήσῃ, ὅτι ‘ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων, τῶν οὐκ ἐμῶν: τί οὖν πρὸς σέμέ;’ εἶτα τὸ κυριώτατον [107] ‘τίς δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπιτέπομφεν;’ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἢ ὁ στρατηγός, ἢ πόλις, ὁ τῆς πόλεως νόμος. ‘δὸς οὖν αὐτό: δεῖ γὰρ με αἰεὶ τῷ νόμῳ πείθεσθαι ἐν παντί.’ [108] εἴθ’ ὅταν σε ἡ

φαντασία δάκηνη (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ σοί) , ἀναμάχου τῷ λόγῳ, καταγωνίζου αὐτήν, μὴ ἐάσης ἐνισχύειν μηδὲ προάγειν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἀναπλάσσουσιν ὅσα θέλει καὶ ὡς θέλει. [109] ἂν ἐν Γυάροις ἦς, μὴ ἀνάπλασσε τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατριβὴν καὶ ὅσαι διαχύσεις ἦσαν ἐκεῖ διάγοντι, ὅσαι γένοιεν· ἂν ἐπανελθόντι· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ τέτασο, ὅπως δεῖ τὸν ἐν Γυάροις διάγοντα, ἐν Γυάροις ἐρρωμένως διάγειν. κἂν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἦς, μὴ ἀνάπλασσε τὴν ἐν Ἀθήναις διατριβήν, ἀλλὰ περὶ μόνης τῆς ἐκεῖ μελέτα. [110]

εἴτ' ἀντὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν διαχύσεων ἐκείνην ἀντίσταντε, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρακολουθεῖν, ὅτι πείθη τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι οὐ λόγῳ, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ τὰ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἐκτελεῖς. [111] οἷον γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτὸν αὐτῷ δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν 'νῦν ἂ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς σεμνολογοῦσιν καὶ παραδοξολογεῖν δοκοῦσι, ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἐπιτελῶ: κἀκεῖνοι καθήμενοι τὰς ἐμὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξηγοῦνται καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ ζητοῦσιν καὶ ἐμὲ ὑμνοῦσιν: [112] καὶ τούτου με ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸν παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀποδείξιν ἠθέλησεν καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ γινῶναι, εἰ ἔχει στρατιώτην οἷον δεῖ, πολίτην οἷον δεῖ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις προάγειν με μάρτυρα τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων. ἴδετε, ὅτι εἰκὴ φοβεῖσθε, μάτην ἐπιθυμεῖτε ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖτε. τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἔξω μὴ ζητεῖτε, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ζητεῖτε: εἰ δὲ μή, οὐχ εὐρήσετε. [113] ἐπὶ τούτοις με νῦν μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἄγει, νῦν δ' ἐκεῖ πέμπει, πένητα δείκνυσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, δίχα ἀρχῆς, νοσοῦντα: εἰς Γύαρα ἀποστέλλει, εἰς δεσμοτήριον εἰσάγει. οὐ μισῶν: μὴ γένοιτο: τίς δὲ μισεῖ τὸν ἄριστον τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ; οὐδ' ἀμελῶν, ὅς γε οὐδὲ τῶν μικροτάτων τινὸς ἀμελεῖ, ἀλλὰ γυμνάζων καὶ μάρτυρι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους χρώμενος. [114] εἰς τοιαύτην ὑπηρεσίαν κατατεταγμένος ἔτι φροντίζω, ποῦ εἰμι ἢ μετὰ τίνων ἢ τί περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγουσιν; οὐχὶ δ' ὅλος πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τέταμαι καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου ἐντολὰς καὶ τὰ προστάγματα; [115]

ταῦτα ἔχων αἰεὶ ἐν χερσὶ καὶ τρίβων αὐτὸς παρὰ σαντῶ καὶ πρόχειρα ποιῶν οὐδέποτε δεήσει τοῦ παραμυθουμένου, τοῦ ἐπιρρωννύντος. [116] καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν οὐ τὸ φαγεῖν μὴ ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ λόγον μὴ ἔχειν ἀρκοῦντα πρὸς ἀφοβίαν, πρὸς ἀλυπίαν. [117] ἂν δ' ἅπαξ περιποιήσῃ τὸ ἄλυπον καὶ ἄφοβον, ἔτι σοι τύραννος ἔσται τις ἢ δορυφόρος ἢ Καισαριανοὶ ἢ ὀρδινάτιων δῆξεταί σε ἢ οἱ ἐπιθύοντες ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀπτικίοις τὸν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς εἰληφότα; [118] μόνον μὴ πόμπευε αὐτήν μηδ' ἀλαζονεύου ἐπ' αὐτῇ, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ δείκνυε: κἂν μηδεὶς αἰσθάνηται, ἀρκοῦ αὐτὸς ὑγιαίνων καὶ εὐδαιμονῶν.

πρὸς τοὺς ἀποπίπτοντας ὧν προέθεντο.

σκέψαι, ὧν προέθου ἀρχόμενος, τίνων μὲν ἐκράτησας, τίνων δ' οὐ, καὶ πῶς ἐφ' οἷς μὲν εὐφραίνει ἀναμνησκόμενος, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἄχθη, καὶ εἰ δυνατόν, ἀνάλαβε κἀκεῖνα ὧν ἀπώλισθες. [2] οὐ γὰρ ἀποκνητέον τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν μέγιστον ἀγωνιζομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πληγὰς ληπτέον: [3] οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ πάλης καὶ παγκρατίου ὁ ἀγὼν πρόκειται, οὗ καὶ τυχόντι καὶ μὴ τυχόντι ἕξεστιν μὲν πλείστου ἀξίῳ, ἕξεστι δὲ ὀλίγου εἶναι καὶ νῆ Δία ἕξεστιν μὲν εὐτυχεστάτῳ, ἕξεστι δὲ κακοδαιμονεστάτῳ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς εὐτυχίας καὶ εὐδαιμονίας. [4] τί οὖν; οὐδ' ἂν ἀπαυδήσωμεν ἐνταῦθα, κωλύει τις πάλιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι οὐδὲ δεῖ περιμεῖναι τετραετίαν ἄλλην, ἢν' ἔλθῃ ἄλλα Ὀλύμπια, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς

ἀναλαμβάνοντι καὶ ἀνακτῆσαμένῳ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν εἰσφέροντι προθυμίαν
ἔξεστιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι: κὰν πάλιν ἀπείπῃς, πάλιν ἔξεστιν, κὰν ἅπαξ νικήσῃς,
ὁμοιος εἶ τῷ μηδέποτε ἀπειπόντι. [5] μόνον μὴ ὑπὸ ἔθους τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡδέως
αὐτὸ ἄρξῃ ποιεῖν: καὶ λοιπὸν ὡς κακὸς ἀθλητὴς περιέρχῃ νικώμενος τὴν
περίοδον ὁμοιος τοῖς ἀποφυγοῦσιν ὄρτυξιν. [6] ‘ἦττά με φαντασία
παιδισκαρίου καλοῦ. τί γάρ; πρῶην οὐχ ἡττήθην;’ ‘προθυμία μοι γίνεται
ψέξαι τινά. πρῶην γὰρ οὐκ ἔψεξα;’ [7] οὕτως ἡμῖν λαλεῖς ὡς ἀζήμιος
ἐξεληλυθώς, οἰονεῖ τις τῷ ἱατρῷ κωλύοντι λούσασθαι λέγει ‘πρῶην γὰρ οὐκ
ἐλουσάμην;’ ἂν οὖν ὁ ἱατρὸς αὐτῷ ἔχῃ λέγειν ‘ἄγε, λουσάμενος οὖν τί
ἔπαθες; οὐκ ἐπύρεξας; [8] οὐκ ἐκεφαλάλγησας;’ καὶ σὺ ψέξας πρῶην τινὰ οὐ
κακοήθους ἔργον ἔπραξας; οὐ φλυᾶρου; οὐκ ἔθρεψάς σου τὴν ἑξιν ταύτην
παραβάλλων αὐτῇ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔργα; ἡττηθεὶς δὲ τοῦ παιδισκαρίου ἀπῆλθες
ἀζήμιος; τί οὖν τὰ πρῶην λέγεις; [9] ἔδει δ’ οἶμαι μεμνημένον, ὡς οἱ δοῦλοι
τῶν πληγῶν, ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν αὐτῶν ἁμαρτημάτων. [10] ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὅμοιον:
ἐνταῦθα μὲν γὰρ ὁ πόνος τὴν μνήμην ποιεῖ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ποῖος
πόνος, ποία ζημία; πότε γὰρ εἰθίσθης φεύγειν τὸ κακῶς ἐνεργῆσαι;

πρὸς τοὺς τὴν ἀπορίαν δεδοικότας.

οὐκ αἰσχρὸν δειλότερος ὢν καὶ ἀγεννέστερος τῶν δραπετῶν; πῶς ἐκεῖνοι
φεύγοντες ἀπολείπουσι τοὺς δεσπότας, ποίοις ἀγροῖς πεποιοῦντες, ποίοις
οἰκέταις; οὐχὶ δ’ ὀλίγον ὅσον πρὸς τὰς πρώτας ἡμέρας ὑφελόμενοι εἴθ’
ὑστερον διὰ γῆς ἢ καὶ θαλάττης φέρονται ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης ἀφορμὴν πρὸς τὸ
διατρέφεσθαι φιλοτεχνοῦντες; [2] καὶ τίς πώποτε δραπέτης λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν; σὺ
δὲ τρέμεις, μή σοι λείπῃ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖς. [3] ταλαίπωρε,
οὕτως τυφλὸς εἶ καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν οὐχ ὀρᾷς, ὅποι φέρεي ἢ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεια;
ποῦ γὰρ φέρει; ὅπου καὶ ὁ πυρετός, ὅπου καὶ λίθος ἐπιπεσὼν, εἰς θάνατον.
τοῦτον οὖν οὐ πολλάκις σὺ αὐτὸς εἶπες πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους, πολλὰ δ’ ἀνέγνως
τοιαῦτα, πολλὰ δ’ ἔγραφες; ποσάκις δ’ ἠλαζονεύσω, ὅτι πρὸς γε τὸ ἀποθανεῖν
μετρίως ἔχεις; [4] — ναί: ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ πεινήσουσιν. — τί οὖν; μή τι καὶ ὁ
ἐκείνων λιμὸς ἀλλαχού ποῦ φέρει; οὐχὶ καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ποῦ κάθοδος; [5] τὰ κάτω τὰ
αὐτά; οὐ θέλεις οὖν ἐκεῖ βλέπειν θαρρῶν πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀπορίαν καὶ ἐνδειαν,
ὅπου καὶ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς μεγίστας ἄρξαντας καὶ
αὐτοὺς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τυράννους δεῖ κατελθεῖν, καὶ σὲ πεινῶντα, ἂν οὕτως
τύχῃ, ἐκείνους δὲ διαρραγέντας ὑπὸ ἀπενσιῶν καὶ μέθης; [6] τίνα πώποτ’
ἐπαίτην ῥαδίως εἶδες μὴ γέροντα; τίνα δ’ οὐκ ἐσχατογήρων; ἀλλὰ ῥιγῶντες
τὰς νύκτας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ χαμαὶ ἐρριμμένοι καὶ ὅσον αὐτὸ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον
σιτοῦμενοι ἐγγὺς ἤκουσιν τῷ μηδ’ ἀποθανεῖν δύνασθαι, [7] σὺ δ’ ὀλόκληρος
ἄνθρωπος χειρας ἔχων καὶ πόδας περὶ λιμοῦ δέδοικας οὕτως; οὐκ ἀντλεῖν
δύνασθαι, οὐ γράφειν, οὐ παιδαγωγεῖν, οὐ θύραν ἀλλοτρίαν φυλάττειν; —
ἀλλ’ αἰσχρὸν εἰς ταύτην ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἀνάγκην. — μάθε οὖν πρῶτον, τίνα τὰ
αἰσχρά ἐστιν, καὶ οὕτως ἡμῖν λέγε σαυτὸν φιλόσοφον. τὸ νῦν δὲ μηδ’ ἂν
ἄλλος τις εἴπῃ σε, ἀνέχου.

[8] αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ σοὶ τὸ μὴ σὸν ἔργον, οὗ σὺ αἵτιος οὐκ εἶ, ὃ ἄλλως
ἀπῆντησέν σοι, ὡς κεφαλαλγία, ὡς πυρετός; εἴ σου οἱ γονεῖς πένητες ἦσαν ἢ
πλούσιοι μὲν ἦσαν, ἄλλους δὲ κληρονόμους ἀπέλιπον καὶ ζῶντες οὐκ

ἐπαρκοῦσιν οὐδέν, σοὶ ταῦτα αἰσχροῦ ἐστιν; [9] ταῦτα ἐμάνθανες παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις; οὐδέποτε ἤκουσας, ὅτι τὸ αἰσχρὸν ψεκτόν ἐστιν, τὸ δὲ ψεκτόν ἄξιόν ἐστι τοῦ ψέγεσθαι; † τίνα ἐπὶ τῇ μὴ αὐτοῦ ἔργῳ, ὃ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐποίησεν; [10] σὺ οὖν ἐποίησας τοῦτο, τὸν πατέρα τοιοῦτον; ἢ ἔξεστίν σοι ἐπανορθῶσαι αὐτόν; δίδοταί σοι τοῦτο; τί οὖν; δεῖ σε θέλιν τὰ μὴ διδόμενα ἢ μὴ τυγχάνοντα αὐτῶν αἰσχύνεσθαι; [11] οὕτως δὲ καὶ εἰθίζου φιλοσοφῶν ἀφορᾶν εἰς ἄλλους καὶ μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἐλπίζειν ἐκ σεαυτοῦ; [12] τοιγαροῦν οἴμῳζε καὶ στένε καὶ ἔσθιε δεδοικώς, μὴ οὐ σχῆς τροφὰς αὔριον: περὶ τῶν δουλαρίων τρέμε, μὴ κλέψῃ τι, μὴ φύγῃ, μὴ ἀποθάνῃ. [13] οὕτως σὺ ζῆθι καὶ μὴ παύσῃ μηδέποτε, ὅστις ὀνόματι μόνον πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν προσῆλθες καὶ τὰ θεωρήματα αὐτῆς ὅσον ἐπὶ σοὶ κατήσχυνας ἄχρηστα ἐπιδείξας καὶ ἀνωφελεῖ τοῖς ἀναλαμβάνουσιν: οὐδέποτε δ' εὐσταθείας ὠρέχθης, ἀταραξίας, ἀπαθείας: οὐδένα τούτου ἔνεκα ἐθεράπευσας, συλλογισμῶν δ' ἔνεκα πολλούς: οὐδέποτε τούτων τινὰ τῶν φαντασιῶν διεβασάνισας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ 'δύναμαι φέρειν ἢ οὐ δύναμαι; [14] τί μοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐστιν;,' ἄλλ' ὡς πάντων ἐχόντων **ΣΟΙ** καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς περὶ τὸν τελευταῖον κατεγίνου τόπον, τὸν τῆς ἀμεταπτωσίας, ἵν' ἀμετάπτωτα σχῆς τίνα; τὴν δειλίαν, τὴν ἀγέννειαν, τὸν θαυμασμὸν τῶν πλουσίων, τὴν ἀτελεῖ ὀρεξιν, τὴν † ἀποτευκτικὴν ἔκκλινιν: περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀσφαλείας ἐφρόντιζες.

[15] οὐκ ἔδει προσκτῆσασθαι πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ λόγου, εἴτα τούτῳ περιποιεῖν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν; καὶ τίνα πόποι· εἶδες τριγχὸν περιοικοδομοῦντα μηδενὶ † τειχίον περιβαλλόμενον αὐτὸ αὐτοῦ; ποῖος δὲ θυρωρὸς καθίσταται ἐπὶ οὐδεμιᾷ θύρᾳ; [16] ἀλλὰ σὺ μελετᾷς ἀποδεικνύειν δύνασθαι: τίνα; μελετᾷς μὴ ἀποσαλεύεσθαι διὰ σοφισμάτων: ἀπὸ τίνων; [17] δεῖξόν μοι πρῶτον, τί τηρεῖς, τί μετρεῖς ἢ τί ιστάνεις: εἴθ' οὕτως ἐπιδείκνυε τὸν ζυγὸν ἢ τὸν μέδιμνον. [18] ἢ μέχρι τίνος μετρήσεις τὴν σποδόν; οὐ ταῦτά σε ἀποδεικνύειν δεῖ, ἃ ποιεῖ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὐδαίμονας, ἃ ποιεῖ προχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα ὡς θέλουσιν, δι' ἃ οὐ δεῖ μέμφεσθαι οὐδενί, ἐγκαλεῖν οὐδενί, πείθεσθαι τῇ διοικήσει τῶν ὅλων; ταῦτά μοι δείκνυε. [19] 'ἰδοὺ δείκνυω,' φησίν, 'ἀναλύσω σοι συλλογισμούς.' τοῦτο τὸ μετροῦν ἐστιν, ἀνδράποδον: τὸ μετρούμενον δ' οὐκ ἔστιν. [20] διὰ ταῦτα νῦν τίνεις δίκας ὧν ἡμέλησας φιλοσοφίας: τρέμεις, ἀγρυπνεῖς, μετὰ πάντων βουλευῇ: κἂν μὴ πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν μέλλῃ τὰ βουλευόμενα, κακῶς οἶε βεβουλευθῆναι.

[21] εἴτα φοβῇ λιμόν, ὡς δοκεῖς. σὺ δ' οὐ λιμόν φοβῇ, ἀλλὰ δέδοικας μὴ οὐ σχῆς μάγειρον, μὴ οὐ σχῆς ἄλλον ὀψωνητήν, ἄλλον τὸν ὑποδήσοντα, ἄλλον τὸν ἐνδύσοντα, ἄλλους τοὺς τρίψοντας, ἄλλους τοὺς ἀκολουθήσοντας, [22] ἵν' ἐν τῷ βαλανεῖφ ἐκδυσάμενος καὶ ἐκτείνας σεαυτὸν ὡς οἱ ἐσταυρωμένοι τρίβῃ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, εἴθ' ὁ ἀλείπτῃς ἐπιστὰς λέγῃ 'μετάβηθι, δὸς πλευρόν, κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ λάβε, παράθες τὸν ὦμον,' εἴτ' ἐλθὼν ἐκ τοῦ βαλανείου εἰς οἶκον κραυγάζῃς 'οὐδεὶς φέρει φαγεῖν;,' [23] , εἴτ' 'ἄρον τὰς τραπέζας,' 'σπόγγισον.' τοῦτο φοβῇ, μὴ οὐ δύνῃ ζῆν ἀρρώστου βίον, ἐπεὶ τοι τὸν τῶν ὑγιαίνοντων μάθε, πῶς οἱ δοῦλοι ζῶσιν, πῶς οἱ ἐργάται, πῶς οἱ γνησίως φιλοσοφοῦντες, πῶς Σωκράτης ἐξῆσεν, ἐκεῖνος μὲν καὶ μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ παίδων, πῶς Διογένης, πῶς Κλεάνθης ἅμα σχολάζων καὶ ἀντλῶν. [24] ταῦτα ἂν

θέλῃς ἔχειν, ἕξεις πανταχοῦ καὶ ζήσεις θαρρῶν. τίνι; ᾧ μόνῳ θαρρεῖν ἐνδέχεται, τῷ πιστῷ, τῷ ἀκωλύτῳ, τῷ ἀναφαιρέτῳ, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῇ προαιρέσει τῇ σεαυτοῦ. [25] διὰ τί δ' οὕτως ἄχρηστον καὶ ἀνωφελεῖ σαυτὸν παρεσκεύακας, ἵνα μηδεὶς σε εἰς οἰκίαν θέλῃ δεῦξασθαι, μηδεὶς ἐπιμεληθῆναι; ἀλλὰ σκευὸς μὲν ὀλόκληρον καὶ χρήσιμον ἔξω ἐρριμμένον πᾶς τις εὐρὼν ἀναιρήσεται καὶ κέρδος ἡγήσεται, σὲ δ' οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ πᾶς ζημίαν. [26] οὕτως οὐδὲ κυνὸς δύνασαι χρεῖαν παρασχεῖν οὐδ' ἀλεκτρυόνος. τί οὖν ἔτι ζῆν θέλεις τοιοῦτος ὢν;

[27] φοβεῖται τις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, μὴ λείπωσιν αὐτῷ τροφαί; τοῖς τυφλοῖς οὐ λείπουσι, τοῖς χωλοῖς οὐ λείπουσι: λείψουσιν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ; καὶ στρατιώτῃ μὲν ἀγαθῷ οὐ λείπει ὁ μισθοδοτῶν οὐδ' ἐργάτῃ οὐδὲ σκυτεῖ: τῷ δ' ἀγαθῷ λείψει; [28] οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ἀμελεῖ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτευγμάτων, τῶν διακόνων, τῶν μαρτύρων, οἷς μόνοις χρῆται παραδείγμασιν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους, ὅτι καὶ ἔστι καλῶς διοικεῖ τὰ ὅλα καὶ οὐκ ἀμελεῖ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων καὶ ὅτι ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ οὐδέν ἐστι κακὸν οὔτε ζῶντι οὔτ' ἀποθανόντι; [29] — τί οὖν, ὅταν μὴ παρέχῃ τροφάς; — τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ ὡς ἀγαθὸς στρατηγὸς τὸ ἀνακλητικόν μοι σεσήμαγκεν; πείθομαι, ἀκολουθῶ, ἐπευφημῶν τὸν ἡγεμόνα, ὑμῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα. [30] καὶ γὰρ ἦλθον, ὅτ' ἐκείνῳ ἔδοξεν, καὶ ἅπειμι πάλιν ἐκείνῳ δοκοῦν καὶ ζῶντός μου τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἦν, ὑμνεῖν τὸν θεὸν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἓνα καὶ πρὸς πολλούς. [31] οὐ παρέχει μοι πολλά, οὐκ ἄφθονα, τρυφᾷ με οὐ θέλει οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ παρεῖχεν, τῷ υἱεῖ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἄλλος ἐβασίλευεν Ἄργους καὶ Μυκηνῶν, ὁ δ' ἐπετάσσετο καὶ ἐπόνει καὶ ἐγυμνάζετο. [32] καὶ ἦν Εὐρυσθεὺς μὲν, ὃς ἦν, οὔτε Ἄργους οὔτε Μυκηνῶν βασιλεύς, ὃς γ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ δ' Ἡρακλῆς ἀπάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχων καὶ ἡγεμὼν ἦν, καθαρτῆς ἀδικίας καὶ ἀνομίας, εἰσαγωγεὺς δὲ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ὁσιότητος: καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίει καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ μόνος. [33] ὁ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὅτε ναυαγὸς ἐξερρίφη, μὴ τι ἐταπεινώσεν αὐτὸν ἢ ἀπορία, μὴ τι ἐπέκλασεν; ἀλλὰ πῶς ἀπήγει πρὸς τὰς παρθένους αἰτήσων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, ὢν αἰσχιστον εἶναι δοκεῖ δεῖσθαι παρ' ἄλλου; ὥς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος. τίνι πεποιθώς; [34] οὐ δόξῃ οὐδὲ χρήμασιν οὐδ' ἀρχαῖς, ἀλλ' ἀλκῇ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ, τοῦτ' ἔστι δόγμασι περὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. [35] ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶ μόνα τὰ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ποιοῦντα, τὰ τοὺς ἀκωλύτους, τὰ τὸν τράχηλον ἐπαίροντα τῶν τεταπεινομένων, τὰ ἀντιβλέπειν ποιοῦντα ὀρθοῖς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους, πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους. [36] καὶ τὸ τοῦ φιλοσόφου δῶρον τοῦτο ἦν, σὺ δ' οὐκ ἐξελεύσῃ θαρρῶν, ἀλλὰ περιτρέμων τοῖς ἱματιδίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀργυρωματίοις; δύστηνε, οὕτως ἀπώλεσας τὸν μέχρι νῦν χρόνον;

τί οὖν, ἂν νοσήσω; [37] — νοσήσεις καλῶς. — τίς με θεραπεύσει; — ὁ θεός, οἱ φίλοι. — σκληρῶς κατακεῖσομαι. — ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνὴρ. — οἴκημα ἐπιτήδειον οὐχ ἔξω. — ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖῳ οὐ νοσήσεις; — τίς μοι ποιήσει τὰ τροφεῖα; — οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιοῦντες: ὡς Μάνης νοσήσεις. — τί δὲ καὶ τὸ πέρας τῆς νόσου; [38] — ἄλλο τι ἢ θάνατος; ἄρ' οὖν ἐνθυμῇ, ὅτι κεφάλαιον τοῦτο πάντων τῶν κακῶν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἀγεννεΐας καὶ δειλίας οὐ θάνατός ἐστιν, μᾶλλον δ' ὁ τοῦ θανάτου φόβος; [39] ἐπὶ τοῦτον οὖν μοι γυμνάζου, ἐνταῦθα νευέτωσαν οἱ λόγοι πάντες, τὰ ἀσκήματα, τὰ ἀναγνώσματα, καὶ εἴσῃ, ὅτι οὕτως μόνως

ἐλευθεροῦνται ἄνθρωποι.

BOOK IV.

περι ἐλευθερίας.

ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν ὁ ζῶν ὡς βούλεται, ὃν οὐτ' ἀναγκάσαι ἔστιν οὔτε κωλύσαι οὔτε βιάσασθαι, οὗ αἱ ὁρμαὶ ἀνεμπόδιστοι, αἱ ὀρέξεις ἐπιτευκτικαί, αἱ ἐκκλίσεις ἀπερίπτωτοι. [2] τίς οὖν θέλει ζῆν ἁμαρτάνων; — οὐδεὶς. — τίς θέλει ζῆν ἐξαπατώμενος, προπίπτων, ἄδικος ὢν, ἀκόλαστος, μεμψίμοιρος, ταπεινός; [3] — οὐδεὶς. — οὐδεὶς ἄρα τῶν φαύλων ζῆν ὡς βούλεται: οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ' ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν. [4] τίς δὲ θέλει λυπούμενος ζῆν, φοβούμενος, φθονῶν, ἐλεῶν, ὀρεγόμενος καὶ ἀποτυγχάνων, ἐκκλίνων καὶ περιπίπτων; [5] — οὐδὲ εἷς. — ἔχομεν οὖν τινα τῶν φαύλων ἄλυπον, ἄφοβον, ἀπερίπτωτον, ἀναπότευκτον; — οὐδένα. — οὐκ ἄρα οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερον.

[6] ταῦτα ἂν τις ἀκούσῃ δυσύπατος, ἂν μὲν προσθῇς ὅτι 'ἀλλὰ σύ γε σοφός εἶ, οὐδὲν πρὸς σέ ταῦτα,' συγγνώσεται σοι. [7] ἂν δ' αὐτῷ τὰς ἀληθείας εἴπῃς ὅτι 'τῶν τρις πεπραμένων οὐδὲν διαφέρεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς δοῦλος εἶναι,' τί ἄλλο ἢ πληγὰς σε δεῖ προσδοκᾶν; [8] 'πῶς γάρ,' φησίν, 'ἐγὼ δοῦλός εἰμι; ὁ πατὴρ ἐλεύθερος, ἡ μήτηρ ἐλευθέρα, οὗ ὦνὴν οὐδεὶς ἔχει: ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκλητικός εἰμι καὶ Καίσαρος φίλος καὶ ὑπάτευκα καὶ δούλους πολλοὺς ἔχω.' [9] πρῶτον μὲν, ὧ βέλτιστε συγκλητικέ, τάχα σου καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τὴν αὐτὴν δουλείαν δοῦλος ἦν καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ὁ πάππος καὶ ἐφεξῆς πάντες οἱ πρόγονοι. [10] εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι, τί τοῦτο πρὸς σέ; τί γάρ, εἰ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γενναῖοι ἦσαν, σὺ δ' ἄγεννης; ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἄφοβοι, σὺ δὲ δειλός; ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐγκρατεῖς, σὺ δ' ἀκόλαστος;

καὶ τί, φησί, τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ δοῦλον εἶναι; [11] — οὐδέν σοι φαίνεται εἶναι τὸ ἄκοντά τι ποιεῖν, τὸ ἀναγκαζόμενον, τὸ στένοντα πρὸς τὸ δοῦλον εἶναι; [12] — τοῦτο μὲν ἔστω, φησίν. ἀλλὰ τίς με δύναται ἀναγκάσαι, εἰ μὴ ὁ πάντων κύριος Καῖσαρ; [13] — οὐκοῦν ἓνα μὲν δεσπότην σαυτοῦ καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς ὠμολόγησας. ὅτι δὲ πάντων, ὡς λέγεις, κοινός ἐστιν, μηδέν σε τοῦτο παραμυθείσθω, ἀλλὰ γίνωσκε, ὅτι ἐκ μεγάλης οἰκίας δοῦλος εἶ. [14] οὕτως καὶ Νικοπολίται ἐπιβοᾶν εἰώθασι 'νὴ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ἐλεύθεροί ἐσμεν.'

[15] ὅμως δ', ἐάν σοι δοκῇ, τὸν μὲν Καίσαρα πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀφῶμεν, ἐκεῖνο δέ μοι εἰπέ: οὐδέποτ' ἠράσθης τινός; οὐ παιδισκαρίου, οὐ παιδαρίου, οὐ δούλου, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου; [16] — τί οὖν τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ δοῦλον εἶναι ἢ ἐλευθερον; [17] — οὐδέποθ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρωμένης ἐπετάγῃς οὐδὲν ὧν οὐκ ἠθέλες; οὐδέποτε σου τὸ δουλάριον ἐκολάκευσας; οὐδέποτ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας κατεφίλησας; καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος ἂν σέ τις ἀναγκάσῃ, ὕβριν αὐτὸ ἡγῇ καὶ ὑπερβολὴν τυραννίδος. [18] τί οὖν ἄλλο ἐστὶ δουλεία; νυκτὸς οὐδέποτ' ἀπῆλθες, ὅπου οὐκ ἠθέλες; ἀνάλωσας, ὅσα οὐκ ἠθέλες; εἰπὰς τινα οἰμῶζων καὶ στένων, ἠνέσχου λοιδορούμενος, ἀποκλειόμενος; [19] ἀλλ' εἰ σὺ αἰσχύνῃ τὰ σαυτοῦ ὁμολογεῖν, ὅρα ἃ λέγει καὶ ποιεῖ ὁ Θρασωνίδης, ὃς τοσαῦτα στρατευσάμενος, ὅσα τάχα οὐδὲ σύ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐξεγίλνυθε νυκτός, ὅτε ὁ Γέτας οὐ τολμᾷ ἐξελθεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰ προσηναγκάζετο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πόλλ' ἂν ἐπικραυγᾶσας καὶ τὴν πικρὰν

δουλείαν ἀπολοφυράμενος ἐξῆλθεν. [20] εἶτα, τί λέγει;

παιδισκάριον με,

φησίν,

καταδεδούλωκ' εὐτελής,

ὄν οὐδὲ εἷς τῶν πολεμίων οὐπόποτε.

τάλας, [21] ὅς γε καὶ παιδισκαρίου δοῦλος εἶ καὶ παιδισκαρίου εὐτελοῦς. τί οὖν ἐτι σαυτὸν ἐλεύθερον λέγεις; τί δὲ προφέρεις σου τὰς στρατε [22] ίας; εἶτα ξίφος αἰτεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὑπ' εὐνοίας μὴ διδόντα χαλεπαίνειν καὶ δῶρα τῇ μισούσῃ πέμπει καὶ δεῖται καὶ κλαίει, πάλιν δὲ μικρὰ εὐημερήσας ἐπαίρεται: πλὴν καὶ τότε πῶς; [23] † μὴδ' ἐπιθυμεῖν ἢ φοβεῖσθαι οὗτ' ἐλευθερίαν †.

[24] σκέψαι δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ζώων, πῶς χρώμεθα τῇ ἐννοίᾳ τῆς ἐλευθερίας. [25] λέοντας τρέφουσιν ἡμέρους ἐγκλείσαντες καὶ σιτίζουσι καὶ κομίζουν ἐνιοι μεθ' αὐτῶν. καὶ τίς ἐρεῖ τοῦτον τὸν λέοντα ἐλεύθερον; οὐχὶ δ' ὅσῳ μαλακώτερον διεξάγει, τοσοῦτῳ δουλικώτερον; τίς δ' ἂν λέων αἰσθῇσιν καὶ λογισμὸν λαβὼν βούλοιτο τούτων τις εἶναι τῶν λεόντων; [26] ἄγε, τὰ δὲ πτηνὰ ταῦτα ὅταν ληφθῇ καὶ ἐγκεκλειμένα τρέφηται, οἷα πάσχει ζητοῦντα ἐκφυγεῖν; καὶ ἐνία γε αὐτῶν λιμῷ διαφθείρεται μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπομένει τὴν τοιαύτην διεξαγωγήν, [27] ὅσα δ' οὖν διασφύζεται, μόγις καὶ χαλεπῶς καὶ φθίνοντα, κἂν ὅλως εὖρη τι παρεωγμένον, ἐξεπήδησεν. οὕτως ὀρέγεται τῆς φυσικῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῦ αὐτόνομα καὶ ἀκώλυτα εἶναι. [28] καὶ τί σοι κακὸν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα; 'οἷα λέγεις; πέτεσθαι πέφυκα ὅπου θέλω, ὑπαιθρον διάγειν, ἄδειν ὅταν θέλω: σὺ με πάντων τούτων ἀφαιρῇ καὶ λέγεις 'τί σοι κακὸν ἐστίν;' [29] διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνα μόνα ἐροῦμεν ἐλεύθερα, ὅσα τὴν ἄλῳσιν οὐ φέρει, ἀλλ' ἅμα τε ἐάλω καὶ ἀποθανόντα διέφυγεν. [30] οὕτως καὶ Διογένης που λέγει μίαν εἶναι μηχανὴν πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν τὸ εὐκόλως ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ γράφει ὅτι 'τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν καταδουλώσασθαι οὐ δύνασαι: οὐ μᾶλλον,' φησίν, 'ἢ τοὺς ἰχθύας.' [31] 'πῶς; οὐ γὰρ λήψομαι αὐτούς;' 'ἂν λάβῃς,' φησίν, 'εὐθὺς ἀπολιπόντες σε οἰχίσονται, καθάπερ οἱ ἰχθύες.' καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὄν ἂν λάβῃς, ἀπέθανεν: καὶ οὗτοι ληφθέντες ἐὰν ἀποθνήσκωσιν, τί σοί ἐστι τῆς παρασκευῆς ὄφελος; [32] τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρου ἀνδρὸς φωνὴ σπουδῇ ἐξητακότος τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὥσπερ εἰκὸς εὐρηκότος. ἂν δ' ἄλλαχοῦ ζητῇς ἢ ὅπου ἐστίν, τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ οὐδέποτε αὐτὸ εὐρίσκεις;

[33] ὁ δοῦλος εὐθὺς εὐχεται ἀφεθῆναι ἐλεύθερος, διὰ τί; δοκεῖτε, ὅτι τοῖς εἰκοστώναις ἐπιθυμεῖ δοῦναι ἀργύριον; οὐ: ἀλλ' ὅτι φαντάζεται μέχρι νῦν διὰ τὸ μὴ τετυχηκέναι τούτου ἐμποδιζέσθαι καὶ δυσροεῖν. [34] 'ἂν ἀφεθῶ,' φησίν, 'εὐθὺς πᾶσα εὐροία, οὐδενὸς ἐπιστρέφομαι, πᾶσιν ὡς ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος λαλῶ, πορεύομαι ὅπου θέλω, ἔρχομαι ὅθεν θέλω καὶ ὅπου θέλω.' [35] εἶτα ἀπηλευθέρωται καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν οὐκ ἔχων, ποῖ φάγη, ζητεῖ, τίνα κολακεύσῃ, παρὰ τίνι δειπνήσῃ: εἶτα ἡ ἐργάζεται τῷ σώματι καὶ πάσχει τὰ δεινότατα κἂν σχῇ τίνα φάνην, ἐμπέπτωκεν εἰς δουλείαν πολὺ τῆς προτέρας χαλεπῶ [36] τέραν ἢ καὶ εὐπορήσας ἄνθρωπος ἀπειρόκαλος πεφίληκε παιδισκάριον καὶ δυστυχῶν ἀνακλαίεται καὶ τὴν δουλείαν ποθεῖ. [37] 'τί γάρ μοι κακὸν ἦν; ἄλλος μ' ἐνέδυνεν, ἄλλος μ' ὑπέδει, ἄλλος ἔτρεφεν, ἄλλος ἐνοσοκόμει, ὀλίγα αὐτῷ ὑπῆρέτουν. νῦν δὲ τάλας οἷα πάσχω πλείοσι δουλεύων ἀνθ' ἐνός; [38] ὅμως δ'

ἐὰν δακτυλίους, φησίν, ἄλβω, τότε γ' εὐρουστάτα διάξω καὶ εὐδαιμονέστατα.' πρῶτον μὲν ἵνα λάβῃ, πάσχει ὧν ἐστὶν ἄξιος· εἶτα λαβὼν πάλιν ταυτά. [39] εἶτά φησιν 'ἂν μὲν στρατεύσωμαι, ἀπηλλάγην πάντων τῶν κακῶν.' στρατεύεται, πάσχει ὅσα μαστιγίας καὶ οὐδὲν ἥττον δευτέραν αἰτεῖ στρατείαν καὶ τρίτην. [40] εἴθ' ὅταν αὐτὸν τὸν κολοφῶνα ἐπιθῇ καὶ γένηται συγκλητικός, τότε γίνεται δοῦλος εἰς σύλλογον ἐρχόμενος, τότε τὴν καλλίστην καὶ λιπαρωτάτην δουλείαν δουλεύει.

[41] ἵνα μὴ μωρὸς ᾖ, ἀλλ' ἵνα μάθῃ, ἃ ἔλεγεν ὁ Σωκράτης, τί ἐστὶ τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον, καὶ μὴ εἰκῇ τὰς προλήψεις ἐφαρμοζῇ ταῖς ἐπὶ μέρους οὐσίαις. [42] τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ αἴτιον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πάντων τῶν κακῶν, τὸ τὰς προλήψεις τὰς κοινὰς μὴ δύνασθαι ἐφαρμοζεῖν. τοῖς ἐπὶ μέρους. [43] ἡμεῖς δ' ἄλλοι ἄλλο οἰόμεθα. ὁ μὲν ὅτι νοσεῖ. οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰς προλήψεις οὐκ ἐφαρμόζει. ὁ δ' ὅτι πτωχὸς ἐστίν, ὁ δ' ὅτι πατέρα χυλεπὸν ἔχει ἢ μητέρα, τῷ δ' ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐχ ἰλεῶς ἐστίν. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἐν καὶ μόνον τὸ τὰς προλήψεις ἐφαρμόζειν μὴ εἰδέναι. [44] ἐπεὶ τίς οὐκ ἔχει κακοῦ πρόληψιν, ὅτι βλαβερὸν ἐστίν, ὅτι φευκτόν ἐστίν, ὅτι παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀποικονόμητόν ἐστιν; πρόληψις προλήψει οὐ μάχεται, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐφαρμόζειν. [45] τί οὖν τὸ κακὸν ἐστὶ τοῦτο καὶ βλαβερὸν καὶ φευκτόν; λέγει τὸ Καίσαρος μὴ εἶναι φίλον: ἀπῆλθεν, ἀπέσπεσεν τῆς ἐφαρμογῆς, θλίβεται, ζητεῖ τὰ μὴδὲν πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον: ὅτι τυχὼν τοῦ φίλος εἶναι Καίσαρος οὐδὲν ἥττον τοῦ ζητουμένου οὐ τέτευχεν. [46] τί γάρ ἐστίν, ὃ ζητεῖ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος; εὐσταθῆσαι, εὐδαιμονῆσαι, πάντα ὡς θέλει ποιεῖν, μὴ κωλύεσθαι, μὴ ἀναγκάζεσθαι. ὅταν οὖν γένηται Καίσαρος φίλος, πέπνυται κωλυόμενος, πέπνυται ἀναγκαζόμενος, εὐσταθεῖ, εὐροεῖ; τίνας πυθώμεθα; τίνα ἔχομεν ἀξιοπιστότερον ἢ αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν γεγονότα φίλον; [47] ἔλθῃ εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ εἰπὲ ἡμῖν, πότε ἀταραχώτερον ἐκάθευδες, νῦν ἢ πρὶν γενέσθαι φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος; εὐθὺς ἀκούεις ὅτι 'παῦσαι, τοὺς θεοὺς σοι, ἐμπαίζων μου τῇ τύχῃ: οὐκ οἶδας, οἷα πάσχω τάλας: οὐδ' ὕπνος ἐπέρχεται μοι, ἀλλ' ἄλλος ἐλθὼν λέγει, ὅτι ἦδη ἐγρηγορεῖ, ἦδη πρόεισιν: εἶτα ταραχαί, εἶτα φροντίδες.' [48] ἄγε, ἐδείπνεις δὲ πότε εὐαρεστότερον, νῦν ἢ πρότερον; ἄκουσον αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τούτων τί λέγει: ὅτι, ἂν μὲν μὴ κληθῇ, ὀδυνᾶται, ἂν δὲ κληθῇ, ὡς δοῦλος παρὰ κυρίῳ δεῖπνεῖ μεταξὺ προσέχων, μὴ τι μωρὸν εἶπῃ ἢ ποιήσῃ. καὶ τί δοκεῖς φοβεῖται; μὴ μαστιγωθῇ ὡς δοῦλος; πόθεν αὐτῷ οὕτως καλῶς; ἀλλ' ὡς πρέπει τηλικούτον ἄνδρα, Καίσαρος φίλον, μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν τράχηλον. [49] ἐλοῦου δὲ πότ' ἀταραχώτερον; ἐγυμνάζου δὲ πότε σχολαίτερον; τὸ σύνολον ποῖον μᾶλλον ἠθελες βίον βιοῦν, τὸν νῦν ἢ τὸν τότε; [50] ὁμόσαι δύναμαι, ὅτι οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀναίσθητος ἢ ἀναλήθης, μὴ ἀποδύρασθαι τὰς αὐτοῦ συμφοράς, ὅσῳ ἂν ᾖ φίλος. [51]

ὅταν οὖν μήτε οἱ βασιλεῖς λεγόμενοι ζῶσιν ὡς θέλουσι μὴθ' οἱ φίλοι τῶν βασιλέων, τίνες ἔτι εἰσὶν ἐλεύθεροι; — ζητεῖ καὶ εὐρήσεις. ἔχεις γὰρ ἀφορμὰς παρὰ τῆς φύσεως πρὸς εὕρεσιν τῆς ἀληθείας. εἰ δ' αὐτὸς οὐχ οἷός τε εἶ κατὰ ταύτας ψιλὰς πορευόμενος εὐρεῖν τὸ ἐξῆς, ἄκουσον παρὰ τῶν ἐξηγηκῶν. [52] τί λέγουσιν; ἀγαθὸν σοι δοκεῖ ἢ ἐλευθερία; — τὸ μέγιστον. — δύναται οὖν τις τοῦ μεγίστου ἀγαθοῦ τυγχάνων κακοδαιμονεῖν ἢ κακῶς πράσσειν; — οὐ. —

ὄσους οὖν ἂν ἴδῃς κακοδαίμονοῦντας, δυστροποῦντας, πενθοῦντας, ἀποφαίνοιν
θαρρῶν μὴ εἶναι ἐλευθέρους. — ἀποφαίνομαι. [53] — οὐκοῦν ἀπὸ μὲν ὧν ἡς
καὶ πράσεως καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐν κτήσει κατατάξεως ἤδη ἀποκεχωρήκαμεν. εἰ
γὰρ ὀρθῶς ὡμολόγησας ταῦτα, ἂν τε μέγας βασιλεὺς κακοδαίμονῃ, οὐκ ἂν
ἐλεύθερος, ἂν τε μικρὸς ἂν θ' ὑπατικός ἂν τε δισύπατος. — ἔστω.

[54] ἔτι οὖν ἀποκρίναι μοι κάκεῖνο· δοκεῖ σοι μέγα τι εἶναι καὶ γενναῖον ἡ
ἐλευθερία καὶ ἀξιόλογον; — πῶς γὰρ οὐ; — ἔστιν οὖν τυγχάνοντά τινος
οὕτως μεγάλου καὶ ἀξιολόγου καὶ γενναίου ταπεινὸν εἶναι; — οὐκ ἔστιν. [55]
— ὅταν οὖν ἴδῃς τινὰ ὑποπεπτωκότα ἐτέρῳ ἢ κολακεύοντα παρὰ τὸ
φαινόμενον αὐτῷ, λέγε καὶ τοῦτον θαρρῶν μὴ εἶναι ἐλεύθερον· καὶ μὴ μόνον,
ἂν δειπναρίου ἔνεκα αὐτὸ ποιῇ, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἐπαρχίας ἔνεκα κἂν ὑπατείας. ἀλλ'
ἐκείνους μὲν μικροδούλους λέγε τοὺς μικρῶν τινων ἔνεκα ταῦτα ποιοῦντας,
τούτους δ', ὡς εἰσὶν ἄξιοι, μεγαλοδούλους. [56] — ἔστω καὶ ταῦτα. — δοκεῖ δέ
σοι ἡ ἐλευθερία αὐτεξούσιόν τι εἶναι καὶ αὐτόνομον; — πῶς γὰρ οὐ; —
ὄντινα οὖν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ κωλύσαι ἔστι καὶ ἀναγκάσαι, θαρρῶν λέγε μὴ εἶναι
ἐλεύθερον. [57] καὶ μή μοι πάμπους αὐτοῦ καὶ προπάμπους βλέπε καὶ ὦν ἡν
ζήτει καὶ πρᾶσιν, ἀλλ' ἂν ἀκούσης λέγοντος ἔσωθεν καὶ ἐκ πάθους 'κύριε,'
κἂν δώδεκα ῥάβδοι προάγωσιν, λέγε δοῦλον· κἂν ἀκούσης λέγοντος 'τάλας
ἐγώ, οἷα πάσχω,' λέγε δοῦλον· ἂν ἀπλῶς ἀποκλαιόμενον ἴδῃς, μεμφόμενον,
δυστροποῦντα, λέγε δοῦλον περιπόρφυρον ἔχοντα. [58] ἂν οὖν μηδὲν τούτων
ποιῇ, μήπω εἴπῃς ἐλεύθερον, ἀλλὰ τὰ δόγματα αὐτοῦ κατάμαθε, μή τι
ἀναγκαστά, μή τι κωλυτικά, μή τι δυσροητικά· κἂν εὗρης τοιοῦτον, λέγε
δοῦλον ἀνοχὰς ἔχοντα ἐν Σατουρναλίοις· λέγε, ὅτι ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ ἀποδημεῖ·
εἴθ' ἤξει καὶ γνώσῃ οἷα πάσχει. [59] — τίς ἤξει; — πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐξουσίαν ἔχῃ τῶν
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τινος θελομένων πρὸς τὸ περιποιῆσαι ταῦτα ἢ ἀφελῆσθαι. — οὕτως
οὖν πολλοὺς κυρίους ἔχομεν; — οὕτως. τὰ γὰρ πράγματα προτέρους τούτων
κυρίους ἔχομεν· ἐκεῖνα δὲ πολλὰ ἔστιν. διὰ ταῦτα ἀνάγκη καὶ τοὺς τούτων
τινὸς ἔχοντας ἐξουσίαν κυρίους εἶναι· [60] ἐπεὶ τοι οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν τὸν Καίσαρα
φοβεῖται, ἀλλὰ θάνατον, φυγὴν, ἀφαίρεσιν τῶν ὄντων, φυλακὴν, ἀτιμίαν.
οὐδὲ φιλεῖ τις τὸν Καίσαρα, ἂν μὴ τι ἢ πολλοῦ ἄξιος, ἀλλὰ πλοῦτον φιλοῦμεν,
δημαρχίαν, στρατηγίαν, ὑπατείαν. ὅταν ταῦτα φιλῶμεν καὶ μισῶμεν καὶ
φοβώμεθα, ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν ἔχοντας κυρίους ἡμῶν εἶναι. διὰ
τοῦτο καὶ ὡς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς προσκυνοῦμεν· [61] ἐννοοῦμεν γάρ, ὅτι τὸ ἔχον
ἐξουσίαν τῆς μεγίστης ὠφελείας θεῖόν ἐστιν, εἴθ' ὑποτάσσομεν κακῶς 'οὗτος
δ' ἔχει τῆς μεγίστης ὠφελείας· θεῖόν ἐστιν. εἴθ' ὑποτάσσομεν κακῶς, οὗτος δ'
ἔχει τῆς μεγίστης ὠφελείας ἐξουσίαν.' ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν
ἐπενεχθῆναι κακῶς. [62]

τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ποιοῦν ἀκώλυτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ αὐτεξούσιον; πλοῦτος
γὰρ οὐ ποιεῖ οὐδ' ὑπατεία οὐδ' ἐπαρχία οὐδὲ βασιλεία, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τι ἄλλο
εὐρεθῆναι. [63] τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ γράφειν ἀκώλυτον ποιοῦν καὶ
ἀπαραπόδιστον; — ἡ ἐπιστήμη τοῦ γράφειν. — τί δ' ἐν τῷ κιθαρίζειν; — ἡ
ἐπιστήμη τοῦ κιθαρίζειν. — οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ βιοῦν ἡ ἐπιστήμη τοῦ βιοῦν. [64]
ὡς μὲν οὖν ἀπλῶς, ἀκήκοας· σκέψαι δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους. τὸν
ἐφιέμενόν τινος τῶν ἐπ' ἄλλοις ὄντων ἐνδέχεται ἀκώλυτον εἶναι; — οὐ. —

ἐνδέχεται ἀπαρἀπόδιστον; [65] — οὐ. — οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον. ὅρα οὖν: πότερον οὐδὲν ἔχομεν, ὃ ἐφ' ἡμῖν μόνοις ἐστίν, ἢ πάντα ἢ τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστίν, τὰ δ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις; [66] — πῶς λέγεις; — τὸ σῶμα ὅταν θέλῃς ὀλόκληρον εἶναι, ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐστίν ἢ οὐ; — οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμοί. — ὅταν δ' ὑγιαίνειν; — οὐδὲ τοῦτο. — ὅταν δὲ καλὸν εἶναι; — οὐδὲ τοῦτο. — ζῆν δὲ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν; — οὐδὲ τοῦτο. — οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἀλλότριον, ὑπεύθυνον παντὸς τοῦ ἰσχυροτέρου. [67] — ἔστω. — τὸν ἀγρὸν δ' ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐστίν ἔχειν, ὅταν θέλῃς καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον θέλεις καὶ οἷον θέλεις; — οὐ. — τὰ δὲ δουλάρια; — οὐ. — τὰ δ' ἱμάτια; — οὐ. — τὸ δὲ οἰκίδιον; — οὐ. — τοὺς δ' ἵππους; — τούτων μὲν οὐδέν. — ἂν δὲ τὰ τέκνα σου ζῆν θέλῃς ἐξ ἅπαντος ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα ἢ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἢ τοὺς φίλους, ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐστίν; — οὐδὲ ταῦτα.

[68] πότερον οὖν οὐδὲν ἔχεις αὐτεξούσιον, ὃ ἐπὶ μόνῳ ἐστὶ σοί, ἢ ἔχεις τι τοιοῦτον; — οὐκ οἶδα. — ὅρα οὖν οὕτως καὶ σκέψαι αὐτό. [69] μὴ τις δύνатаί σε ποιῆσαι συγκαταθέσθαι τῷ ψεύδει; — οὐδεῖς. — οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν τῷ συγκαταθετικῷ τόπῳ ἀκώλυτος εἶ καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστος. [70] — ἔστω. — ἄγε, ὀρμῆσαι δέ σε ἐφ' ὃ μὴ θέλεις τις δύναται ἀναγκάσαι; — δύναται. ὅταν γάρ μοι θάνατον ἢ δεσμὰ ἀπειλῇ, ἀναγκάζει μ' ὀρμῆσαι. — ἂν οὖν καταφρονῇς τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τοῦ δεδέσθαι, ἔτι αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρέφῃ; [71] — οὐ. — σὸν οὖν ἐστίν ἔργον τὸ καταφρονεῖν θανάτου ἢ οὐ σόν; — ἐμόν. — σὸν ἄρα ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ὀρμῆσαι ἢ οὐ; — ἔστω ἐμόν. — τὸ δ' ἀφορμῆσαι τίνος; [72] σὸν καὶ τοῦτο. — τί οὖν, ἂν ἐμοῦ ὀρμήσαντος περιπατῆσαι ἐκεῖνός με κωλύσῃ; — τί σου κωλύσει; μὴ τι τὴν συγκατάθεσιν; — οὐ: ἀλλὰ τὸ σωματίον. — ναί, ὥς λίθον. — ἔστω: ἀλλ' οὐκέτι ἐγὼ περιπατῶ. [73] — τίς δέ σοι εἶπεν 'τὸ περιπατῆσαι σὸν ἔργον ἐστίν ἀκώλυτον;' ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἔλεγον ἀκώλυτον μόνον τὸ ὀρμῆσαι: ὅπου δὲ σώματος χρεῖα καὶ τῆς ἐκ τούτου συνεργείας, πάλαι ἀκήκοας, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶ σόν. [74] — ἔστω καὶ ταῦτα. — ὀρέγεσθαι δέ σε οὐ μὴ θέλεις τις ἀναγκάσαι δύναται; — οὐδεῖς. — προθέσθαι δ' ἢ ἐπιβαλέσθαι τις ἢ ἀπλῶς χρῆσθαι ταῖς προσπιπτούσαις φαντασίαις; [75] — οὐδὲ τοῦτο: ἀλλὰ ὀρεγόμενόν με κωλύσει τυχεῖν οὗ ὀρέγομαι. — ἂν τῶν σῶν τινος ὀρέγῃ καὶ τῶν ἀκωλύτων, πῶς σε κωλύσει; — οὐδαμῶς. — τίς οὖν σοι λέγει, ὅτι ὁ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὀρεγόμενος ἀκώλυτός ἐστιν;

Ὑγείας οὖν μὴ ὀρέγομαι; [76] — μηδαμῶς, μηδ' ἄλλου ἀλλοτρίου μηδενός. [77] ὃ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ σοὶ παρασκευάσαι ἢ τηρῆσαι ὅτε θέλεις, τοῦτο ἀλλότριόν ἐστιν. μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐ μόνον τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρότερον τὴν ὀρεξιν: εἰ δὲ μή, παρέδωκας σαυτὸν δοῦλον, ὑπέθηκας τὸν τράχηλον, † ἂν θαυμάσης τῶν τι μὴ σῶν ᾧ τινι ἂν τῶν ὑπευθύνων καὶ θνητῶν προσπαθῇς. — ἡ χεὶρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμή; [78] — μέρος ἐστὶ σόν, φύσει δὲ πηλός, κωλυτόν, ἀναγκαστόν, δοῦλον παντὸς τοῦ ἰσχυροτέρου. [79] καὶ τί σοι λέγω χεῖρα; ὅλον τὸ σῶμα οὕτως ἔχειν σε δεῖ ὡς ὀνάριον ἐπισεσαγμένον, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν οἷόν τε ἦ, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν διδῶται: ἂν δ' ἀγγαρεία ἦ καὶ στρατιώτης ἐπιλάβηται, ἄφες, μὴ ἀντίτεινε μηδὲ γόγγυζε. εἰ δὲ μή, πληγὰς λαβὼν οὐδὲν ἤττον ἀπολείς καὶ τὸ ὀνάριον. [80] ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τὸ σῶμα οὕτως ἔχειν σε δέῃ, ὅρα, τί ἀπολείπεται περὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσα τοῦ σώματος ἔνεκα παρασκευάζεται. ὅταν ἐκεῖνο ὀνάριον ἦ, τὰλλα γίνεται χαλινάρια τοῦ ὀναρίου, σαγμάτια, ὑποδημάτια, κριθαί,

χόρτος. ἄφες κάκεινα, ἀπόλυε θάπτον καὶ εὐκολώτερον ἢ τὸ ὄνῆριον. [81]

καὶ ταύτην τὴν παρασκευὴν παρασκευασάμενος καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν ἀσκήσας τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων διακρίνειν, τὰ κωλυτὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκωλύτων, ταῦτα πρὸς σαυτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐκεῖνα μὴ πρὸς σαυτόν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιστροφῶς ἔχειν τὴν ὄρεξιν, ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἐκκλίσιν, μὴ τι ἔτι φοβῆ ἑνῇ; [82] — οὐδένα. — περὶ τίνος γὰρ φοβήσῃ; περὶ τῶν σεαυτοῦ, ὅπου σοὶ ἡ οὐσία τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ; καὶ τίς τούτων ἐξουσίαν ἔχει; τίς ἀφελέσθαι αὐτὰ δύναται, τίς ἐμποδίσει; οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν θεόν. [83] ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς κτήσεως; ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων; ὑπὲρ τῶν οὐδὲν πρὸς σέ; καὶ τί ἄλλο ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐμελέτας ἢ διακρίνειν τὰ σὰ καὶ οὐ σά, τὰ ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ σοί, τὰ κωλυτὰ καὶ ἀκώλυτα; τίνος δὲ ἕνεκα προσῆλθες τοῖς φιλοσόφοις; ἵνα μηδὲν ἦττον ἀτυχήσῃ καὶ δυστυχῇ; [84] οὐκοῦν ἄφοβος μὲν οὕτως ἔσει καὶ ἀτάραχος. λύπη δὲ τί πρὸς σέ; ὣν γὰρ προσδοκωμένων φόβος γίνεται, καὶ λύπη παρόντων. ἐπιθυμήσεις δὲ τίνος ἔτι; τῶν μὲν γὰρ προαιρετικῶν ἅτε καλῶν ὄντων καὶ παρόντων σύμμετρον ἔχεις καὶ καθισταμένην τὴν ὄρεξιν, τῶν δ' ἀπροαιρέτων οὐδενὸς ὀρέγῃ, ἵνα καὶ τόπον σχῇ τὸ ἄλογον ἐκεῖνο καὶ ὠστικὸν καὶ παρὰ τὰ μέτρα ἡπειγμένον;

[85] ὅταν οὖν πρὸς τὰ πράγματα οὕτως ἔχῃς, τίς ἔτι ἄνθρωπος δύναται φοβερὸς εἶναι; τί γὰρ ἔχει ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπῳ φοβερὸν ἢ ὀφθεῖς ἢ λαλήσας ἢ ὅλως συναναστραφεῖς; οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ ἵππος ἵππῳ ἢ κύων κυνὶ ἢ μέλισσα μελίσσει. ἀλλὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐκάστῳ φοβερά ἐστίν· ταῦτα δ' ὅταν περιποιεῖν τις δύνῃται τινὶ ἢ ἀφελέσθαι, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς φοβερὸς γίνεται. [86] πῶς οὖν ἀκρόπολις καταλύεται; οὐ σιδήρῳ οὐδὲ πυρί, ἀλλὰ δόγμασιν. ἂν γὰρ τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει καθέλωμεν, μὴ τι καὶ τὴν τοῦ πυρετοῦ, μὴ τι καὶ τὴν τῶν καλῶν γυναικαρίων, μὴ τι ἀπλῶς τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν τυράννους ἀποβεβλήκαμεν, οὐς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις καθ' ἡμέραν ἔχομεν, ποτὲ μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς, ποτὲ δ' ἄλλους; [87] ἀλλ' ἔνθεν ἄρξασθαι δεῖ καὶ ἔνθεν καθελεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς τυράννους; τὸ σωματίον ἀφεῖναι, τὰ μέρη αὐτοῦ, τὰς δυνάμεις, τὴν κτῆσιν, τὴν φήμην, ἀρχάς, τιμάς, τέκνα, ἀδελφοὺς, φίλους, πάντα ταῦτα ἡγήσασθαι ἀλλότρια. [88] κἂν ἔνθεν ἐκβληθῶσιν οἱ τύραννοι, τί ἔτι ἀποτεριχίζω τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐμοῦ γε ἕνεκα; ἐστῶσα γὰρ τί μοι ποιεῖ; τί ἔτι ἐκβάλλω τοὺς δορυφόρους; ποῦ γὰρ αὐτῶν αἰσθάνομαι; ἐπ' ἄλλους ἔχουσιν τὰς ράβδους καὶ τοὺς κοντοὺς καὶ τὰς μαχαίρας. [89] ἐγὼ δ' οὐπώποτ' οὔτε θέλων ἐκωλύθην οὐτ' ἠναγκάσθην μὴ θέλων καὶ πῶς τοῦτο δυνατόν; προσκατατέταχά μου τὴν ὁρμὴν τῷ θεῷ. θέλει μ' ἐκεῖνος πυρέσσειν; κἀγὼ θέλω. θέλει ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ τι; κἀγὼ θέλω. θέλει ὀρέγεσθαι; κἀγὼ θέλω. θέλει με τυχεῖν τινος; κἀγὼ βούλομαι. [90] οὐ θέλει; οὐ βούλομαι. ἀποθανεῖν οὖν θέλω; στρεβλωθῆναι οὖν θέλω. τίς ἔτι με κωλύσαι δύναται παρὰ τὸ ἐμοὶ φαινόμενον ἢ ἀναγκάσαι; οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Δία.

[91] οὕτως ποιοῦσι καὶ τῶν ὁδοιπόρων οἱ ἀσφαλέστεροι. ἀκήκοεν ὅτι ληστεύεται ἡ ὁδός; μόνος οὐ τολμᾷ καθεῖναι, ἀλλὰ περιέμεινεν συνοδίαν ἢ πρεσβευτοῦ ἢ ταμίου ἢ ἀνθυπάτου καὶ προσκατατάξας ἑαυτὸν παρέρχεται ἀσφαλῶς. [92] οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ποιεῖ ὁ φρόνιμος. πολλὰ ληστήρια, τύραννοι, χεμιῶνες, ἀπορίαι, ἀποβολαὶ τῶν φιλάτων. [93] 'ποῦ τις καταφύγῃ;

πῶς ἀλγίστευτος παρέλθῃ; ποίαν συνοδίαν περιμείνας ἀσφαλῶς διέλθῃ; τίμη προσκατατάξας ἑαυτόν; [94] τῷ δεῖνι, τῷ πλουσίῳ, τῷ ὑπατικῷ. καὶ τί μοι ὄφελος; αὐτὸς ἐκδύεται, οἰμῶζει, πενθεῖ. τί δ', ἂν ὁ συνοδοιπόρος αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐμὲ στραφεὶς ληστής μου γένηται; [95] τί ποιήσω; φίλος ἔσομαι Καίσαρος: ἐκείνου με ὄντα ἐταῖρον οὐδεὶς ἀδικήσει. πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα γένωμαι, πρόσα με δεῖ τλῆναι καὶ παθεῖν, ποσάκις καὶ ὑπὸ πόσων ληστευθῆναι: εἴτα ἐὰν γένωμαι, καὶ οὗτος θνητός ἐστιν καὶ οὗτος θνητός. [96] ἂν δ' αὐτὸς ἐκ τινος περιστάσεως ἐχθρός μου γένηται, ἀναχωρῆσαι πού ποτε κρεῖσσον; [97] εἰς ἐρημίαν; ἄγε, ἐκεῖ πυρετὸς οὐκ ἔρχεται; τί οὖν γένηται; οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἀσφαλῆ σύνδοον, πιστόν, ἰσχυρόν, ἀνεπιβούλευτον; [98] οὕτως ἐφίστησιν καὶ ἐννοεῖ, ὅτι, ἐὰν τῷ θεῷ προσκατατάξῃ ἑαυτόν, διελευσεται ἀσφαλῶς.

πῶς λέγεις προσκατατάξαι; [99] — ἴν', ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖνος θέλῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς θέλῃ καί, ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖνος μὴ θέλῃ, τοῦτο μὴδ' αὐτὸς θέλῃ. [100] — πῶς οὖν τοῦτο γένηται; — πῶς γὰρ ἄλλως ἢ ἐπισκεψαμένῳ τὰς ὁρμὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν διοίκησιν; τί μοι δέδωκεν ἐμὸν καὶ αὐτεξούσιον, τί αὐτῷ κατέλειπεν; τὰ προαιρετικά μοι δέδωκεν, ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πεποίηκεν, ἀνεμπόδιστα, ἀκώλυτα. τὸ σῶμα τὸ πῆλινον πῶς ἐδύνατο ἀκώλυτον ποιῆσαι; ὑπέταξεν οὖν τῇ τῶν ὅλων περιόδῳ, τὴν κτῆσιν, τὰ σκεύη, τὴν οἰκίαν, τὰ τέκνα, τὴν γυναῖκα. [101] τί οὖν θεομαχῶ; τί θέλω τὰ μὴ θελητά, τὰ μὴ δοθέντα μοι ἐξ ἅπαντος ἔχειν; ἀλλὰ πῶς; ὥς δέδοται καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον δύναται. ἀλλ' ὁ δοὺς ἀφαιρεῖται. τί οὖν ἀντιτείνω; οὐ λέγω, ὅτι ἡλίθιος ἔσομαι τὸν ἰσχυρότερον βιαζόμενος, ἀλλ' ἔτι πρότερον ἄδικος. [102] πόθεν γὰρ ἔχων αὐτὰ ἦλθον; ὁ πατήρ μου αὐτὰ ἔδωκεν. ἐκείνῳ δὲ τίς; τὸν ἥλιον δὲ τίς πεποίηκε, τοὺς καρποὺς δὲ τίς, τὰς δ' ὥρας τίς, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμπλοκὴν καὶ κοινωνίαν τίς; [103]

[104] εἴτα σύμπαντα εἰληφώς παρ' ἄλλου καὶ αὐτὸν σεαυτόν, ἀγανακτεῖς καὶ μέμφῃ τὸν δόντα, ἂν σοῦ τι ἀφέληται; τίς ὢν καὶ ἐπὶ τί ἐληλυθώς; οὐχὶ ἐκεῖνός σε εἰσήγαγεν; οὐχὶ τὸ φῶς ἐκεῖνός σοι ἔδειξεν; οὐ συνεργοὺς δέδωκεν; οὐ καὶ αἰσθήσεις; οὐ λόγον; ὥς τίνα δὲ εἰσήγαγεν; οὐχ ὥς θνητόν; οὐχ ὥς μετὰ ὀλίγου σαρκιδίου ζήσοντα ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ θεασόμενον τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ συμπομπεύσοντα αὐτῷ καὶ συνεορτάσοντα πρὸς ὀλίγον; [105] οὐ θέλεις οὖν, ἕως δέδοταί σοι, θεασάμενος τὴν πομπὴν καὶ τὴν πανηγυρίν εἴτα, ὅταν σ' ἐξάγῃ, πορεύεσθαι προσκυνήσας καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤκουσας καὶ εἶδες; [106] 'οὐ: ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐορτάζειν ἤθελον.' καὶ γὰρ οἱ μύσται μυεῖσθαι; τάχα καὶ οἱ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἄλλους ἀθλητὰς βλέπειν: ἀλλὰ ἡ πανηγυρίς πέρας ἔχει: ἐξελθε, ἀπαλλάγηθι ὥς εὐχάριστος, ὥς αἰδῆμων: δὸς ἄλλοις τόπον: δεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ ἄλλους, καθάπερ καὶ σὺ ἐγένου, καὶ γενομένους ἔχειν χώραν καὶ οἰκήσεις, τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἂν δ' οἱ πρῶτοι μὴ ὑπεξάγωσιν, τί ὑπολείπεται; τί ἅπληστος εἶ; τί ἀνίκανος; τί στενοχωρεῖς τὸν κόσμον; [107] — ναί: ἀλλὰ τὰ τεκνία μετ' ἐμαυτοῦ εἶναι θέλω καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. — σὰ γὰρ ἐστιν; οὐχὶ τοῦ δόντος; οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ σὲ πεποιηκότος; εἴτα οὐκ ἐκστήσῃ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων; οὐ παραχωρήσεις τῷ κρεῖσσονι; [108] — τί οὖν μ' εἰσῆγεν ἐπὶ τούτοις; — καὶ εἰ μὴ ποιῇ σοι, ἐξελθε: οὐκ ἔχει χρεῖαν θεατοῦ μεμψιμοῖρου. τῶν συνεορταζόντων δεῖται, τῶν συγχορευόντων, ἵν' ἐπικροτῶσι μᾶλλον, ἐπιθειάζωσιν, ὑμνῶσι δὲ τὴν πανηγυρίν. [109] τοὺς ἀταλαιπώρους δὲ καὶ δειλοὺς οὐκ ἀηδῶς ὄψεται

ἀπολελειμμένους τῆς πανηγύρεως: οὐδὲ γὰρ παρόντες ὡς ἐν ἑορτῇ διηγόν οὐδ' ἐξεπλήρουν τὴν χώραν τὴν πρέπουσαν, ἀλλ' ὠδυνῶντο, ἐμέμφοντο τὸν δαίμονα, τὴν τύχην, τοὺς συνόντας: ἀναίσθητοι καὶ ὧν ἔτυχον καὶ τῶν ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεων, ἃς εἰλήφασι πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία, μεγαλοψυχίας, γενναιοτήτος, ἀνδρείας, αὐτῆς τῆς νῦν ζητουμένης ἐλευθερίας. [110] — ἐπὶ τί οὖν εἴληφα ταῦτα; — χρησόμενος. — μέχρι τίνος; — μέχρις ἂν ὁ χρήσας θέλῃ. — ἂν οὖν ἀναγκαῖά μοι ᾗ; — μὴ πρόσपाσχε αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἔσται. σὺ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ μὴ εἴπῃς ἀναγκαῖα καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν.

[111] ταύτην τὴν μελέτην ἔωθεν εἰς ἐσπέραν μελετᾶν ἔδει. ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτάτων, ἀπὸ τῶν εὐεπηρεαστοτάτων ἀρξάμενος, ἀπὸ χύτρας, ἀπὸ ποτηρίου, εἰθ' οὕτως ἐπὶ χιτωνάριον πρόσελθε, ἐπὶ κυνάριον, ἐπὶ ἱππάριον, ἐπὶ ἀργίδιον: ἔνθεν ἐπὶ σαυτόν, τὸ σῶμα, τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος, τὰ τέκνα, τὴν γυναῖκα, τοὺς ἀδελφούς. [112] πανταχοῦ περιβλέψας ἀπόρριψον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ: κάθηρον τὰ δόγματα, μὴ τι προσήρηται σοι τῶν οὐ σῶν, μὴ τι συμπεφυκεν, μὴ τι ὀδυνήσει σ' ἀποσπώμενον. [113] καὶ λέγε γυμναζόμενος καθ' ἡμέραν, ὡς ἐκεῖ, μὴ ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖς (ἔστω φορτικὸν τὸ ὄνομα), ἀλλ' ὅτι καρπιστὴν δίδως. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐλευθερία. [114] ταύτην ἡλευθερώθη Διογένης παρ' Ἀντισθένης καὶ οὐκέτι ἔφη καταδουλωθῆναι δύνασθαι ὑπ' οὐδενός. [115] διὰ τοῦτο πῶς ἐάλω, πῶς τοῖς πειραταῖς ἐχρήτο: μὴ τι κύριον εἶπέν τινα αὐτῶν; καὶ οὐ λέγω τὸ ὄνομα: οὐ γὰρ τὴν φωνὴν φοβοῦμαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πάθος, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ φωνὴ ἐκπέμπεται. [116] πῶς ἐπιτιμᾷ αὐτοῖς, ὅτι κακῶς ἔτρεφον τοὺς ἐαλωκότας: πῶς ἐπράθη: μὴ τι κύριον ἐζήτει; ἀλλὰ δοῦλον. πῶς δὲ πραθεῖς ἀνεστρέφετο πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην: εὐθὺς διελέγετο πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐχ οὕτως ἐστολίσθαι δεῖ αὐτόν, οὐχ οὕτως κεκάρθαι, περὶ τῶν υἱῶν, πῶς δεῖ αὐτοὺς διάγειν. [117] καὶ τί θαυμαστόν; εἰ γὰρ παιδοτρίβην ἐώνητο, ἐν τοῖς παλαιστικοῖς ὑπηρέτῃ ἂν αὐτῷ ἐχρήτο ἢ κυρίῳ; εἰ δ' ἰατρόν, ὡσαύτως, εἰ δ' ἀρχιτέκτονα. καὶ οὕτως ἐφ' ἐκάστης ὕλης τὸν ἔμπειρον τοῦ ἀπείρου κρατεῖν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη. [118] ὅστις οὖν καθόλου τὴν περὶ βίον ἐπιστήμην κέκτηται, τί ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν δεσπότην; τίς γάρ ἐστιν ἐν νηὶ κύριος; — ὁ κυβερνήτης. — διὰ τί; ὅτι ὁ ἀπειθῶν αὐτῷ ζημιοῦται. [119] — ἀλλὰ δεῖραί με δύναται. — μὴ τι οὖν ἀζημίως; — οὕτως μὲν κἀγὼ ἔκρινον. — ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἀζημίως, διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔξεστιν: οὐδενὶ δ' ἀζήμιόν ἐστι τὸ ποιεῖν τὰ ἄδिका. [120] — καὶ τίς ἡ ζημία τῷ δήσαντι τὸν αὐτοῦ δοῦλον, ἣν δοκεῖς; — τὸ δησαι: τοῦτο ὃ καὶ σὺ ὁμολογήσεις, ἂν θέλῃς σφῶζειν, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔστι θηρίον, ἀλλ' ἡμερον ζῶον. [121] ἐπεὶ πότ' ἄμπελος πράσσει κακῶς; ὅταν παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν πράσσῃ. πότ' ἀλεκτρυῶν; [122] ὡσαύτως. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἄνθρωπος. τίς οὖν αὐτοῦ ἡ φύσις; δάκνει καὶ λακτίζει καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν βάλλει καὶ ἀποκεφαλίζει; οὐ: ἀλλ' εὖ ποιεῖν, συνεργεῖν, ἐπεύχεσθαι. τότε οὖν κακῶς πράσσει, ἂν τε θέλῃς ἂν τε μὴ, ὅταν ἀγνωμονῇ.

ὥστε Σωκράτης οὐκ ἔπραξε κακῶς; [123] — οὐ, ἀλλ' οἱ δικασταὶ καὶ οἱ κατήγοροι. — οὐδ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ἐλουίδιος; — οὐ, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀποκτείνας αὐτόν. — πῶς λέγεις; [124] — ὡς καὶ σὺ ἀλεκτρυόνα οὐ λέγεις κακῶς πρᾶξαι τὸν νικήσαντα καὶ κατακοπέντα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπλήγα ἡττηθέντα: οὐδὲ κύνα εὐδαιμονίζεις τὸν μήτε διώκοντα μήτε πονοῦντα, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἰδρῶντα ἴδῃς,

ὅταν ὀδυνώμενον, ὅταν ῥηγνύμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δρόμου. ^[125] τί παραδοξολογοῦμεν, εἰ λέγομεν παντὸς κακὸν εἶναι τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν; τοῦτο παράδοξόν ἐστιν; σὺ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων οὐ λέγεις; διὰ τί ἐπὶ μόνου οὖν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἄλλως φέρῃ; ^[126] ἀλλ' ὅτι λέγομεν ἡμερον εἶναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν φύσιν καὶ φιλόλληλον καὶ πιστὴν, τοῦτο παράδοξον οὐκ ἔστιν; — οὐδὲ τοῦτο. ^[127] — πῶς οὖν ἔτι οὐ δερόμενος βλάπτεται ἢ δεσμευόμενος ἢ ἀποκεφαλιζόμενος; οὐχὶ οὕτως μὲν: εἰ γενναίως πάσχει, καὶ προσκερδαίνων καὶ προσωφελούμενος ἀπέρχεται, ἐκεῖνος δὲ βλαπτόμενός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ οἰκτρότατα πάσχων καὶ αἰσχιστα, ὁ ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου λύκος γινόμενος ἢ ἔχῃς ἢ σφῆξ;

^[128] ἄγε οὖν ἐπέλθωμεν τὰ ὠμολογημένα. ὁ ἀκώλυτος ἄνθρωπος ἐλεύθερος, ᾧ πρόχειρα τὰ πράγματα ὡς βούλεται. ὃν δ' ἔστιν ἢ κωλύσαι ἢ ἀναγκάσαι ἢ ἐμποδίσαι ἢ ἄκοντα εἰς τι ἐμβαλεῖν, δοῦλός ἐστιν. ^[129] τίς δ' ἀκώλυτος; ὁ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐφίεμενος. τίνα δ' ἀλλότρια; ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐφ' ἡμῖν οὐτ' ἔχειν οὔτε μὴ ἔχειν οὔτε ποῖα ἔχειν ἢ πῶς ἔχοντα. ^[130] οὐκοῦν τὸ σῶμα ἀλλότριον, τὰ μέρη αὐτοῦ ἀλλότρια, ἡ κτήσις ἀλλότρια. ἂν οὖν τινι τούτων ὡς ἰδίῳ προσπαθῇς, δώσεις δίκας ἅς ἄξιον τὸν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐφίεμενον. ^[131] αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαν ἄγει, αὕτη μόνη ἀπαλλαγὴ δουλείας, μόνη τὸ δυνηθῆναι ποτ' εἰπεῖν ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς τὸ

ἄγου δέ μ', ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ σύ γ' ἡ Πεπρωμένη,

ὅποι ποθ' ὑμῖν εἰμι διατεταγμένος.

^[132] ἀλλὰ τί λέγεις, φιλόσοφε; καλεῖ σε ὁ τύραννος ἐροῦντά τι ὧν οὐ πρέπει σοι. λέγεις ἢ οὐ λέγεις; εἰπέ μοι. — ἄφες σκέψωμαι. — νῦν σκέψῃ; ὅτε δ' ἐν τῇ σχολῇ ἦς, τί ἐσκέπτου; οὐκ ἐμελέτας, τίνα ἐστὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ καὶ τίνα οὐδέτερα; — Ἐσκεπτόμην. — τίνα οὖν ἥρεσκεν ὑμῖν; ^[133] — τὰ δίκαια καὶ καλὰ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, τὰ ἄδικα καὶ αἰσχρὰ κακά. — μὴ τι τὸ ζῆν ἀγαθόν; — οὐ. — μὴ τι τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κακόν; — οὐ. — μὴ τι φυλακὴ; — οὐ. — λόγος δ' ἀγεννῆς καὶ ἄπιστος καὶ φίλου προδοσία καὶ κολακεία τυράννου τί ὑμῖν ἐφαίνετο; ^[134] — κακά. — τί οὖν; οὐχὶ σκέπτη, οὐχὶ δ' ἔσκεψαι καὶ βεβούλευσαι. ποῖα γὰρ σκέψις, εἰ καθήκει μοι δυναμένῳ τὰ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ ἐμαυτῷ περιποιῆσαι, τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ μὴ περιποιῆσαι; καλὴ σκέψις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, πολλῆς βουλῆς δεομένη. τί ἡμῖν ἐμπαίζεις, ἄνθρωπε; ^[135] οὐδέποτε τοιαύτη σκέψις γίνεται. οὐδ' εἰ ταῖς ἀληθείαις κακὰ μὲν ἐφραντάζου τὰ αἰσχρά, τὰ δ' ἄλλα οὐδέτερα, ἦλθες ἂν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπίστασιν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς: ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν διακρίνειν εἶχες, ὥσπερ ὄψει τῇ διανοίᾳ. ^[136] πότε γὰρ σκέπτη, εἰ τὰ μέλανα λευκά ἐστιν, εἰ τὰ βαρέα κοῦφα; οὐχὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐναργῶς φαινομένοις ἐπακολουθεῖς; πῶς οὖν νῦν σκέπτεσθαι λέγεις, εἰ τὰ οὐδέτερα τῶν κακῶν φευκτότερα; ^[137] ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχεις τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ φαίνεται σοι οὔτε ταῦτα οὐδέτερα, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα κακά, οὐτ' ἐκεῖνα κακά, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ^[138] οὕτως γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἵθισας σεαυτόν: 'ποῦ εἰμι; ἐν σχολῇ. καὶ ἀκούουσί μου τίνες; λέγω μετὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων. ἀλλ' ἐξεληλύθα τῆς σχολῆς: ἄρον ἐκεῖνα τὰ τῶν σχολαστικῶν καὶ τῶν μωρῶν.' οὕτως καταμαρτυρεῖται φίλος ὑπὸ φιλοσόφου, οὕτως παρασιτεῖ φιλόσοφος, ^[139] οὕτως ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ ἐκμισθοῖ ἑαυτόν, οὕτως ἐν συγκλήτῳ τις οὐ λέγει τὰ φαινόμενα: ἔνδοθεν τὸ

δόγμα αὐτοῦ βοᾷ, [140] οὐ ψυχρὸν καὶ ταλαίπωρον ὑποληψείδιον ἐκ λόγων εἰκαίων ὥς ἐκ τριχὸς ἡρτημένον, ἀλλὰ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ χρηστικὸν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διὰ τῶν ἔργων γεγυμνάσθαι μεμνημένον. [141] παραφύλαξον σαυτόν, πῶς ἀκούεις — οὐ λέγω, ὅτι τὸ παιδίον σου ἀπέθανεν: πόθεν σοι; ἀλλ' ὅτι σου τὸ ἔλαιον ἐξεχέθη, ὁ οἶνος ἐξεπόθη, [142] ἵνα τις ἐπιστὰς διατεινομένῳ σοι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μόνον εἴπῃ 'φιλόσοφε, ἄλλα λέγεις ἐν τῇ σχολῇ: τί ἡμᾶς ἐξαπατᾷς; τί σκώληξ ὢν λέγεις, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος εἶ;' [143] ἤθελον ἐπιστῆναί τινα αὐτῶν συνουσιάζοντι, ἵνα ἴδω, πῶς τείνεται καὶ ποίας φωνὰς ἀφήσιν, εἰ μέμνηται τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, τῶν λόγων οὓς ἀκούει ἢ λέγει ἢ ἀναγινώσκει.

καὶ τί ταῦτα πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν; [144] — οὐκ ἄλλα μὲν οὖν ἢ ταῦτ', ἃν τε θέλητε ὑμεῖς οἱ πλούσιοι ἂν τε μή. [145] — καὶ τίς σοι μαρτυρεῖ ταῦτα; — τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ τὸν κύριον τὸν μέγαν ἔχοντες καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνου νεῦμα καὶ κίνημα ζῶντες, κἂν τινα ὑμῶν ἴδῃ μόνον συνεστραμμένῳ βλέμματι, ἀποψυχόμενοι, τὰς γράϊας θεραπεύοντες καὶ τοὺς γέροντας καὶ λέγοντες ὅτι [146] 'οὐ δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι: οὐκ ἔξεστί μοι;' διὰ τί οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι; οὐκ ἄρτι ἐμάχου μοι λέγων ἐλεύθερος εἶναι; 'ἀλλὰ Ἄπρυλλά με κεκώλυκεν.' λέγε οὖν τὰς ἀληθείας, δοῦλε, καὶ μὴ δραπετεύε σου τοὺς κυρίους μηδ' ἀπαρνοῦ μηδὲ τόλμα καρπιστὴν διδόναι τοσοῦτους ἔχων τῆς δουλείας ἐλέγχους. [147] καίτοι τὸν μὲν ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἀναγκαζόμενόν τι ποιεῖν παρὰ τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ ἅμα μὲν ὀρώντα τὸ ἄμεινον, ἅμα δ' οὐκ ἐξευτονοῦντα ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἂν τις συγγνώμης ἄξιον ὑπολάβοι, ἅθ' ὑπὸ τίνος βιαίου καὶ τρόπον τινὰ θεοῦ κατεσχημένον. [148] σοῦ δὲ τίς ἀνάσχοιτο τῶν γραῶν ἐρῶντος καὶ τῶν γερόντων καὶ ἐκείνας ἀπομύσσοντος καὶ ἀποπλύνοντος καὶ δωροδοκοῦντος καὶ ἅμα μὲν νοσοῦσας θεραπεύοντος ὡς δούλου, ἅμα δ' ἀποθανεῖν εὐχομένου καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς διακρίνοντος, εἰ ἤδη θανασίμως ἔχουσιν; ἢ πάλιν ὅταν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγάλων τούτων καὶ σεμνῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ τιμῶν τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀλλοτρίων δούλων καταφιλήσῃ, ἵνα μηδ' ἐλευθέρων δοῦλος ᾖ; [149] εἰτά μοι σεμνὸς περιπατεῖς στρατηγῶν, ὑπατεύων, οὐκ οἶδα, πῶς ἐστρατήγησας, πόθεν τὴν ὑπατείαν ἔλαβες, τίς σοι αὐτὴν ἔδωκεν; [150] ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲ ζῆν ἤθελον, εἰ διὰ Φηλικίωνα ἔδει ζῆσαι τῆς ὀφρύος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ δουλικοῦ φρυάγματος ἀνασχόμενον. οἶδα γάρ, τί ἐστὶ δοῦλος εὐτυχῶν ὡς δοκεῖ καὶ τετυφλωμένος.

σὺ οὖν, φησίν, ἐλεύθερος εἶ; [151] — θέλω νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εὐχομαι, ἀλλ' οὐπω δύναμαι ἀντιβλέψαι τοῖς κυρίοις, ἔτι τιμῶ τὸ σωματίον, ὀλόκληρον αὐτὸ ἔχειν ἀντὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦμαι καίτοι μηδ' ὀλόκληρον ἔχων. [152] ἀλλὰ δύναμαί σοι δεῖξαι ἐλεύθερον, ἵνα μηκέτι ζητῇς τὸ παράδειγμα. Διογένης ἦν ἐλεύθερος. πόθεν τοῦτο; οὐχ ὅτι ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ἦν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν), ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦν, ὅτι ἀποβεβλήκει πάσας τὰς τῆς δουλείας βλαβὰς οὐδ' ἦν, ὅπως τις προσέλθῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδ' ὅθεν λάβῃται πρὸς τὸ καταδουλώσασθαι. [153] πάντα εὐλύτα εἶχεν, πάντα μόνον προσηρτημένα. εἰ τῆς κτήσεως ἐπελάβου, αὐτὴν ἀφήκεν ἂν σοι μᾶλλον ἢ ἠκολούθησεν δι' αὐτήν: εἰ τοῦ σκέλους, τὸ σκέλος; εἰ ὅλου τοῦ σωματίου, ὅλον τὸ σωματίον: οἰκίους, φίλους, πατρίδα ὡσαύτως. ἤδει, πόθεν ἔχει καὶ παρὰ τίνος καὶ ἐπὶ τίσιν λαβών. τοὺς μὲν γ' ἀληθεινοὺς προγόνους, [154] τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ τὴν τῷ ὄντι πατρίδα οὐδεπώποτ'

ἂν ἐγκατέλειπεν οὐδὲ παρεχώρησεν ἄλλω μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑπακούειν οὐδ' ὑπεραπέθανεν ἂν εὐκολώτερον τῆς πατρίδος ἄλλος. [155] οὐ γὰρ ἐξήτει ποτὲ δόξαι τι ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων, ἀλλ' ἐμέμνητο, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ γενόμενον ἐκεῖθ' ἐστίν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης πράττεται καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικούντος αὐτὴν παρεγγυᾶται. [156] τοιγαροῦν ὅρα, τί λέγει αὐτὸς καὶ γράφει: 'διὰ τοῦτό σοι,' φησίν, 'ἔξεστιν, ὃ Διόγενες, καὶ τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἀρχιδάμῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς βούλει διαλέγεσθαι.' [157] ἄρα γ' ὅτι ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ἦν; πάντες γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πάντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι διὰ τὸ ἐκ δούλων εἶναι οὐκ ἠδύναντο αὐτοῖς ὡς ἠβούλοντο διαλέγεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐδεδοίκεσαν καὶ ἐθεράπευον; [158] διὰ τί οὖν, φησίν, ἔξεστιν; 'ὅτι τὸ σωματίον ἐμὸν οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι, ὅτι οὐδενὸς δέομαι, ὅτι ὁ νόμος μοι πάντα ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλο οὐδέν.' ταῦτα ἦν τὰ ἐλεύθερον ἐκείνον ἐάσαντα.

[159] καὶ ἵνα μὴ δόξης, ὅτι παράδειγμα δείκνυμι ἀνδρὸς ἀπεριστάτου μῆτε γυναῖκα ἔχοντος μῆτε τέκνα μῆτε πατρίδα ἢ φίλους ἢ συγγενεῖς, ὑφ' ὧν κάμπτεσθαι καὶ περισπᾶσθαι ἠδύνατο, λάβε Σωκράτη καὶ θέασαι γυναῖκα καὶ παιδία ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἀλλότριαν, πατρίδα, ἐφ' ὅσον ἔδει καὶ ὡς ἔδει, φίλους, συγγενεῖς, πάντα ταῦτα ὑποτεταχότα τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνον εὐπειθ [160] εἶα. διὰ τοῦτο, στρατεύεσθαι μὲν ὁπότ' ἔδει, πρῶτος ἀπῆει κάκεῖ ἐκινδύνευεν ἀφειδέστατα: ἐπὶ Λέοντα δ' ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων πεμφθεὶς, ὅτι αἰσchrὸν ἡγεῖτο, οὐδ' ἐπεβουλεύσατο εἰδῶς, ὅτι ἀποθανεῖν δεήσει, ἂν οὕτως τύχη. [161] καὶ τί αὐτῷ διέφερεν; ἄλλο γάρ τι σφάζειν ἤθελεν: οὐ τὸ σαρκίδιον, ἀλλὰ τὸν πιστόν, τὸν αἰδήμονα. [162] ταῦτα ἀπαρεγγχεῖρτα, ἀνυπότακτα. εἶθ' ὅτ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι ἔδει ὑπὲρ τοῦ ζῆν, μὴ τι ὡς τέκνα ἔχων ἀναστρέφεται, μὴ τι ὡς γυναῖκα; ἀλλ' ὡς μόνος. τί δ', ὅτε πιεῖν ἔδει τὸ φάρμακον, πῶς ἀναστρέφεται; [163] δυνάμενος διασωθῆναι καὶ τοῦ Κρίτωνος αὐτῷ λέγοντος ὅτι 'ἔξελθε διὰ τὰ παιδία' τί λέγει; ἔρμαιοι ἡγεῖτο αὐτό; πόθεν; ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐσχημον σκοπεῖ, τᾶλλα δ' οὐδ' ὁρᾷ, οὐδ' ἐπιλογίζεται. οὐ γὰρ ἤθελεν, φησίν, σῶσαι τὸ σωματίον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο, ὃ τῷ δικαίῳ μὲν αὖξεται καὶ σφάζεται, τῷ δ' ἀδίκῳ μειοῦται καὶ ἀπόλλυται. Σωκράτης δ' αἰσchrῶς οὐ σφάζεται, [164] ὁ μὴ ἐπιψηφίσας Ἀθηναίων κελευόντων, ὁ τοὺς τυράννους ὑπεριδών, ὁ τοιαῦτα περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ καλοκάγαθίας διαλεγόμενος: τοῦτον οὐκ ἔστι σῶσαι αἰσchrῶς, [165] ἀλλ' ἀποθνήσκων σφάζεται, οὐ φεύγων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀγαθὸς ὑποκριτὴς πανόμενος ὅτε δεῖ σφάζεται μᾶλλον ἢ ὑποκρινόμενος παρὰ καιρόν. [166] τί οὖν ποιήσει τὰ παιδία; 'εἰ μὲν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀπῆειν, ἐπεμελήθητε αὐτῶν: εἰς Αἰδοῦ δέ μου ἀποδημήσαντος οὐδεὶς ἔσται ὁ ἐπιμελησόμενος;' ὅρα, πῶς ὑποκορίζεται καὶ σκώπτει τὸν θάνατον. [167] εἰ δ' ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ ἤμεν, εὐθὺς ἂν καταφιλοσοφῆσαντες ὅτι 'τοὺς ἀδικούντας δεῖ τοῖς ἴσοις ἀμύνεσθαι' καὶ προσθέντες ὅτι 'ὄφελος ἔσομαι πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις σωθεὶς, ἀποθανὼν δ' οὐδενί,' εἰ γάρ' ἔδει διὰ τρώγλης ἐκδύντας, ἐξήλθομεν ἂν. [168] καὶ πῶς ἂν ὠφελήσαμέν τινα; ποῦ γὰρ ἂν ἔτι ἔμενον ἐκεῖνοι; ἢ οἱ ὄντες ἤμεν ὠφέλιμοι, οὐχὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀποθανόντες ἂν ὅτε ἔδει καὶ ὡς ἔδει ὠφελήσαμεν ἀνθρώπους; [169] καὶ νῦν Σωκράτους ἀποθανόντος οὐθὲν ἤττον ἢ καὶ πλεῖον ὠφέλιμός ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις ἢ μνήμη ὧν ἔτι ζῶν ἔπραξεν ἢ εἶπεν.

[170] ταῦτα μελέτα, ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα, τούτους τοὺς λόγους, εἰς ταῦτα

ἀφόρα τὰ παραδείγματα, εἰ θέλεις ἐλεύθερος εἶναι, εἰ ἐπιθυμεῖς κατ' ἀξίαν τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ τί θαυμαστόν, [171] εἰ τηλικούτο πρᾶγμα τοσοῦτων καὶ τηλικούτων ὦνῃ; ὑπὲρ τῆς νομιζομένης ἐλευθερίας ταύτης οἱ μὲν ἀπάγχονται, οἱ δὲ κατακρημνίζουσιν αὐτούς, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι ἀπώλονται: [172] ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθεινῆς καὶ ἀνεπιβουλεύτου καὶ ἀσφαλοῦς ἐλευθερίας ἀπαιτοῦντι τῷ θεῷ ἃ δέδωκεν οὐκ ἐκστήσει; οὐχ, ὡς Πλάτων λέγει, μελετήσεις οὐχὶ ἀποθνήσκειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρεβλοῦσθαι καὶ φεύγειν καὶ δέρεσθαι καὶ πάνθ' ἄλλῳ ἀποδιδόναι τὰλλότρια; [173] ἔσει τοίνυν δοῦλος ἐν δούλοις, κἂν μυριάκις ὑπατεύσης, κἂν εἰς τὸ παλάτιον ἀναβῇ, οὐδὲν ἦττον: καὶ αἰσθήσει, ὅτι παράδοξα μὲν ἴσως φασὶν οἱ φιλόσοφοι, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Κλεάνθης ἔλεγεν, οὐ μὴν παράλογα. [174] ἔργῳ γὰρ εἴπῃ, ὅτι ἀληθὴ ἐστὶ καὶ τούτων τῶν θαυματομένων καὶ σπουδαζομένων ὄφελος οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσι: τοῖς δὲ μηδέπω τετευχόσι φαντασία γίνεται, ὅτι παραγενομένων αὐτῶν ἅπαντα παρέσται αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀγαθὰ: εἴθ' ὅταν παραγένηται, τὸ καὶ ἴσον, ὁ ῥιπτασμός ὁ αὐτός, ἢ ἄσῃ, [175] ἢ τῶν οὐ παρόντων ἐπιθυμία. οὐ γὰρ ἐκπληρώσει τῶν ἐπιθυμουμένων ἐλευθερία παρασκευάζεται, ἀλλὰ ἀνασκευῇ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας. [176] καὶ ἴν' εἰδῇς, ὅτι ἀληθὴ ταῦτα ἐστίν, ὡς ἐκείνων ἔνεκα πεπόνηκας, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτα μετὰθες τὸν πόνον: ἀγρύπνησον ἔνεκα τοῦ δόγμα περιποιήσασθαι ἐλευθεροποιόν, [177] θεράπευσον ἀντὶ γέροντος πλουσίου φιλόσοφον, περὶ θύρας ὄφθῃται τὰς τούτου: οὐκ ἀσχημονήσεις ὀφθείς, οὐκ ἀπελεύση κενὸς οὐδ' ἀκερδής, ἂν ὡς δεῖ προσέλθῃς. εἰ δὲ μή, πείρασόν γ': οὐκ ἔστιν αἰσχρὰ ἢ πείρα.

Περὶ συμπεριφορᾶς.

Τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ πρὸ πάντων σε δεῖ προσέχειν, μή ποτε ἄρα τῶν προτέρων συνήθων ἢ φίλων ἀνακραθῇς τινὶ οὕτως, ὥστ' εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ συγκαταβῆναι αὐτῷ: εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπολεῖς σεαυτόν. [2] ἂν δέ σ' ὑποτρέχῃ ὅτι 'ἀδέξιός αὐτῷ φανοῦμαι καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔξει ὡς πρότερον,' μέμνησο, ὅτι προῖκα οὐδὲν γίνεται οὐδ' ἔστι δυνατόν μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιῶντα μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποτέ. ἐλοῦ οὖν πότερον θέλεις, [3] ὁμοίως φιλεῖσθαι ὑφ' ὧν πρότερον ὁμοίος ὦν τῷ πρότερον σεαυτῷ ἢ κρεῖσσον ὦν μὴ τυγχάνειν τῶν ἴσων. [4] εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κρεῖσσον, αὐτόθεν ἀπόνευσον ἐπὶ τοῦτο μηδέ σε περισπάτωσαν οἱ ἕτεροι διαλογισμοί. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐπαμφοτερίζων δύναται προκόψει, ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτο πάντων προκέκρικας, εἰ πρὸς τούτῳ μόνῳ θέλεις εἶναι, εἰ τοῦτο ἐκπονήσῃς, ἄφες ἅπαντα τᾶλλα: [5] εἰ δὲ μή, οὗτος ὁ ἐπαμφοτερισμός ἐκάτερόν σοι ποιήσει, οὔτε προκόψεις κατ' ἀξίαν οὔτ' ἐκείνων τεύξῃ, ὧν πρότερον ἐτύγχανες. [6] πρότερον γὰρ εὐλικρινῶς ἐφιέμενος τῶν οὐδενὸς ἀξίων ἡδὺς ἦς τοῖς συνοῦσιν. [7] οὐ δύνασαι δ' ἐν ἀμφοτέρῳ τῷ εἶδει διενεγκεῖν: ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, καθόσον ἂν τοῦ ἑτέρου κοινωνῇς, ἀπολείπεσθαι σ' ἐν θατέρῳ. οὐ δύνασαι μὴ πίνων μεθ' ὧν ἔπινες ὁμοίως ἡδὺς αὐτοῖς φαίνεσθαι: ἐλοῦ οὖν, πότερον μεθυστὴς εἶναι θέλεις καὶ ἡδὺς ἐκείνοις ἢ νήφων ἀηδής. οὐ δύνασαι μὴ ἄδων μεθ' ὧν ἦδες ὁμοίως φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν: ἐλοῦ οὖν καὶ ἐνταῦθα, πότερον θέλεις. [8] εἰ γὰρ κρεῖσσον τὸ αἰδήμονα εἶναι καὶ κόσμιον τοῦ εἰπεῖν τινα 'ἡδὺς ἄνθρωπος,' ἄφες τὰ ἕτερα, ἀπόγνωθι, ἀποστράφηθι, μηδὲν σοὶ καὶ αὐτοῖς. [9] εἰ δὲ μή ἀρέσει ταῦτα, ὅλος ἀπόκλινον ἐπὶ τάναντία: γενοῦ εἰς τῶν

κιναιδῶν, εἷς τῶν μοιχῶν καὶ ποίει τὰ ἐξῆς καὶ τεύξῃ ὧν θέλεις. καὶ ἀναπηδῶν ἐπικραύαζε τῷ ὀρχηστῇ. [10] διάφορα δ' οὕτως πρόσωπα οὐ μίγνυνται: οὐ δύνασαι καὶ Θερσίτην ὑποκρίνασθαι καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα. ἂν Θερσίτης εἶναι θέλῃς, κυρτόν σε εἶναι δεῖ, φαλακρόν: ἂν Ἀγαμέμνων, μέγαν καὶ καλὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους φιλοῦντα.

τίνα τίνων ἀντικαταλλακτέον.

ἐκεῖνο πρόχειρον ἔχε, ὅταν τινὸς ἀπολείπῃ τῶν ἐκτός, τί ἀντ' αὐτοῦ περιποιῇ: κἂν ἡ πλείονος ἄξιον, μηδέποτε εἴπῃς ὅτι [2] 'ἐξῆμῳμαι:' οὐδ' ἂν ἀντὶ ὄνου ἵππον, οὐδ' ἀντὶ προβάτου βοῦν, οὐδ' ἀντὶ κέρματος πρᾶξιν καλήν, οὐδ' ἀντὶ ψυχρολογίας ἡσυχίαν οἷαν δεῖ, οὐδ' ἀντὶ αἰσχρολογίας αἰδῶ. [3] τούτων μεμνημένος πανταχοῦ διασώσεις τὸ σαυτοῦ πρόσωπον οἷον ἔχειν σε δεῖ. εἰ δὲ μή, σκόπει, ὅτι ἀπόλλυνται οἱ χρόνοι εἰκῇ καὶ ὅσα νῦν προσέχεις σεαυτῷ, μέλλεις ἐκχεῖν ἅπαντα ταῦτα καὶ ἀνατρέπειν. [4] ὀλίγου δὲ χρεῖα ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπώλειαν τὴν πάντων καὶ ἀνατροπὴν, μικρὰς ἀποστροφῆς τοῦ λόγου. [5] ἵνα ὁ κυβερνήτης ἀνατρέψῃ τὸ πλοῖον, οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχει τῆς αὐτῆς παρασκευῆς, ὅσης εἰς τὸ σῶσαι: ἀλλὰ μικρὸν πρὸς τὸν ἄνεμον ἂν ἐπιστρέψῃ, ἀπώλετο: κἂν μὴ αὐτὸς ἐκὼν, ὑποπαρενθυμηθῇ δ', ἀπώλετο. [6] τοιοῦτόν ἐστὶ τι καὶ ἐνθάδε: μικρὸν ἂν ἀπονυστάξῃς, ἀπῆλθεν πάντα τὰ μέχρι νῦν συνειλεγμένα. πρόσσεχε οὖν ταῖς φαντασίαις, ἐπαγρύπνει. [7] οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν τὸ τηρούμενον, ἀλλ' αἰδῶς καὶ πίστις καὶ εὐστάθεια, [8] ἀπάθεια, ἄλυπια, ἀφοβία, ἀταραξία, ἀπλῶς ἐλευθερία. τίνων μέλλεις ταῦτα πωλεῖν; βλέπε, πόσου ἀξίων. — ἀλλ' οὐ τεύξομαι τοιούτου τινὸς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. — βλέπε καὶ τυγχάνων πάλιν ἐκείνου, τί ἀντ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνεις. [9] 'ἐγὼ εὐκοσμίαν, ἐκεῖνος δημαρχίαν: ἐκεῖνος στρατηγίαν, ἐγὼ αἰδῶ. ἀλλ' οὐ κραυγάζω, ὅπου ἀπρεπές: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναστήσομαι, ὅπου μὴ δεῖ. ἐλεύθερος γὰρ εἰμι καὶ φίλος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἴν' ἐκὼν πεῖθωμαι αὐτῷ. [10] τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδενὸς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι με δεῖ, οὐ σώματος, οὐ κτήσεως, οὐκ ἀρχῆς, οὐ φήμης, ἀπλῶς οὐδενός: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος βούλεται μ' ἀντιποιεῖσθαι αὐτῶν. εἰ γὰρ ἠθελεν, ἀγαθὰ πεποιήκει αὐτὰ ἂν ἐμοί. νῦν δ' οὐ πεποίηκεν: διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν δύναμαι παραβῆναι τῶν ἐντολῶν.' [11] τήρει τὸ ἀγαθὸν τὸ σαυτοῦ ἐν παντί, τῶν δ' ἄλλων κατὰ τὸ διδόμενον μέχρι τοῦ εὐλογιστεῖν ἐν αὐτοῖς, τούτῳ μόνῳ ἀρκούμενος. εἰ δὲ μή, δυστυχῆσεις, ἀτυχῆσεις, κωλυθήσῃ, ἐμποδισθήσῃ. [12] οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐκείθεν ἀπεσταλμένοι νόμοι, ταῦτα τὰ διατάγματα: τούτων ἐξηγητὴν δεῖ γενέσθαι, τούτοις ὑποτεταγμένον, οὐ τοῖς Μασουρίου καὶ Κασσίου.

πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ διάγειν ἐσπουδακότας.

μέμνησο, ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐπιθυμία ἀρχῆς καὶ πλούτου ταπεινοὺς ποιεῖ καὶ ἄλλοις ὑποτεταγμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡσυχίας καὶ σχολῆς καὶ ἀποδημίας καὶ φιλολογίας. ἀπλῶς γὰρ οἷον εἶναι ἡ τὸ ἐκτός, ἡ τιμὴ αὐτοῦ ὑποτάσσει ἄλλω. [2] τί οὖν διαφέρει συγκλήτου ἐπιθυμεῖν ἢ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι συγκλητικόν; τί διαφέρει ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμεῖν ἢ ἀναρχίας; τί διαφέρει λέγειν ὅτι 'κακῶς μοί ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἔχω τί πράξω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς βιβλίοις προσδέδεμαι ὥς νεκρὸς' ἢ λέγειν 'κακῶς μοί ἐστιν, οὐκ εὐσυχλῶ ἀναγνῶναι;' [3] ὥς γὰρ ἀσπασμοὶ καὶ ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐκτός ἐστί καὶ ἀπροαιρέτων, οὕτως καὶ βιβλίον. [4] ἢ τίνος ἔνεκα θέλεις ἀναγνῶναι; εἰπέ μοι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καταστρέφεις ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ ψυχαγωγηθῆναι ἢ μαθεῖν

τι, ψυχρὸς εἶ καὶ ταλαίπωρος. εἰ δ' ἐφ' ὃ δεῖ ἀναφέρεις, τί τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἄλλο ἢ εὐροια; εἰ δέ σοι τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν εὐροίαν μὴ περιποιῇ, τί ὄφελος αὐτοῦ; [5] — ἀλλὰ περιποιεῖ, φησίν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀγανακτῶ ὡς ἀπολειπόμενος αὐτοῦ. — καὶ τίς αὕτη ἡ εὐροια, ἣν ὁ τυχὼν ἐμποδίσαι δύναται, οὐ λέγω Καῖσαρ ἢ Καίσαρος φίλος, ἀλλὰ κόραξ, αὐλητής, πυρετός, ἄλλα τρισυμία; ἢ δ' εὐροια οὐδὲν οὕτως ἔχει ὡς τὸ διηνεκές καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστον. [6] νῦν καλοῦμαι πράξων τι, ἅπειμι νῦν προσέξων τοῖς μέτροις ἃ δεῖ τηρεῖν, ὅτι αἰδημόνως, ὅτι ἀσφαλῶς, ὅτι δίχα ὀρέξεως καὶ ἐκκλίσεως τῆς πρὸς τὰ ἐκτός, [7] καὶ λοιπὸν προσέχω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τίνα φασί, πῶς κινοῦνται, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ κακοήθως οὐδ' ἵνα ἔχω ψέγειν ἢ καταγελῶ, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφω, εἰ ταῦτά κάγῳ ἀμαρτάνω. 'πῶς οὖν παύσωμαι; τότε καὶ ἐγὼ ἡμάρτανον: νῦν δ' οὐκέτι, χάρις τῷ θεῷ.'

[8] ἄγε, ταῦτα ποιήσας καὶ πρὸς τούτοις γενόμενος χειρὸν ἔργον πεποίηκας ἢ χιλίους στίχους ἀναγνούς ἢ γράψας ἄλλους τοσοῦτους; ὅταν γὰρ ἐσθίης, ἄχθῃ, ὅτι μὴ ἀναγινώσκεις; οὐκ ἄρκῃ τῷ καθ' ἃ ἀνέγνωκας ἐσθίειν; [9] ὅταν λούῃ; ὅταν γυμνάξῃ; διὰ τί οὖν ἐπὶ πάντων οὐχ ὁμαλίζεις, καὶ ὅταν Καίσαρι προσίης καὶ ὅταν τῷ δεῖνι; εἰ τὸν ἀπαθῇ τηρεῖς, εἰ τὸν ἀκατάληκτον, [10] εἰ τὸν κατεσταλμένον, εἰ βλέπεις μᾶλλον τὰ γινόμενα ἢ βλέπῃ, εἰ μὴ φθονεῖς τοῖς προτιμωμένοις, εἰ μὴ ἐκπλήσσουσίν σε αἱ ὕλαι, τί σοι λείπει; βιβλία; πῶς ἢ ἐπὶ τί; [11] οὐχὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ βιοῦν παρασκευὴ τίς ἐστίν αὕτη; τὸ βιοῦν δ' ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν ἢ τούτων συμπληροῦται. οἷον ἂν εἰ ὁ ἀθλητῆς κλαίῃ εἰς τὸ στάδιον εἰσιὼν, ὅτι μὴ ἔξω γυμνάζεται. [12] τούτων ἕνεκα ἐγυμνάζου, ἐπὶ τοῦτο οἱ ἀλτῆρες, ἢ ἀφή, οἱ νεανίσκοι. καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνα ζητεῖς, ὅτε τοῦ ἔργου καιρὸς ἐστίν; [13] οἷον εἰ ἐπὶ τοῦ συγκαταθετικοῦ τόπου παρισταμένων φαντασιῶν τῶν μὲν καταληπτικῶν, τῶν δ' ἀκαταλήπτων μὴ ταύτας διακρίνειν θέλομεν, ἀλλ' ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ Περὶ καταλήψεως.

[14] τί οὖν τὸ αἴτιον; ὅτι οὐδέποτε τούτου ἕνεκα ἀνέγνωμεν, οὐδέποτε τούτου ἕνεκα ἐγράψαμεν, ἵν' ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων κατὰ φύσιν χρώμεθα ταῖς προσπιπτούσαις φαντασίαις, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ καταλήγομεν μαθεῖν, τί λέγεται, καὶ ἄλλῳ δύνασθαι ἐξηγήσασθαι, τὸν συλλογισμὸν ἀναλῦσαι καὶ τὸν ὑποθετικὸν ἐφοδεῦσαι. [15] διὰ τοῦτο ὅπου ἡ σπουδὴ, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ ἐμποδισμός. θέλεις τὰ μὴ ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐξ ἅπαντος; κωλύου τοίνυν, ἐμποδίζου, ἀποτύγχανε. [16] εἰ δέ τὰ Περὶ ὁρμῆς τούτου ἕνεκα ἀναγινώσκοιμεν, οὐχ ἵνα ἴδωμεν, τί λέγεται περὶ ὁρμῆς, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὁρμῶμεν †: τὰ Περὶ ὀρέξεως δὲ καὶ ἐκκλίσεως, ἵνα μήποτ' ὀρεγόμενοι ἀποτυγχάνωμεν μήτ' ἐκκλίνοντες περιπίπτωμεν: τὰ Περὶ καθήκοντος δ', ἵνα μεμνημένοι τῶν σχέσεων μηδὲν ἀλογίστως μηδὲ παρ' αὐτὰ ποιῶμεν: [17] οὐκ ἂν ἡγανακτοῦμεν πρὸς τὰ ἀναγνώσματα ἐμποδιζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τῷ τὰ ἔργα ἀποδιδόναι τὰ καταάλληλα ἡρκούμεθα καὶ ἡριθμοῦμεν ἂν οὐ ταῦτα, ἃ μέχρι νῦν ἀριθμεῖν εἰθίσμεθα 'σήμερον ἀνέγνων στίχους τοσοῦσδε, ἔγραψα τοσοῦσδε,' [18] ἀλλὰ 'σήμερον ὁρμὴ ἐχρησάμην, ὡς παραγγέλλεται ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ὀρέξει οὐκ ἐχρησάμην, ἐκκλίσει πρὸς μόνον τὰ προαιρετικά, οὐ κατεπλάγην τὸν δεῖνα, οὐκ ἐδυσωπήθην ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος, τὸ ἀνεκτικὸν ἐγύμνασα, τὸ ἀφεκτικόν, τὸ συνεργητικόν' καὶ οὕτως ἂν ἡνυχριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ ἐφ' οἷς δεῖ εὐχαριστεῖν.

[19] νῦν δ' ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἴσμεν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄλλον τρόπον ὅμοιοι τοῖς πολλοῖς γινόμεθα. ἄλλος φοβεῖται, μὴ οὐκ ἄρξη; σύ, μὴ ἄρξης. [20] μηδαμῶς, ἄνθρωπε. ἀλλ' ὥς καταγελαῖς τοῦ φοβουμένου μὴ ἄρξαι, οὕτως καὶ σαυτοῦ καταγέλα. οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει ἢ διψῇ πυρέσσοντα ἢ ὥς λυσσώδη ὑδροφόβον εἶναι. [21] ἢ πῶς ἔτι δυνήσῃ εἰπεῖν τὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους 'εἰ ταύτη φίλον τῷ θεῷ, ταύτη γινέσθω;' δοκεῖς, Σωκράτης εἰ ἐπεθύμει ἐν Λυκεῖῳ ἢ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ σχολάζειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι καθ' ἡμέραν τοῖς νέοις, εὐκόλως ἂν ἐστρατεύσατο ὡς ἄν τις ἐστρατεύσατο; οὐχὶ δ' ὠδύρετ' ἂν καὶ ἔστεινεν 'τάλας ἐγώ, νῦν ἐνθάδ' ἀτυχῶ ἄθλιος δυνάμενος ἐν Λυκεῖῳ ἡλιάζεσθαι;' [22] τοῦτο γὰρ σου τὸ ἔργον ἦν, ἡλιάζεσθαι; οὐχὶ δὲ τὸ εὐροεῖν, τὸ ἀκώλυτον εἶναι, τὸ ἀπαραπόδιστον; καὶ πῶς ἂν ἔτι ἦν Σωκράτης, εἰ ταῦτα ὠδύρετο; πῶς ἂν ἔτι ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ παιᾶνας ἔγραφεν;

[23] ἀπλῶς οὖν ἐκείνου μέμνησο, ὅτι, πᾶν ὃ ἔξω τῆς προαιρέσεως τῆς σαυτοῦ τιμήσεις, ἀπώλεσας τὴν προαίρεσιν. ἔξω δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον ἀρχή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναρχία, οὐ μόνον ἀσχολία, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχολή. [24] 'νῦν οὖν ἐμὲ ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ διεξάγειν.' τί λέγεις θορύβῳ; ἐν πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις; καὶ τί χαλεπόν; δόξον ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ εἶναι, πανήγυριν αὐτὸν ἡγήσαι. κάκεῖ ἄλλος ἄλλο τι κέκραγεν, ἄλλος ἄλλο τι πράσσει, ἄλλος τῷ ἄλλῳ ἐνείσεται. ἐν τοῖς βαλανεῖοις ὄχλος; καὶ τίς ἡμῶν οὐ χαίρει τῇ πανηγύρει ταύτῃ καὶ ὀδυνώμενος αὐτῆς ἀπαλλάσσεται; [25] μὴ γίνου δυσάρεστος μηδὲ κακοστόμαχος πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα. 'τὸ ὄξος σαπρόν, δριμύ γάρ·' 'τὸ μέλι σαπρόν, ἀνατρέπει γάρ μου τὴν ἑξιν·' 'λάχανα οὐ θέλω.' οὕτως καὶ 'σχολὴν οὐ θέλω, ἐρημία ἐστίν,' 'ὄχλον οὐ θέλω, θόρυβός ἐστιν.' [26] ἀλλ' ἂν μὲν οὕτως φέρῃ τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε μόνον ἢ μετ' ὀλίγων διεξαγαγεῖν, ἡσυχίαν αὐτὸ κάλει καὶ χρῶ τῷ πράγματι, εἰς ὃ δεῖ: λάλει σεαυτῷ, γύμναζε τὰς φαντασίας, ἐξεργάζου τὰς προλήψεις. ἂν δ' εἰς ὄχλον ἐμπέσης, ἀγῶνα αὐτὸ λέγε, πανήγυριν, εορτήν, συνεορτάζειν πειρῶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. [27] τί γάρ ἐστιν ἥδιον θέαμα τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ ἢ ἄνθρωποι πολλοί; ἵππων ἀγέλας ἢ βοῶν ἡδέως ὀρῶμεν, πλοῖα πολλὰ ὅταν ἴδωμεν, διαχεόμεθα: ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς βλέπων τις ἀνιάται; [28] 'ἀλλὰ κατακραυγάζουσίν μου.' οὐκοῦν ἢ ἀκοή σου ἐμποδίζεται. τί οὖν πρὸς σέ; μὴ τι καὶ δύναμις ἢ ταῖς φαντασίαις χρηστική; καὶ τίς σε κωλύει ὀρέξει καὶ ἐκκλίσαι χρῆσθαι κατὰ φύσιν, ὁρμῇ καὶ ἀφορμῇ; ποῖος θόρυβος πρὸς τοῦτο ἱκανός;

Σὺ μόνον μέμνησο τῶν καθολικῶν: [29] 'τί ἐμόν, τί οὐκ ἐμόν; τί μοι δίδοται; τί θέλει με ποιεῖν ὁ θεὸς νῦν, τί οὐ θέλει;' [30] πρὸ ὀλίγου χρόνου ἤθελέν σε σχολάζειν, σαυτῷ λαλεῖν, γράφειν περὶ τούτων, ἀναγιγνώσκειν, ἀκούειν, παρασκευάζεσθαι: ἔσχες εἰς τοῦτο ἱκανὸν χρόνον. νῦν σοι λέγει 'ἐλθέ ἡδὴ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, δεῖξον ἡμῖν, τί ἔμαθες, πῶς ἡθλησας. μέχρι τίνος γυμνασθήσῃ μόνος; ἡδὴ καιρὸς γνῶναί σε, πότερον τῶν ἀξιονίκων εἴ τις ἀθλητῶν ἢ ἐκείνων, οἳ τὴν οἰκουμένην περιέρχονται νικώμενοι.' [31] τί οὖν ἀγανακτεῖς; οὐδεὶς ἀγῶν δίχα θορύβου γίνεται. πολλοὺς δεῖ προγυμναστὰς εἶναι, πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐπικραυγάζοντας, πολλοὺς ἐπιστάτας, πολλοὺς θεατάς. [32] — ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἤθελον ἐφ' ἡσυχίας διάγειν. — οἴμωζε τοίνυν καὶ στένε, ὥσπερ ἄξιος εἶ. τίς γὰρ ἄλλη μείζων ταύτης ζημία τῷ ἀπαιδεύτῳ καὶ ἀπειθοῦντι τοῖς θεοῖς

διατάγμασιν ἢ τὸ λυπεῖσθαι, τὸ πενθεῖν, τὸ φθονεῖν, ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀτυχεῖν καὶ δυστυχεῖν; τούτων οὐ θέλεις ἀπαλλάξαι σεαυτόν;

καὶ πῶς ἀπαλλάξω; [33] — οὐ πολλάκις ἤκουσας, ὅτι ὄρεξιν ἄραι σε δεῖ παντελῶς, τὴν ἔκκλισιν ἐπὶ μόνα τρέψαι τὰ προαιρετικά, ἀφειναί σε δεῖ πάντα, τὸ σῶμα, τὴν κτήσιν, τὴν φήμην, τὰ βιβλία, θόρυβον, ἀρχάς, ἀναρχίαν; ὅπου γὰρ ἂν κλίνης, ἐδοῦλευσας, ὑπετάγης, κωλυτὸς ἐγένου, ἀναγκαστός, ὅλος ἐπ' ἄλλοις. [34] ἀλλὰ τὸ Κλεάνθους πρόχειρον ἄγου δέ μ', ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ σύ γ' ἡ Πεπρωμένη. θέλετ' εἰς Ῥώμην; εἰς Ῥώμην. εἰς Γύαρα; εἰς Γύαρα. εἰς Ἀθήνας; εἰς Ἀθήνας. εἰς φυλακὴν; εἰς φυλακὴν. ἂν ἅπαξ εἴπῃ [35] ς 'πότε τις εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέλθῃ;,' ἀπώλου. ἀνάγκη γε ταύτην τὴν ὄρεξιν ἀτελῇ μὲν οὔσαν ἀτυχῇ σε ποιεῖν, τελειωθεῖσαν δὲ κενόν, ἐφ' οἷς οὐ δεῖ ἐπαιρόμενον: πάλιν ἂν ἐμποδισθῇς, δυστυχῇ, περιπίπτοντα οἷς οὐ θέλεις. [36] ἄφες οὖν ταῦτα πάντα. 'καλαὶ αἱ Ἀθῆναι.' ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν κάλλιον πολὺ, τὸ ἀπαθῆ εἶναι, τὸ ἀτάραχον, τὸ ἐπὶ μηδενὶ κεῖσθαι τὰ σὰ πράγματα. [37] 'θόρυβος ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἀσπασμοί.' ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐροεῖν ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν δυσκόλων. εἰ οὖν τούτων καιρὸς ἐστίν, διὰ τί οὐκ αἴρεις αὐτῶν τὴν ἔκκλισιν; τίς ἀνάγκη ὥς ὄνον ξυλοκοπούμενον ἀχθοφορεῖν; [38] εἰ δὲ μή, ὅρα ὅτι δεῖ σε δουλεύειν αἰεὶ τῷ δυναμένῳ σοι διαπράξασθαι τὴν ἐξοδον, τῷ πᾶν ἐμποδίσαι δυναμένῳ κακέϊνον θεραπεύειν ὥς Κακοδαίμονα.

[39] μία ὁδὸς ἐπὶ εὐροίαν (τοῦτο καὶ ὀρθρον καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἔστω πρόχειρον), ἀπόστασις τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων, τὸ μηδὲν ἴδιον ἡγεῖσθαι, τὸ παραδοῦναι πάντα τῷ δαιμονίῳ, τῇ τύχῃ, ἐκείνους ἐπιτρόπους αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι, [40] οὗς καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς πεποίηκεν, αὐτὸν δὲ πρὸς ἐνὶ εἶναι μόνῳ, τῷ ἰδίῳ, τῷ ἀκωλύτῳ, καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀναφέροντα τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ γράφειν καὶ ἀκούειν. [41] διὰ τοῦτο οὐ δύναμαι εἰπεῖν φιλόπονον, ἂν ἀκούσω τοῦτο μόνον, ὅτι ἀναγιγνώσκει ἢ γράφει, κἂν προσθῇ τις, ὅτι ὅλας τὰς νύκτας, οὕτω λέγω, ἂν μὴ γινῶ τὴν ἀναφοράν. οὐδὲ γὰρ σὺ λέγεις φιλόπονον τὸν διὰ παιδισκάριον ἀγρυπνοῦντα: οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ' ἐγώ. [42] ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἔνεκα δόξης αὐτὸ ποιῇ, λέγω φιλόδοξον, ἂν δ' ἔνεκα ἀργυρίου, φιλάργυρον, οὐ φιλόπονον. [43] ἂν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἡγεμονικὸν ἀναφέρῃ τὸν πόνον, ἴν' ἐκεῖνο κατὰ φύσιν ἔχῃ καὶ διεξάγῃ, τότε λέγω μόνον φιλόπονον. [44] μηδέποτε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν μὴτ' ἐπαινεῖτε μῆτε ψέγετε, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ δογμάτων. ταῦτα γάρ ἐστι τὰ ἴδια ἐκάστου, τὰ καὶ τὰς πράξεις αἰσχροῦς ἢ καλὰς ποιοῦντα: [45] τούτων μεμνημένος χαῖρε τοῖς παροῦσιν καὶ ἀγάπα ταῦτα, ὧν καιρὸς ἐστίν. [46] εἴ τινα ὀρθῶς, ὧν ἔμαθες καὶ διεσκέψω, ἀπαντῶντά σοι εἰς τὰ ἔργα, εὐφραίνου ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. εἰ τὸ κακότηδες καὶ λοιδορον ἀποτέθεισαι, μεμείωκας, εἰ τὸ προπετές, εἰ τὸ αἰσχρολόγον, εἰ τὸ εἰκαῖον, εἰ τὸ ἐπισεσυρμένον, εἰ οὐ κινῇ ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον, εἰ οὐχ ὁμοίως γ' ὥς πρότερον, ἐορτὴν ἄγειν δύνασαι καθ' ἡμέραν, σήμερον, ὅτι καλῶς ἀνεστράφης ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ, αὔριον, ὅτι ἐν ἐτέρῳ. πόσω μείζων αἰτία θυσίας ἢ ὑπατ' [47] εἴα ἢ ἐπαρχία. ταῦτα ἐκ σοῦ αὐτοῦ γίνεται σοι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν. ἐκεῖνο μέμνησο, τίς ὁ διδούς ἐστὶ καὶ τίσιν καὶ διὰ τίνα. [48] τούτοις τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς ἐντρεφόμενος ἔτι διαφέρῃ, ποῦ ὧν εὐδαιμονήσεις, ποῦ ὧν ἀρέσεις τῷ θεῷ; οὐ πανταχόθεν τὸ ἴσον ἀπέχουσιν; οὐ πανταχόθεν ὁμοίως ὀρθῶσιν τὰ γινόμενα;

πρὸς τοὺς μαχίμους καὶ θηριώδεις.

ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς οὐτ' αὐτὸς μάχεται τινι οὐτ' ἄλλον ἐᾷ κατὰ δύναμιν. [2] παράδειγμα δὲ καὶ τούτου καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔκκειται ἡμῖν ὁ βίος ὁ Σωκράτους, ὃς οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς πανταχοῦ ἐξέφυγεν μάχην, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄλλους μάχεσθαι εἶα. [3] ὅρα παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ πόσας μάχας λέλυκεν, πῶς πάλιν ἠνέσχετο Θρασυμάχου, πῶς Πώλου, πῶς Καλλικλέους, πῶς τῆς γυναικὸς ἠνείχετο, πῶς τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐξελεγχόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, σοφισζόμενος. [4] λίαν γὰρ ἀσφαλῶς ἐμέμνητο, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἀλλοτρίου ἡγεμονικοῦ κυριεύει. οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο ἠθέλεν ἢ τὸ ἴδιον. [5] τί δ' ἔστι τοῦτο; οὐχ ἰκ ... ὅς οὗτος ... κατὰ φύσιν: τοῦτο γὰρ ἀλλότριον: ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐκείνων τὰ ἴδια ποιούντων, ὡς αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ, αὐτὸς μηδὲν ἤττον κατὰ φύσιν ἔξει καὶ διεξάξει μόνον τὰ αὐτοῦ ποιῶν πρὸς τὸ κακείνους ἔχειν κατὰ φύσιν. [6] τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν, ὃ αἰεὶ πρόκειται τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ. στρατηγῆσαι; οὐ: ἀλλ', ἂν διδῶται, ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὕλης τὸ ἴδιον ἡγεμονικὸν τηρῆσαι. γῆμαι; οὐ: ἀλλ', ἂν διδῶται γάμος, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὕλῃ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντα αὐτὸν τηρῆσαι. [7] ἂν δὲ θέλῃ τὸν υἱὸν μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα, θέλει τὰ ἀλλότρια μὴ εἶναι ἀλλότρια. καὶ τὸ παιδεύεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν μαρτάνειν τὰ ἴδια καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια.

[8] ποῦ οὖν ἔτι μάχης τόπος τῷ οὕτως ἔχοντι; μὴ γὰρ θαυμάζει τι τῶν γινομένων; μὴ γὰρ καινὸν αὐτῷ φαίνεται; μὴ γὰρ οὐ χείρονα καὶ χαλεπώτερα προσδέχεται τὰ παρὰ τῶν φαύλων ἢ ἀποβαίνει αὐτῷ; μὴ γὰρ οὐ κέρδος λογίζεται πᾶν ὃ τι ἀπολείπουσιν τοῦ ἐσχάτου; [9] 'ἐλοιδόρησέν σε ὁ δεῖνα.' πολλὴ χάρις αὐτῷ, ὅτι μὴ ἐπληξεν. 'ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπληξεν.' πολλὴ χάρις, ὅτι μὴ ἔτρωσεν. 'ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτρωσεν.' πολλὴ χάρις, ὅτι μὴ ἀπέκτεινεν. [10] πότε γὰρ ἔμαθεν ἢ παρὰ τίνι, ὅτι ἡμερόν ἐστι ζῶον, ὅτι φιλάλληλον, ὅτι μεγάλῃ βλάβῃ τῷ ἀδικοῦντι αὐτῇ ἢ ἀδικία; ταῦτα οὖν μὴ μεμαθηκὼς μηδὲ πεπεισμένος, διὰ τί μὴ ἀκολουθήσῃ τῷ φαινομένῳ συμφέροντι; [11] 'βέβληκεν ὁ γείτων λίθους.' μὴ τι οὖν σὺ ἡμάρτηκας; 'ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐν οἴκῳ κατεάγῃ.' σὺ οὖν σκευάριον εἶ; [12] οὐ, ἀλλὰ προαίρεσις. τί οὖν σοι δίδοται πρὸς τοῦτο; ὥς μὲν λύκῳ ἀντιδάκνειν καὶ ἄλλους πλείονας λίθους βάλλειν: ἀνθρώπῳ δ' ἐὰν ζητῆς, ἐπίσκεψαί σου τὸ ταμεῖον, ἴδε τίνας δυνάμεις ἔχων ἐλήλυθας: μὴ τι τὴν θηριώδη; μὴ τι τὴν μνησικακητικὴν; [13] ἵππος οὖν πότ' ἄθλιός ἐστιν; ὅταν τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων στέρηται: οὐχ ὅταν μὴ δύνῃται κοκκύζειν, ἀλλ' ὅταν μὴ τρέχειν. ὁ δὲ κύων; ὅταν πέτεσθαι μὴ δύνῃται; [14] ἀλλ' ὅταν μὴ ἰχνεύειν. μὴ ποτ' οὖν οὕτως καὶ ἄνθρωπος δυστυχὴς ἐστιν οὐχ ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος λέοντας πνίγειν ἢ ἀνδριάντας περιλαμβάνειν (οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τοῦτο δυνάμεις τινὰς ἔχων ἐλήλυθεν παρὰ τῆς φύσεως), ἀλλ' ὁ ἀπολωλεκὼς τὸ εὐγνωμον, ὁ τὸ πιστόν; [15] τοῦτον ἔδει συνελθόντας θρηνεῖν, εἰς ὅσα κακὰ ἐλήλυθεν: οὐχὶ μὰ Δία τὸν φόντα ἢ τὸν ἀποθανόντα, ἀλλ' ὃ ζῶντι συμβεβήκει ἀπολέσαι τὰ ἴδια, οὐ τὰ πατρῷα, τὸ ἀγρίδιον καὶ τὸ οἰκίδιον καὶ τὸ πανδοκεῖον καὶ τὰ δουλάρια (τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἴδιον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀλλότρια, δούλα, ὑπεύθυνα ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις διδόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίων), ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀνθρωπικά, [16] τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, οὓς ἔχων ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐλήλυθεν, οἷους καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν νομισμάτων ζητοῦντες, ἂν μὲν εὖρωμεν, δοκιμάζομεν, ἂν δὲ μὴ εὖρωμεν, ρίπτομεν. [17] 'τίνος ἔχει τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦτο τὸ τετράσσαρον;' 'Τραιανοῦ;'

‘φέρει.’ ‘Νέρωνος;’ ‘ῥίπον ἔξω, ἀδόκιμόν ἐστιν, σαπρόν.’ οὕτως καὶ ἐνθάδε. τίνα ἔχει χαρακτῆρα τὰ δόγματα αὐτοῦ; ‘ἡμερον, κοινωνικόν, ἀνεκτικόν, φιλόλληλον.’ φέρε, παραδέχομαι, ποιῶ πολίτην τοῦτον, παραδέχομαι γείτονα, σύμπλουν. [18] ὅρα μόνον, μὴ Νερωνιανὸν ἔχει χαρακτῆρα. μή τι ὀργίλος ἐστίν, μή τι μηνιτής, μή τι μεμψίμοιρος; ‘ἂν αὐτῷ φανῇ, πατάσσει τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν ἀπαντῶντων.’ [19] τί οὖν ἔλεγες, ὅτι ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν; μὴ γὰρ ἐκ ψιλῆς μορφῆς κρίνεται τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον; ἐπεὶ οὕτως λέγε καὶ τὸ κήρινον μῆλον εἶναι. [20] καὶ ὁδμήν ἔχειν αὐτὸ δεῖ καὶ γεῦσιν: οὐκ ἄρκεῖ ἡ ἐκτὸς περιγραφή. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἡ ῥίς ἐξαρκεῖ καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί, ἀλλ’ ἂν τὰ δόγματα ἔχῃ ἀνθρωπικά. [21] οὗτος οὐκ ἀκούει λόγου, οὐ παρακολουθεῖ ἐλεγχόμενος: ὄνος ἐστίν. τοῦτου τὸ αἰδήμον ἀπονενέκρωται: ἄχρηστός ἐστιν, πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνθρωπος. οὗτος ζητεῖ, τίνα ἀπαντήσας λακτίσῃ ἢ δάκῃ: ὥστε οὐδὲ πρόβατον ἢ ὄνος, ἀλλὰ τί ποτε ἄγριον θηρίον.

[22] τί οὖν; θέλεις με καταφρονεῖσθαι; — ὑπὸ τίνων; ὑπὸ εἰδότην; καὶ πῶς καταφρονήσουσιν εἰδότες τοῦ πρᾶου, τοῦ αἰδήμονος; ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγνοούντων; τί σοι μέλει; οὐ τινι γὰρ ἄλλω τεχνίτῃ τῶν ἀτέχνων. — ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπιφυήσονται μοι. [23] — τί λέγεις τὸ ἐμοί; δύναται τις τὴν προαίρεσιν τὴν σὴν βλάψαι ἢ κωλύσαι ταῖς προσπιπτούσαις φαντασίαις χρῆσθαι ὡς ἐπέφυκεν; [24] — οὐ. — τί οὖν ἔτι τάρασσῃ καὶ φοβερὸν σαυτὸν θέλεις ἐπιδεικνύειν; οὐχὶ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς μέσον κηρύσσεις, ὅτι εἰρήνην ἄγεις πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὃ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ποιῶσι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐκείνων καταγελᾶς, ὅσοι σε βλάπτειν δοκοῦσιν; ‘ἀνδράποδα ταῦτα οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδὲ τίς εἰμὶ οὐδὲ ποῦ μου τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν: οὐ πρόσοδος αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ ἐμά.’

[25] οὕτως καὶ ἐχυρὰν πόλιν οἱ οἰκοῦντες καταγελῶσι τῶν πολιορκούντων: ‘νῦν οὗτοι τί πρᾶγμα ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδενί; ἀσφαλές ἐστιν ἡμῶν τὸ τεῖχος, τροφὰς ἔχομεν ἐπὶ πάμπολυν χρόνον, τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν παρασκευήν.’ [26] ταῦτα ἐστὶ τὰ πόλιν ἐχυρὰν καὶ ἀνάλωτον ποιοῦντα, ἀνθρώπου δὲ ψυχὴν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δόγματα. ποῖον γὰρ τεῖχος οὕτως ἰσχυρὸν ἢ ποῖον σῶμα οὕτως ἀδαμάντινον ἢ ποία κτῆσις ἀναφαίρετος ἢ ποῖον ἀξίωμα οὕτως ἀνεπιβούλευτον; [27] πάντα πανταχοῦ θνητά, εὐάλωτα, οἷς τιςιν τὸν ὀπωσοῦν προσέχοντα πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τaráσσεσθαι, κακελπιστεῖν, φοβεῖσθαι, πενθεῖν, ἀτελεῖς ἔχειν τὰς ὀρέξεις, περιπτωτικὰς ἔχειν τὰς ἐκκλίσεις. [28] εἴτα οὐ θέλομεν τὴν μόνην δεδομένην ἡμῖν ἀσφάλειαν ἐχυρὰν ποιεῖν; οὐδ’ ἀποστάντες τῶν θνητῶν καὶ δούλων τὰ ἀθάνατα καὶ φύσει ἐλεύθερα ἐκπονεῖν; οὐδὲ μεμνήμεθα, ὅτι οὔτε βλάπτει ἄλλος ἄλλον οὔτε ὠφελεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸ περὶ ἐκάστου τούτων δόγμα, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ βλάπτον, τοῦτο τὸ ἀνατρέπον, τοῦτο μάχη, τοῦτο στάσις, τοῦτο πόλεμος; [29] Ἐτεοκλέα καὶ Πολυνεΐκη τὸ πεποιηκὸς οὐκ ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτο, τὸ δόγμα τὸ περὶ τυραννίδος, τὸ δόγμα τὸ περὶ φυγῆς, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἔσχατον τῶν κακῶν, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν. [30] φύσις δ’ αὕτη παντός, τὸ διώκειν τὸ ἀγαθόν, φεύγειν τὸ κακόν: τὸν ἀφαιρούμενον θατέρου καὶ περιβάλλοντα τῷ ἐναντίῳ, τοῦτον ἡγεῖσθαι πολέμιον, ἐπίβουλον, κἂν ἀδελφός ᾤ, κἂν υἱός, κἂν πατήρ. [31] τοῦ γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ συγγενέστερον οὐδέν: λοιπὸν εἰ ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακά, οὔτε πατήρ υἱοῖς φίλος οὐτ’ ἀδελφός ἀδελφῷ, πάντα δὲ πανταχοῦ μεστὰ πολεμίων, ἐπιβούλων, συκοφαντῶν. [32] εἰ

δ' οἷα δεῖ προαίρεσις, τοῦτο μόνον ἀγαθόν ἐστιν, καὶ οἷα μὴ δεῖ, τοῦτο μόνον κακόν, ποῦ ἔτι μάχη, ποῦ λοιδορία; περὶ τίνων; περὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς; πρὸς τίνας; πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας, πρὸς τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας, πρὸς τοὺς ἡπατημένους περὶ τῶν μεγίστων; [33]

τούτων Σωκράτης μεμνημένος τὴν οἰκείαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ὥκει γυναικὸς ἀνεχόμενος τραχυτάτης, υἱοῦ ἀγνώμονος. τραχεῖα γὰρ πρὸς τί ἦν; ἵν' ὕδωρ καταχέῃ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὅσον καὶ θέλει, ἵνα καταπατήσῃ τὸν πλακοῦντα: καὶ τί πρὸς ἐμέ, ἂν ὑπολάβω, ὅτι ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστι πρὸς ἐμέ; [34] τοῦτο δ' ἐμὸν ἔργον ἐστὶ καὶ οὔτε τύραννος κωλύσει με θέλοντα οὔτε δεσπότης οὔτε οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν ἕνα οὔθ' ὁ ἰσχυρότερος τὸν ἀσθενέστερον: τοῦτο γὰρ ἀκώλυτον δέδοται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκάστω. [35] ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἐν οἰκίᾳ φιλίαν ποιεῖ, ἐν πόλει ὁμόνοιαν, ἐν ἔθνεσιν εἰρήνην, πρὸς θεὸν εὐχάριστον, πανταχοῦ θαρροῦντα, ὥς περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ὥς περὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίον. [36] ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γράψαι μὲν καὶ ἀναγνῶναι ταῦτα καὶ ἀναγινωσκόμενα ἐπαινέσαι ἱκανοί, πεισθῆναι δ' οὐδ' ἐγγύς. [37] τοιγαροῦν τὸ περὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων λεγόμενον

οἰκοὶ λέοντες, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δ' ἄλῳπεκες

καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀρμόσει: ἐν σχολῇ λέοντες, ἔξω δ' ἄλῳπεκες.

πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλεεῖσθαι ὀδυνωμένους.

ἀνιδῶμαι, φησίν, ἐλεούμενος. — πότερον οὖν σὸν ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ ἐλεεῖσθαι σε ἢ τῶν ἐλεούντων; τί δ'; ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐστὶ τὸ παῦσαι αὐτό; — ἐπ' ἐμοί, ἂν δεικνύω αὐτοῖς μὴ ἄξιον ἐλέου ὄντα ἐμαυτόν. [2] — πότερον δ' ἤδη σοι ὑπάρχει τοῦτο, τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἐλέου ἄξιον ἢ οὐχ ὑπάρχει; — δοκῶ ἔγωγε, ὅτι ὑπάρχει. ἀλλ' οὗτοί γ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐλεοῦσιν, ἐφ' οἷς, εἴπερ ἄρα, ἦν ἄξιον, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτανομένοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πενία καὶ ἀναρχία καὶ νόσοις καὶ θανάτοις καὶ ἄλλοις τοιοῦτοις. [3] — πότερον οὖν πείθειν παρεσκεύασαι τοὺς πολλούς, ὥς ἄρα οὐδὲν τούτων κακόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἷόν τε καὶ πένητι καὶ † ἄρχοντι καὶ ἀτίμῳ εὐδαιμονεῖν, ἢ σπαντὸν ἐπιδεικνύειν αὐτοῖς πλουτοῦντα καὶ ἄρχοντα; [4] τούτων γὰρ τὰ μὲν δεύτερα ἀλαζόνος καὶ ψυχροῦ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίου. καὶ ἡ προσποιήσις ὅρα δι' οἷων ἂν γένοιτο: δουλάρια σε χρήσασθαι δεήσει καὶ ἀργυρωμάτια ὀλίγα κεκτῆσθαι καὶ ταῦτα ἐν φανερῷ δεικνύειν, εἰ οἷόν τε, ταῦτα πολλάκις καὶ λανθάνειν πειρᾶσθαι ὅτι ταῦτά ἐστιν, καὶ ἱματίδια στιλπνὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πομπὴν καὶ τὸν τιμώμενον ἐπιφαίνειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τούτων καὶ δειπνεῖν πειρᾶσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ δοκεῖν γε, ὅτι δειπνεῖς, καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα δέ τινα κακοτεχνεῖν, ὥς εὐμορφότερον φαίνεσθαι καὶ γενναιότερον τοῦ ὄντος: [5] ταῦτά σε δεῖ μηχανᾶσθαι, εἰ τὴν δευτέραν ὁδὸν ἀπιέναι θέλεις ὥστε μὴ ἐλεεῖσθαι. ἡ πρώτη δὲ καὶ ἀνήνυτος καὶ μακρά, ὃ ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ἡδυνήθη ποιῆσαι, τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐπιχειρεῖν, πάντα ἀνθρώπους πείσαι, τίνα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ. [6] μὴ γὰρ δέδοται σοι τοῦτο; ἐκεῖνο μόνον σοι δέδοται, σπαντὸν πείσαι. καὶ οὐπω πέπεικας: εἴτά μοι νῦν ἐπιχειρεῖς πείθειν τοὺς ἄλλους; [7] καὶ τίς σοι τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ σύνεστιν ὥς σὺ σπαντῷ; τίς δὲ οὕτως πιθανός ἐστὶ σοι πρὸς τὸ πείσαι ὥς σὺ σπαντῷ; τίς δ' εὐνούστερον καὶ οἰκειότερον ἔχων ἢ σὺ σπαντῷ; [8] πῶς οὖν οὐπω πέπεικας σπαντὸν μαθεῖν; νῦν οὐχὶ ἄνω κάτω; τοῦτ' ἔστι περὶ ὃ ἐσπούδακας; οὐ μανθάνειν, ὥστε ἄλυπος εἶναι καὶ ἀτάραχος καὶ ἀταπεινώτος καὶ ἐλεύθερος; [9] πρὸς ταῦτα οὖν οὐκ

ἀκήκοας, ὅτι μία ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ φέρουσα, ἀφεῖναι τὰ ἀπροαίρετα καὶ ἐκστῆναι αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμολογῆσαι αὐτὰ ἀλλότρια; [10] τὸ οὖν ἄλλον τι ὑπολαβεῖν περὶ σοῦ ποίου εἵδους ἐστίν; — τοῦ ἀπροαιρέτου. — οὐκοῦν οὐδὲν πρὸς σέ; — οὐδέν. — ἔτι οὖν δακνόμενος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ταρασσόμενος οἶει πεπεῖσθαι περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν; [11]

Οὐ θέλεις οὖν ἀφείς τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτὸς σαυτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ μαθητὴς καὶ διδάσκαλος; ὅψονται οἱ ἄλλοι, εἰ λυσιτελεῖ αὐτοῖς παρὰ φύσιν ἔχειν καὶ διεξάγειν, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἐγγίω ἐμοῦ. [12] τί οὖν τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν λόγους ἀκήκοα τοὺς τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ συγκατατίθεμαι αὐτοῖς, ἔργῳ δ' οὐδὲν γέγονα κουφότερος; μὴ τι οὕτως ἀφυῆς εἰμι; καὶ μὴν περὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἐβουλήθην, οὐ λίαν ἀφυῆς εὐρέθην, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμματα ταχέως ἔμαθον καὶ παλαίειν καὶ γεωμετερεῖν καὶ συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύειν. [13] μὴ τι οὖν οὐ πέπεικέ με ὁ λόγος; καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἄλλα τινὰ οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδοκίμασα ἢ εἰλόμην καὶ νῦν περὶ τούτων ἀναγιγνώσκω, ταῦτα ἀκούω, ταῦτα γράφω; ἄλλον οὐχ εὐρήκαμεν μέχρι νῦν ἰσχυρότερον τούτου λόγον. [14] τί οὖν τὸ λειπὸν μοι ἐστίν; μὴ οὐκ ἐξήρηται τάναντία δόγματα; μὴ αὐταὶ αἱ ὑπολήψεις ἀγύμναστοί εἰσιν οὐδ' εἰθισμένοι ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα, ἀλλ' ὥς ὀπλάρια ἀποκείμενα κατίωται καὶ οὐδὲ περιαρμόσαι μοι δύνатаι; [15] καίτοι οὗτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παλαίειν οὗτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ γράφειν ἢ ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἀρκοῦμαι τῷ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄνω κάτω στρέφω τοὺς προτεινομένους καὶ ἄλλους πλέκω καὶ μεταπίπτοντας ὡσαύτως. [16] τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα θεωρήματα, ἀφ' ὧν ἔστιν ὁρμώμενον ἄλυπον γενέσθαι, ἀφοβὸν ἀπαθῆ, ἀκόλυτον, ἐλευθέρων, ταῦτα δ' οὐ γυμνάζω οὐδὲ μελετῶ κατὰ ταῦτα τὴν προσήκουσαν μελέτην. [17] εἴτά μοι μέλει, τί οἱ ἄλλοι περὶ ἐμοῦ ἐροῦσιν, εἰ φανοῦμαι αὐτοῖς ἀξιόλογος, εἰ φανοῦμαι εὐδαίμων;

[18] ταλαίπωρε, οὐ θέλεις βλέπειν, τί σὺ λέγεις περὶ σαυτοῦ; τίς φαίνει σαυτῷ; τίς ἐν τῷ ὑπολαμβάνειν, τίς ἐν τῷ ὀρέγεσθαι, τίς ἐν τῷ ἐκκλίνειν; τίς ἐν ὁρμῇ, παρασκευῇ, ἐπιβολῇ, τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἀνθρωπικοῖς ἔργοις; [19] ἀλλὰ μέλει σοι, εἴ σε ἐλεοῦσιν οἱ ἄλλοι; — ναί: ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐλεοῦμαι. — οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὀδυνᾷ; ὁ δέ γε ὀδυνώμενος ἐλεεινός ἐστιν; — ναί. — πῶς οὖν ἔτι παρὰ ἀξίαν ἐλεῇ; αὐτοῖς γὰρ οἷς περὶ τὸν ἔλεον πάσχεις κατασκευάζεις σεαυτὸν ἄξιον τοῦ ἐλεεῖσθαι. [20] τί οὖν λέγει Ἀντισθένης; οὐδέποτε ἦκουσας; 'βασιλικόν, ὦ Κῦρε, πράττειν μὲν εὖ, κακῶς δ' ἀκούειν.' [21] τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑγιᾶ ἔχω καὶ πάντες οἶονται ὅτι κεφαλαλγῶ. τί μοι μέλει; ἀπύρετός εἰμι καὶ ὥς πυρέσσοντί μοι συνάχθονται: 'τάλας, ἐκ τοσούτου χρόνου οὐ διέλειπες πυρέσσων.' λέγω καὶ ἐγὼ σκυθρωπάσας ὅτι 'ναί: ταῖς ἀληθείαις πολὺς ἤδη χρόνος, ἐξ οὗ μοι κακῶς ἐστίν.' 'τί οὖν γένηται;' ὥς ἂν ὁ θεὸς θέλῃ. καὶ ἅμα ὑποκαταγελῶ τῶν οἰκτειρόντων με. [22] τί οὖν κωλύει καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁμοίως; πένης εἰμί, ἀλλὰ ὀρθὸν δόγμα ἔχω περὶ πενίας. τί οὖν μοι μέλει, εἴ μ' ἐπὶ τῇ πενίᾳ ἐλεοῦσιν; οὐκ ἄρχω, ἄλλοι δ' ἄρχουσιν. ἀλλ' ὁ δεῖ ὑπείληφέναι, ὑπείληφα περὶ τοῦ ἄρχειν καὶ μὴ ἄρχειν. ὅψονται οἱ ἐλεοῦντές με, [23] ἐγὼ δ' οὔτε πεινῶ οὔτε διψῶ οὔτε ῥιγῶ, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν αὐτοὶ πεινῶσιν ἢ διψῶσιν οἶονται κάμέ. τί οὖν αὐτοῖς ποιήσω; περιερχόμενος κηρύσσω καὶ λέγω 'μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἄνδρες, ἐμοὶ καλῶς ἐστίν: οὔτε πενίας ἐπιστρέφομαι οὔτε ἀναρχίας οὔτε ἀπλῶς ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἢ δογμάτων ὀρθῶν: ταῦτα ἔχω ἀκόλυτα,

οὐδενὸς πεφρόντικα ἐτι;’ [24] καὶ τίς αὕτη φλυαρία; πῶς ἔτι ὀρθὰ δόγματα ἔχω μὴ ἀρκούμενος τῷ εἶναι ὅς εἰμι, ἀλλ’ ἐποτημένος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν; [25]

ἀλλ’ ἄλλοι πλειόνων τεύζονται καὶ προτιμηθήσονται. — τί οὖν εὐλογώτερον ἢ τοὺς περὶ τι ἐσπουδακότας ἐν ἐκείνῳ πλεῖον ἔχειν, ἐν ᾧ ἐσπουδάκασιν; περὶ ἀρχὰς ἐσπουδάκασιν, σὺ περὶ δόγματα: καὶ περὶ πλοῦτον, σὺ περὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν φαντασιῶν. [26] ὅρα, εἰ ἐν τούτῳ σου πλεόν ἔχουσιν, περὶ ὃ σὺ μὲν ἐσπούδακας, ἐκεῖνοι δ’ ἀμελοῦσιν: εἰ συγκατατίθενται μᾶλλον περὶ τὰ φυσικὰ μέτρα, εἰ ὀρέγονταί σου ἀναποτευκτότερον, εἰ ἐκκλίνουσιν ἀπεριπτωτότερον, εἰ ἐν ἐπιβολῇ, ἐν προθέσει, εἰ ἐν ὁρμῇ μᾶλλον εὐστοχοῦσιν, εἰ τὸ πρέπον σφύζουσιν ὥς ἄνδρες, ὥς υἱοί, ὥς γονεῖς, εἴθ’ ἐξῆς κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν σχέσεων ὀνόματα. [27] εἰ δ’ ἄρχουσιν ἐκεῖνοι, σὺ δ’ οὐ θέλεις σαυτῷ τὰς ἀληθείας εἰπεῖν, ὅτι σὺ μὲν οὐδὲν τούτου ἔνεκα ποιεῖς, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ πάντα, ἀλογώτατον δὲ τὸν ἐπιμελούμενόν τινας ἔλαττον φέρεσθαι οὐ ἢ τὸν ἀμελοῦντα;

[28] οὐ, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ φροντίζω ἐγὼ δογμάτων ὀρθῶν, εὐλογώτερόν μὲ ἐστὶν ἄρχειν. — ἐν ᾧ φροντίζεις, ἐν δόγμασιν: ἐν ᾧ δ’ ἄλλοι μᾶλλον σου πεφροντίκασιν, ἐκείνοις παραχώρει. οἷον εἰ διὰ τὸ δόγματα ἔχειν ὀρθὰ ἡξίους τοξεύων μᾶλλον ἐπιτυγχάνειν τῶν τοξοτῶν ἢ χαλκεύων μᾶλλον τῶν χαλκῶν. [29] ἄφες οὖν τὴν περὶ τὰ δόγματα σπουδὴν καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀναστρέφου, ἃ κτήσασθαι θέλεις, καὶ τότε κλαῖε, ἐάν σοι μὴ προχωρή: κλαίειν γὰρ ἄξιος εἶ. [30] νῦν δὲ πρὸς ἄλλοις γίνεσθαι λέγεις, ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τοῦτο καλῶς λέγουσιν, ὅτι ἔργον ἔργῳ οὐ κοινωνεῖ. [31] ὁ μὲν ἐξ ὀρθρου ἀναστὰς ζητεῖ, τίνα ἐξ οἴκου ἀσπάσεται, τίني κεχαρισμένον λόγον εἶπη, τίني δῶρον πέμψει, πῶς τῷ ὀρχηστῇ ἀρέσῃ, πῶς κακοηθισάμενος ἄλλον ἄλλω χαρίσεται. [32] ὅταν εὐχῇται, περὶ τούτων εὐχεται: ὅταν θύῃ, ἐπὶ τούτοις θύει: τὸ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου

μὴ δ’ ὕπνον μαλακοῖσιν ἐπ’ ὄμμασι προσδέξασθαι

ἐνταῦθα παρατέθεικεν. [33] ‘πῇ παρέβην;’ τῶν πρὸς κολακαίαν. ‘τί ἔρεξα;’ μὴ τι ὥς ἐλευθερος, μὴ τι ὥς γενναῖος; κἂν εὖρη τι τοιοῦτον, ἐπιτιμᾷ ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐγκαλεῖ ‘τί γάρ σοι καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν; οὐ γὰρ ἐνὴν ψεύσασθαι; λέγουσιν καὶ οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ὅτι οὐδὲν κωλύει ψεῦδος εἰπεῖν.’ [34] σὺ δ’ εἶπερ ταῖς ἀληθείαις οὐδενὸς ἄλλου πεφρόντικας ἢ χρήσεως οἷας δεῖ φαντασιῶν, εὐθὺς ἀναστὰς ἔωθεν ἐνθυμοῦ ‘τίνα μοι λείπει πρὸς ἀπάθειαν; τίνα πρὸς ἀταραξίαν; τίς εἰμι; μὴ τι σωματίον, μὴ τι κτῆσις, μὴ τι φήμη; οὐδὲν τούτων. ἀλλὰ τί; [35] λογικόν εἰμι ζῶν.’ τίνα οὖν τὰ ἀπαιτήματα; ἀναπόλει τὰ πεπραγμένα. ‘πῇ παρέβην τῶν πρὸς εὐροίαν; τί ἔρεξα ἢ ἄφιλον ἢ ἀκοινωνήτον ἢ ἄγνωμον; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη πρὸς ταῦτα;’

[36] τοσαύτης οὖν διαφορᾶς οὔσης τῶν ἐπιθυμουμένων, τῶν ἔργων, τῶν εὐχῶν ἔτι θέλεις τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἐκείνοις, περὶ ἃ σὺ μὲν οὐκ ἐσπούδακας, ἐκεῖνοι δ’ ἐσπουδάκασιν; [37] εἴτα θαυμάζεις, εἴ σ’ ἐλεοῦσιν, καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς; ἐκεῖνοι δ’ οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦσιν, εἰ σὺ αὐτοὺς ἐλεεῖς. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν πεπεισμένοι εἰσίν, ὅτι ἀγαθὸν τυγχάνουσιν, σὺ δ’ οὐ πέπεισαι. [38] διὰ τοῦτο σὺ μὲν οὐκ ἀρκῇ τοῖς σοῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐφίεσαι τῶν ἐκείνων: ἐκεῖνοι δ’ ἀρκοῦνται τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐφίενται τῶν σῶν. ἐπεὶ τοι εἰ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐπέπεισο, ὅτι

περὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ σὺ ὁ ἐπιτυγχάνων εἶ, ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἀποπεπλάνηνται, οὐδ' ἂν ἐνεθυμοῦ, τί λέγουσι περὶ σοῦ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΦΟΒΙΑΣ.

Τί ποιῇ φοβερὸν τὸν τύραννον; — οἱ δορυφόροι, φησίν, καὶ αἱ μάχαιραι αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος καὶ οἱ ἀποκλείοντες τοὺς εἰσιόντας. [2] — διὰ τί οὖν, ἂν παιδίον αὐτῷ προσαγάγῃς μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων ὄντι, οὐ φοβεῖται; ἢ ὅτι οὐκ αἰσθάνεται τούτων τὸ παιδίον; [3] ἂν οὖν τῶν δορυφόρων τις αἰσθάνηται καὶ ὅτι μαχαίρας ἔχουσιν, ἐπ' αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο προσέρχεται αὐτῷ θέλων ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τινὰ περίστασιν καὶ ζητῶν ὑπ' ἄλλου παθεῖν αὐτὸ εὐκόλως, μὴ τι φοβεῖται τοὺς δορυφόρους; — θέλει γὰρ τοῦτο, δι' ὃ φοβεροὶ εἰσιν. — [4] ἂν οὖν τις μὴτ' ἀποθανεῖν μῆτε ζῆν θέλων ἐξ ἅπαντος ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν διδῶται, προσέρχεται αὐτῷ, τί κωλύει μὴ δεδαικότε προσέρχεσθαι αὐτόν; [5] — οὐδέν. — ἂν τις οὖν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κτῆσιν ὡσαύτως ἔχῃ καθάπερ οὗτος πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πρὸς τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναικα καὶ ἀπλῶς ὑπὸ τινος μανίας καὶ ἀπονοίας οὕτως ἦν διακείμενος, ὥστ' ἐν μηδενὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὸ ἔχειν ταῦτα ἢ μὴ ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ὥς ὀστρακίοις τὰ παιδιά παίζοντα περὶ μὲν τῆς παιδιᾶς διαφέρεται, τῶν ὀστρακίων δ' οὐ πεφρόντικεν, οὕτως δὲ καὶ οὗτος τὰς μὲν ὕλας παρ' οὐδέν ἦν πεποιημένος, τὴν παιδιὰν δὲ τὴν περὶ αὐτὰς καὶ ἀναστροφὴν ἀσπάζεται: ποῖος ἔτι τούτῳ τύραννος φοβερὸς ἢ ποῖοι δορυφόροι ἢ ποῖαι μάχαιραι αὐτῶν; [6]

Εἶτα ὑπὸ μανίας μὲν δύναται τις οὕτως διατεθῆναι πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ ὑπὸ ἔθους οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι: ὑπὸ λόγου δὲ καὶ ἀποδείξεως οὐδεὶς δύναται μαθεῖν, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς πάντα πεποίηκεν τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον μὲν ἀκώλυτον καὶ αὐτοτελεῖ, τὰ ἐν μέρει δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς χρεῖαν τῶν ὄλων; [7] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα πάντα ἀπήλλακται τοῦ δύνασθαι παρακολουθεῖν τῇ διοικήσει αὐτοῦ: τὸ δὲ λογικὸν ζῷον ἀφορμὰς ἔχει πρὸς ἀναλογισμὸν τούτων ἀπάντων, ὅτι τε μέρος ἐστὶ καὶ ποῖόν τι μέρος καὶ ὅτι τὰ μέρη τοῖς ὅλοις εἴκειν ἔχει καλῶς. [8] πρὸς τούτοις δὲ φύσει γενναῖον καὶ μεγάλωνυχον καὶ ἐλεύθερον γενόμενον ὄρᾳ, διότι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ τὰ μὲν ἀκώλυτα ἔχει καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τὰ δὲ κωλυτὰ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλοις: ἀκώλυτα μὲν τὰ προαιρετικά, κωλυτὰ δὲ τὰ ἀπροαίρετα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, [9] εἴαν μὲν ἐν τούτοις μόνοις ἡγήσῃται τὸ ἀγαθὸν τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ συμφέρον, τοῖς ἀκώλυτοις καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, ἐλεύθερον ἔσται, εὖρουν, εὐδαιμον, ἀβλαβές, μεγαλόφρον, εὐσεβές, χάριν ἔχον ὑπὲρ πάντων τῷ θεῷ, μηδαμοῦ μεμφόμενον μηδενὶ τῶν γενομένων, μηδενὶ ἐγκαλοῦν: [10] ἂν δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐκτὸς καὶ ἀπροαιρέτοις, ἀνάγκῃ κωλύεσθαι αὐτό, ἐμποδίζεσθαι, δουλεύειν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν, [11] ἃ τεθαύμακεν καὶ φοβεῖται, ἀνάγκῃ δ' ἀσεβές εἶναι ἅτε βλάπτεσθαι οἰόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἄνισον, αἰὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ πλείονος περιποιητικόν, ἀνάγκῃ δὲ καὶ ταπεινὸν εἶναι καὶ μικροπρεπές. [12]

Ταῦτα τί κωλύει διαλαβόντα ζῆν κούφως καὶ εὐηνίως, πάντα τὰ συμβαίνειν δυνάμενα πρῶως ἐκδεχόμενον, τὰ δ' ἤδη συμβεβηκότα φέροντα; [13] 'θέλεις πενίαν;' φέρε καὶ γνώσῃ, τί ἐστὶ πενία τυχοῦσα καλοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ. [14] 'θέλεις ἀρχάς;' φέρε, καὶ πόνουσ. 'ἀλλ' ἐξορισμὸν;' ὅπου ἂν ἀπέλθω, ἐκεῖ μοι καλῶς ἔσται: καὶ γὰρ ἐνθάδε οὐ διὰ τὸν τόπον ἦν μοι καλῶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ δόγματα, ἃ

μέλλω μετ' ἑμαυτοῦ ἀποφέρειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναται τις ἀφελέσθαι αὐτά, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μόνα ἐμὰ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀναφαίρετα καὶ ἀρκεῖ μοι παρόντα, ὅπου ἂν ᾧ καὶ ὅ τι ἂν ποιῶ. [15] 'ἀλλ' ἤδη καιρὸς ἀποθανεῖν.' τί λέγεις ἀποθανεῖν; μὴ τραγώδει τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' εἰπὲ ὡς ἔχει 'ἤδη καιρὸς τὴν ὕλην, ἐξ ᾧν συνήλθεν, εἰς ἐκείνα πάλιν ἀποκαταστήναι.' καὶ τί δεινόν; τί μέλλει ἀπόλλυσθαι τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, τί γενέσθαι καινόν, παράλογον; τούτων ἔνεκα φοβερός ἐστὶν ὁ τύραννος; [16] διὰ ταῦτα οἱ δορυφόροι μεγάλας δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ ὀξείας; ἄλλοις ταῦτα: ἐμοὶ δ' ἔσκεπται περὶ πάντων, εἰς ἐμὲ οὐδεὶς ἐξουσίαν ἔχει. [17] ἡλευθέρωμαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔγνωκα αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐντολάς, οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς δουλαγωγῆσαί με δύναται, καρπιστὴν ἔχω οἷον δεῖ, δικαστὰς οἷους δεῖ. [18] 'οὐχὶ τοῦ σώματός σου κύριός εἰμι;' τί οὖν πρὸς ἐμέ; 'οὐχὶ τοῦ κτησιδίου;' τί οὖν πρὸς ἐμέ; 'οὐχὶ φυγῆς ἢ δεσμῶν;' πάλιν τούτων πάντων καὶ τοῦ σωματίου ὅλου σοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξίσταμαι, ὅταν θέλῃς. πείρασάί μοί σου τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ γνώσης, μέχρι τίνος αὐτὴν ἔχεις.

[19] τίνα οὖν ἐτι φοβηθῆναι δύναμαι; τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος; μὴ τί ποιήσωσιν; ἀποκλείσωσί με; ἂν με εὕρωσι θέλοντα εἰσελθεῖν, ἀποκλείσάτωσαν. — τί οὖν ἔρχῃ ἐπὶ θύρας; — ὅτι καθήκειν ἑμαυτῷ δοκῶ μενούσης τῆς παιδιᾶς συμπαίζειν. [20] — πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἀποκλείῃ; — ὅτι ἂν μὴ τίς με δέχῃται, οὐ θέλω εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνο θέλω τὸ γινόμενον. κρεῖττον γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι ὃ ὁ θεὸς θέλει ἢ ὁ ἐγώ. προσκείσομαι διάκονος καὶ ἀκόλουθος ἐκείνῳ, συνορμῷ, συνορέγομαι, ἀπλῶς συνθέλω. ἀποκλεισμός ἐμοὶ οὐ γίνεται, ἀλλὰ τοῖς βιαζομένοις. [21] διὰ τί οὖν οὐ βιάζομαι; οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι ἔσω ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν διαδίδοται τοῖς εἰσελθούσιν. ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀκούσω τινὰ μακαριζόμενον, ὅτι τιμᾶται ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, λέγω 'τί αὐτῷ συμβαίνει; μὴ τι οὖν καὶ δόγμα, οἷον δεῖ ἐπαρχίαν; μὴ τι οὖν καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι ἐπιτροπῇ; [22] τί ἐτι διωθοῦμαι; ἰσχαδοκάρυά τις διαρριπτεῖ: τὰ παιδιά ἀρπάζει καὶ ἀλλήλοις διαμάχεται: οἱ ἄνδρες οὐχί, μικρὸν γὰρ αὐτὸ ἡγοῦνται. ἂν δ' ὀστράκῃα διαρριπτῇ τις, οὐδὲ τὰ παιδιά ἀρπάζει. [23] ἐπαρχίαι διαδίδονται: ὄψεται τὰ παιδιά. ἀργύριον: ὄψεται τὰ παιδιά. στρατηγία, ὑπατεία: διαρπαζέτω τὰ παιδιά: ἐκκλείεσθω, τυπτέσθω, καταφιλείτω τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ διδόντος, τῶν δούλων: ἐμοὶ δ' ἰσχαδοκάρυόν ἐστιν.' [24] τί οὖν, ἂν ἀπὸ τύχης ῥιπτοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὸν κόλπον ἰσχάς; ἄρας κατάφαγε: μέχρι τοσοῦτου γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἰσχάδα τιμῆσαι. ἵνα δὲ κρύψω καὶ ἄλλον ἀνατρέψω ἢ ὑπ' ἄλλου ἀνατραπῶ καὶ κολακεύσω τοὺς εἰσιόντας, οὐκ ἀξία οὗτ' ἰσχὰς οὗτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν οὐκ ἀγαθῶν, ἃ με ἀναπεπείκασιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι μὴ δοκεῖν ἀγαθὰ εἶναι.

Δείκνυέ μοι τὰς μαχαίρας τῶν δορυφόρων. [25] 'ἰδοῦ, ἡλίκαι εἰσὶ καὶ πῶς ὀξεῖαι.' τί οὖν ποιοῦσιν αἱ μεγάλαι αὗται μάχαιραι καὶ ὀξεῖαι; [26] 'ἀποκτείννουσιν.' πυρετὸς δὲ τί ποιεῖ; 'ἄλλο οὐδέν.' κεραμὶς δὲ τί ποιεῖ; 'ἄλλο οὐδέν.' θέλεις οὖν πάντα ταῦτα θαυμάζω καὶ προσκυνῶ καὶ δούλος πάντων περιέρχωμαι; [27] μὴ γένοιτο: ἀλλ' ἅπαξ μαθὼν, ὅτι τὸ γενόμενον καὶ φθαρῆναι δεῖ, ἵνα ὁ κόσμος μὴ ἴσῃται μηδ' ἐμποδίζεται, οὐκέτι διαφέρομαι, πότερον πυρετὸς αὐτὸ ποιήσει ἢ κεραμὶς ἢ στρατιώτης, ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ συγκρῖναι, οἶδ' ὅτι ἀπονώτερον αὐτὸ καὶ ταχύτερον ὁ στρατιώτης ποιήσει. [28] ὅταν οὖν μήτε φοβῶμαι τι ᾧ διαθεῖναι με δύναται μήτ' ἐπιθυμῶ τινος ᾧν παρασχεῖν, τί

ἔτι θαυμάζω αὐτόν, τί ἔτι τέθηπα; τί φοβοῦμαι τοὺς δορυφόρους; τί χαίρω, ἂν μοι φιλανθρώπως λαλήσῃ καὶ ἀποδέξηται με, καὶ ἄλλοις διηγοῦμαι, πῶς μοι ἐλάλησεν; [29] μὴ γὰρ Σωκράτης ἐστίν, μὴ γὰρ Διογένης, ἵν' ὁ ἔπαινος αὐτοῦ ἀποδείξῃς ἢ περὶ ἐμοῦ; [30] μὴ γὰρ τὸ ἦθος ἐξήλωκα αὐτοῦ; ἀλλὰ τὴν παιδιὰν σφύζων ἔρχομαι πρὸς εμαὐτόν καὶ ὑπηρετῶ, μέχρις ἂν ὅτου μηδὲν ἀβέλτερον κελεύῃ μὴδ' ἄρρυθμον. ἂν δέ μοι λέγῃ 'ἄπελθε ἐπὶ Λέοντα τὸν Σαλαμίνιον,' λέγω αὐτῷ [31] 'ζήτει ἄλλον: ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκέτι παίζω.' 'ἄπαγε αὐτόν.' ἀκολουθῶ ἐν παιδιᾷ. 'ἀλλ' ἀφαιρεῖται σου ὁ τράχηλος.' ἐκείνου δ' αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ ἐπιμένει, ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν πειθομένων; 'ἀλλ' ἄταφος ῥιφήσῃ.' εἰ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ νεκρός, ριφήσομαι: εἰ δ' ἄλλος εἰμὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ, κομψότερον λέγε, ὥς ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ μὴ ἐκφόβει με. [32] τοῖς παιδίοις ταῦτα φοβερά ἐστι καὶ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις. εἰ δέ τις εἰς φιλοσόφου σχολὴν ἅπαξ εἰσελθὼν οὐκ οἶδεν, τί ἐστὶν αὐτός, ἅξιός ἐστι φοβεῖσθαι καὶ κολακεύειν ὃ ὕστερον ἐκολάκευεν: εἰ μήπω μεμάθηκεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι σὰρξ οὐδ' ὅσῃ οὐδὲ νεῦρα, ἀλλὰ τὸ τούτοις χρώμενον, τὸ καὶ διοικοῦν καὶ παρακολουθοῦν ταῖς φαντασίαις.

[33] ναί: ἀλλ' οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι καταφρονητὰς ποιοῦσι τῶν νόμων. — καὶ ποῖοι μᾶλλον λόγοι πειθομένους παρέχουσι τοῖς νόμοις τοὺς χρωμένους; νόμος δ' οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ἐπὶ μωρῷ. [34] καὶ ὅμως ὄρα, πῶς καὶ πρὸς τούτους ὥς δεῖ ἔχοντας παρασκευάζουσιν, οἳ γε διδάσκουσιν μηδενὸς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐν οἷς ἂν ἡμᾶς νικῆσαι δύνωνται. [35] περὶ τὸ σωματίον διδάσκουσιν ἐξίστασθαι, περὶ τὴν κτῆσιν ἐξίστασθαι, περὶ τὰ τέκνα, γονεῖς δ', ἀδελφούς, πάντων παραχωρεῖν, πάντα ἀφιέναι: μόνα τὰ δόγματα ὑπεξαίρουσιν, ἃ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐξαίρετα ἐκάστου εἶναι ἠθέλησεν. [36] ποία ἐνθάδε παρανομία, ποία ἀβελτερία; ὅπου κρείττων εἶ καὶ ἰσχυρότερος, ἐκεῖ σοι ἐξίσταμαι: ὅπου πάλιν ἐγὼ κρείττων, σὺ παραχώρει μοι. ἐμοὶ γὰρ μεμέληκεν, σοὶ δ' οὐ. [37] σοὶ μέλει, πῶς ἐν ὀρθοστροφείοις οἰκῇς, ἔτι πῶς παῖδες σοι καὶ πιλῶνται διακονῶσιν, πῶς ἐσθῆτα περίβλεπτον φορῇς, πῶς κυνηγοὺς πολλοὺς ἔχῃς, πῶς κιθαρωδούς, τραγωδούς. [38] μὴ τι ἀντιποιοῦμαι; μὴ τι οὖν δογμάτων σοι μεμέληκε; μὴ τι τοῦ λόγου τοῦ σεαυτοῦ; μὴ τι οἶδας, ἐκ τίνων μορίων συνέστηκεν, πῶς συνάγεται, τίς ἡ διάρθρωσις αὐτοῦ, τίνας ἔχει δυνάμεις καὶ ποίας τινάς; [39] τί οὖν ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ ἄλλος ἐν τούτοις σου πλέον ἔχει ὁ μεμελετηκώς; — ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἔστι τὰ μέγιστα. — καὶ τίς σε κωλύει περὶ ταῦτ' ἀναστρέφεσθαι καὶ τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; τίς δὲ μείζονα ἔχει παρασκευὴν βιβλίων, εὐσχολίας, τῶν ὠφελησόντων; μόνον ἀπόνευσόν ποτε ἐπὶ ταῦτα, [40] ἀπόνειμνον κἂν ὀλίγον χρόνον τῷ σεαυτοῦ ἡγεμονικῷ: σκέψαι τί ποτ' ἔχεις τοῦτο καὶ πόθεν ἐληλυθός, τὸ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἄλλοις χρώμενον, πάντα τᾶλλα δοκιμάζον, ἐκλεγόμενον, ἀπεκλεγόμενον. [41] μέχρι δ' ἂν οὗ περὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀναστρέφῃ, ἐκεῖνα ἔξεις οἷα οὐδεῖς, τοῦτο δ' οἷον αὐτὸ ἔχειν θέλεις, ῥυπαρὸν καὶ ἀτημέλητον.

πρὸς τοὺς ταχέως ἐπὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐπιτηδῶντας.

μηδέποτ' ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν τινα μὴτ' ἐπαινέσητε μῆτε ψέξητε μῆτε τέχνην τινα ἢ ἀτεχνίαν προσμαρτυρήσητε: καὶ ἅμα μὲν προπετείας ἑαυτοὺς ἀπαλλάξετε, ἅμα δὲ κακοηθείας. [2] 'οὗτος ταχέως λούεται.' κακῶς οὖν ποιεῖ; οὐ πάντως. [3] ἀλλὰ τί; ταχέως λούεται. — πάντα οὖν καλῶς γίνεται; —

οὐδαμῶς: ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ δογμάτων ὀρθῶν καλῶς, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ μοχθηρῶν μοχθηρῶς. σὺ δὲ μέχρις ἂν καταμάθῃς τὸ δόγμα, ἀφ' οὗ τις ποιεῖ ἕκαστα, μήτ' ἐπαίνει τὸ ἔργον μήτε ψέγε. [4] δόγμα δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐκτὸς οὐ ῥαδίως κρίνεται. 'οὗτος τέκτων ἐστίν.' διὰ τί; 'χρήται σκεπάρνῳ.' τί οὖν τοῦτο; 'οὗτος μουσικός: ᾄδει γάρ.' καὶ τί τοῦτο; 'οὗτος φιλόσοφος.' διὰ τί; [5] 'τρίβωνα γὰρ ἔχει καὶ κόμην.' οἱ δ' ἀγύρται τί ἔχουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο, ἂν ἀσχημονοῦντά τις ἴδῃ τινὰ αὐτῶν, εὐθὺς λέγει 'ἰδοὺ ὁ φιλόσοφος τί ποιεῖ.' ἔδει δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἡσχημόναι μᾶλλον λέγειν αὐτὸν μὴ εἶναι φιλόσοφον. [6] εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ φιλοσόφου πρόληψις καὶ ἐπαγγελία, ἔχειν τρίβωνα καὶ κόμην, καλῶς ἂν ἔλεγον: εἰ δ' ἐκείνη μᾶλλον, ἀναμάρτητον εἶναι, διὰ τί οὐχὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ πληροῦν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀφαιροῦνται αὐτὸν τῆς προσηγορίας; [7] οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν. ὅταν ἴδῃ τις κακῶς πελεκῶντα, οὐ λέγει 'τί ὄφελος τεκτονικῆς; ἰδοὺ οἱ τέκτονες οἷα ποιοῦσι κακά,' ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸνναντίον λέγει 'οὗτος οὐκ ἔστι τέκτων, πελεκᾷ γὰρ κακῶς.' [8] ὁμοίως καὶ ἄδοντός τινος ἀκούσῃ κακῶς, οὐ λέγει 'ἰδοὺ πῶς ᾄδουσιν οἱ μουσικοί,' ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον [9] 'οὗτος ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μουσικός.' ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίας δὲ μόνῃς τοῦτο πάσχουσιν: ὅταν τινὰ ἴδωσι παρὰ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τὸ τοῦ φιλοσόφου ποιοῦντα, οὐχὶ τῆς προσηγορίας ἀφαιροῦνται αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ θέντες εἶναι φιλόσοφον, εἴτ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ γινομένου λαβόντες, ὅτι ἀσχημονεῖ, ἐπάγουσι μηδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν. τί οὖν τὸ αἴτιον; [10] ὅτι τὴν μὲν τοῦ τέκτονος πρόληψιν πρεσβεύομεν καὶ τὴν τοῦ μουσικοῦ καὶ ὡσαύτως τῶν ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν, τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου δ' οὐ, ἀλλ' ἅτε συγκεχυμένην καὶ ἀδιάρθρωτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς μόνον κρίνομεν. [11] καὶ ποία ἄλλη τέχνη ἀπὸ σχήματος ἀναλαμβάνεται καὶ κόμης, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ θεωρήματα ἔχει καὶ ὕλην καὶ τέλος; [12] τίς οὖν ὕλη τοῦ φιλοσόφου; μὴ τρίβων; οὐ, ἀλλὰ ὁ λόγος. τί τέλος; μὴ τι φορεῖν τρίβωνα; οὐ, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν ἔχειν τὸν λόγον. ποῖα θεωρήματα; μὴ τι τὰ περὶ τοῦ πῶς πάγων μέγας γίνεται ἢ κόμη βαθεῖα; ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἂ Ζήνων λέγει, γινῶναι τὰ τοῦ λόγου στοιχεῖα, ποῖόν τι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐστὶ καὶ πῶς ἀρμόττεται πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἀκόλουθὰ ἐστίν. [13] οὐ θέλεις οὖν ἰδεῖν πρῶτον, εἰ πληροὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀσχημονῶν, καὶ οὕτως τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι ἐγκαλεῖν; νῦν δ', αὐτὸς ὅταν σωφρονῇς, ἐξ ὧν ποιεῖν σοι δοκεῖ κακῶς, λέγεις 'ὄρα τὸν φιλόσοφον' (ὥς οὐ πρέποντος λέγειν τὸν ταῦτα ποιοῦντα φιλόσοφον) καὶ πάλιν 'τοῦτο φιλόσοφός ἐστιν.' 'ὄρα' δὲ 'τὸν τέκτονα' οὐ λέγεις, ὅταν μοιχεύοντά τινα γνῶς ἢ λιχνεύοντα ἴδῃς, οὐδὲ [14] 'ὄρα τὸν μουσικόν.' οὕτως ἐπὶ ποσὸν αἰσθάνῃ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τοῦ φιλοσόφου, ἀπολισθάνεις δὲ καὶ συγχέῃ ὑπὸ ἀμελετησίας. [15]

ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ καλούμενοι φιλόσοφοι ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν τὸ πρᾶγμα μετίασιν: εὐθὺς ἀναλαβόντες τρίβωνα καὶ πάγωνα καθέντες φασὶν 'ἐγὼ φιλόσοφός εἰμι.' [16] οὐδεὶς δ' ἔρεῖ 'ἐγὼ μουσικός εἰμι,' ἂν πληκτρον καὶ κιθάραν ἀγοράσῃ, οὐδ' 'ἐγὼ χαλκεὺς εἰμι,' ἂν πιλίον καὶ περιζῶμα περιθῇται, ἀλλ' ἀρμόζεται μὲν τὸ σχῆμα πρὸς τὴν τέχνην, ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης δὲ τὸ ὄνομα, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ἀναλαμβάνουσιν. [17] διὰ τοῦτο καλῶς Εὐφράτης ἔλεγεν ὅτι 'ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐπειρώμην λανθάνειν φιλοσοφῶν καὶ ἦν μοι,' φησὶν, 'τοῦτο ὠφέλιμον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἤδειν, ὅσα καλῶς ἐποίουν, ὅτι οὐ διὰ τοὺς

θεατὰς ἐποιοῦν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑμαυτόν: ἥσθιον ἑμαυτῷ καλῶς, κατεσταλμένον εἶχον τὸ βλέμμα, τὸν περίπατον: πάντα ἑμαυτῷ καὶ θεῷ. [18] εἴτα ὥσπερ μόνος ἡγωνιζόμεν, οὕτως μόνος καὶ ἐκινδύνευον: οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ δρᾶσαντι τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἢ ἀπρεπὲς τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐκινδυνεύετο, οὐδ' ἔβλαπτον τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς φιλόσοφος ἀμαρτάνων. [19] διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὴ εἰδότες μου τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἐθαύμαζον, πῶς πᾶσι φιλοσόφοις χρώμενος καὶ συζῶν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐφιλοσόφουν. [20] καὶ τί κακόν, ἐν οἷς ἐποιοῦν ἐπιγιγνώσκεισθαι τὸν φιλόσοφον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς συμβόλοις μή;' βλέπε, πῶς ἐσθίω, πῶς πίνω, πῶς καθεύδω, πῶς ἀνέχομαι, πῶς ἀπέχομαι, πῶς συνεργῶ, πῶς ὀρέξει χρῶμαι, πῶς ἐκκλίσει, πῶς τηρῶ τὰς σχέσεις τὰς φυσικὰς ἢ ἐπιθέτους ἀσυγχύτως καὶ ἀπαραποδίστως: ἐκείθεν με κρίνε, εἰ δύνασαι. [21] εἰ δ' οὕτως κωφὸς εἶ καὶ τυφλός, ἵνα μὴδὲ τὸν Ἥφαιστον ὑπολαμβάνῃς καλὸν χαλκέα, ἂν μὴ τὸ πλῖον ἴδῃς περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν περικείμενον, τί κακὸν ὑφ' οὕτως ἡλιθίου κριτοῦ ἀγνοεῖσθαι;

[22] οὕτως ἐλάνθα νε παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις Σωκράτης καὶ ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦντες φιλοσόφοις συσταθῆναι. [23] μὴ τι οὖν ἡγανάκτει ὡς ἡμεῖς καὶ ἔλεγεν 'ἐγὼ δέ σοι οὐ φαίνομαι φιλόσοφος;,' ἀλλ' ἀπήγεν καὶ συνίστα ἐνὶ ἀρκούμενος τῷ εἶναι φιλόσοφος, χαίρων δὲ καί, ὅτι μὴ δοκῶν οὐκ ἐδάκνυτο: ἐμέμνητο γὰρ τοῦ ἰδίου ἔργου. [24] τί ἔργον καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ; μαθητὰς πολλοὺς ἔχειν; οὐδαμῶς. ὄψονται οἱ περὶ τοῦτο ἐσπουδακότες. ἀλλὰ θεωρήματα δύσκολα ἀκριβοῦν; ὄψονται καὶ περὶ τούτων ἄλλοι. [25] ποῦ οὖν αὐτὸς καὶ ἦν τις καὶ εἶναι ἤθελεν; ὅπου βλάβη καὶ ὠφέλεια. 'εἴ μέ τις,' φησὶν, 'βλάψαι δύναται, ἐγὼ οὐδὲν ποιῶ: εἰ ἄλλον περιμένω, ἵνα με ὠφελήσῃ, ἐγὼ οὐδὲν εἰμι. θέλω τι καὶ οὐ γίνεται: ἐγὼ ἀτυχής εἰμι.' [26] εἰς τοσοῦτο σκάμμα προεκαλεῖτο πάντα ὄντιναοῦν καὶ οὐκ ἂν μοι **ΔΟΚΕῖ** ἐκστῆναι οὐδενί — τί δοκεῖτε; καταγγέλλων καὶ λέγων 'ἐγὼ τοιοῦτός εἰμι;,' μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ ὦν τοιοῦτος. [27] πάλιν γὰρ τοῦτο μωροῦ καὶ ἀλαζόνος 'ἐγὼ ἀπαθής εἰμι καὶ ἀτάραχος: μὴ ἀγνοεῖτε, ὧ ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι ὑμῶν κυκλωμένων καὶ θορυβουμένων περὶ τὰ μηδενὸς ἄξια μόνος ἐγὼ ἀπήλλαγμαί πάσης ταραχῆς.' [28] οὕτως οὐκ ἀρκεῖ σοι τὸ μηδὲν ἀλγεῖν, ἂν μὴ κηρύσσης 'συνέλθετε πάντες οἱ ποδαγρῶντες, οἱ κεφαλαγοῦντες, οἱ πυρέσσοντες, οἱ χωλοί, οἱ τυφλοί, καὶ ἴδετέ με ἀπὸ παντὸς πάθους ὑγιᾶ;,' [29] τοῦτο κενὸν καὶ φορτικόν, εἰ μὴ τις ὡς ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς εὐθὺς ὑποδείξει δύνασαι, πῶς θεραπεύοντες εὐθὺς ἔσονται ἄνοσοι κάκεῖνοι, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο φέρεις παράδειγμα τὴν ὑγίειαν τὴν σεαυτοῦ. [30]

ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΣ γὰρ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Κυνικὸς τοῦ σκῆπτρου καὶ διαδήματος ἡξιωμένος παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ λέγων 'ἴν' ἴδητε, ὧ ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ἀταραξίαν οὐχ ὅπου ἐστὶ ζητεῖτε, [31] ἀλλ' ὅπου μὴ ἐστίν, ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν παράδειγμα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπέσταλμαι μήτε κτῆσιν ἔχων μήτε οἶκον μήτε γυναῖκα μήτε τέκνα, ἀλλὰ μὴδ' ὑπόστρωμα μὴδὲ χιτῶνα μὴδὲ σκευὸς: καὶ ἴδετε, πῶς ὑγιαίνω: πειράθητέ μου κἂν ἴδητε ἀτάραχον, ἀκούσατε τὰ φάρμακα καὶ ὑφ' ὧν ἐθεραπεύθην.' [32] τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη καὶ φιλόανθρωπον καὶ γενναῖον. ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε, ΤΙΝΟΣ ἔργον ἐστίν: τοῦ Διὸς ἢ ὃν ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἄξιον κρίνῃ ταύτης τῆς ὑπηρεσίας, ἵνα μηδαμοῦ μὴδὲν παραγμνῶσῃ πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς, δι' οὗ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἣν τῇ ἀρετῇ μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς καταμαρτυρεῖ,

αὐτὸς ἄκυρον ποιήσῃ:

οὐτ' ὠρήσαντα χροὰ κάλλιμον οὔτε παρειῶν

δάκρυ' ὁμορξάμενον.

[33] καὶ οὐ μόνον ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ποθοῦντα τι ἢ ἐπιζητοῦντα, ἄνθρωπον ἢ τόπον ἢ διαγωγὴν, ὥς τὰ παιδία τὸν τρυγητὸν ἢ τὰς ἀργίας, αἰδοῖ πανταχοῦ κεκοσμημένον, ὥς οἱ ἄλλοι τοίχοις καὶ θύραις καὶ θυρωροῖς.

[34] νῦν δ' αὐτὸ μόνον κινηθέντες πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, ὥς οἱ κακοστόμαχοι πρὸς τι βρωμάτιον, ὃ μετὰ μικρὸν σικχαίνειν μέλλουσιν, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον, ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. καθεῖκε τὴν κόμην, ἀνεῖλφε τρίβωνα, γυμνὸν δεικνύει τὸν ὦμον, μάχεται τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν κἂν ἐν φαινόλῃ τινὰ ἴδῃ, μάχεται αὐτῷ. [35] ἄνθρωπε, χειμάσκησον πρῶτον: ἰδοῦ σου τὴν ὀρμὴν, μὴ κακοστομάχου ἢ κισσώσης γυναικὸς ἔστιν. ἀγνοεῖσθαι μελέτησον πρῶτον, τίς εἶ: σαυτῷ φιλοσόφησον ὀλίγον χρόνον. [36] οὕτως καρπὸς γίνεται: κατορυγῆναι δεῖ εἰς χρόνον τὸ σπέρμα, κρυφθῆναι, κατὰ μικρὸν αὐξηθῆναι, ἵνα τελεσφορήσῃ. ἂν δὲ πρὸ τοῦ γόνου φῦσαι τὸν στάχυν ἐξενέγκῃ, ἀτελὲς ἔστιν, ἐκ κήπου Ἀδωνιακοῦ. [37] τοιοῦτον εἶ καὶ σὺ φυτᾶριον: θᾶπτον τοῦ δέοντος ἦνθηκας, ἀποκαύσει σε ὁ χειμὼν. [38] ἰδοῦ, τί λέγουσιν οἱ γεωργοὶ περὶ τῶν σπερμάτων, ὅταν πρὸ ὥρας θερμασίαι γένωνται. ἀγωνιώσιν, μὴ ἐξυβρίσῃ τὰ σπέρματα, εἴτα αὐτὰ πάγος εἰς λαβὼν ἐξελέγξῃ. [39] ὅρα καὶ σύ, ἄνθρωπε: ἐξύβρικας, ἐπιπεπήδηκας δοξαρίῳ πρὸ ὥρας: δοκεῖς τις εἶναι, μωρὸς παρὰ μωροῖς: ἀποπαγήσῃ, μᾶλλον δ' ἀποπέπηγας ἤδη ἐν τῇ ῥίζῃ κάτω, τὰ δ' ἄνω σου μικρὸν ἔτι ἀνθεῖ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δοκεῖς ἔτι ζῆν καὶ θάλλειν. [40] ἄφες ἡμᾶς γε κατὰ φύσιν πεπανθῆναι. τί ἡμᾶς ἀποδύεις, τί βιάζῃ; οὐπω δυνάμεθα ἐνεγκεῖν τὸν ἀέρα. ἔασον τὴν ῥίζαν αὐξηθῆναι, εἴτα γόνου λαβεῖν τὸ πρῶτον, εἴτα τὸ δεῦτερον, εἴτα τὸ τρίτον: εἴθ' οὕτως ὁ καρπὸς ἐκβιάσεται τὴν φύσιν, κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ θέλω. [41] τίς γὰρ ἐγκύμων γενόμενος καὶ πλήρης τηλικούτων δογμάτων οὐχὶ αἰσθάνεται τε τῆς αὐτοῦ παρασκευῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κατάλληλα ἔργα ὀρμᾷ; [42] ἀλλὰ ταῦρος μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν καὶ παρασκευήν, ὅταν ἐπιφανῇ τι θηρίον, οὐδ' ἀναμένει τὸν προτρεψόμενον, οὐδὲ κύων, ὅταν ἴδῃ τι τῶν ἀγρίων ζώων: [43] ἐγὼ δ' ἂν ἴσχω τὴν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ παρασκευήν, ἐκδέξομαι, ἵνα με σὺ παρασκευάσῃς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔργα; νῦν δ' οὐπω ἔχω, πιστεύσόν μοι. τί οὖν με πρὸ ὥρας ἀποζηρᾶναι θέλεις, ὥς αὐτὸς ἐξηράνθῃς;

πρὸς τὸν εἰς ἀναισχυντίαν μεταβληθέντα.

ὅταν ἄλλον ἴδῃς ἄρχοντα, ἀντίθεος, ὅτι σὺ ἔχεις τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι ἀρχῆς: ὅταν ἄλλον πλουτοῦντα, ἰδοῦ, τί ἀντὶ τούτου ἔχεις. [2] εἰ μὲν γὰρ μηδὲν ἔχεις ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, ἄθλιος εἶ: εἰ δ' ἔχεις τὸ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχειν πλούτου, γίγνωσκε, ὅτι πλεῖον ἔχεις καὶ πολλῷ πλείονος ἄξιον. ἄλλος γυναῖκα εὖμορφον, [3] σὺ τὸ μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν εὐμόρφου γυναικὸς. μικρά σοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα; καὶ πόσου ἂν τιμήσαιντο οὗτοι αὐτοὶ οἱ πλουτοῦντες καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ μετ' εὐμόρφων διαιτώμενοι δύνασθαι πλούτου καταφρονεῖν καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ αὐτῶν τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν, ὧν ἐρῶσιν καὶ ὧν τυγχάνουσιν; [4] ἀγνοεῖς οἷόν τί ἐστι δίψος πυρέσσοντος; οὐδὲν ὅμοιον ἔχει τῷ τοῦ ὑγιαίνοντος. ἐκεῖνος πιὼν ἀποπέπανται: ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἡσθεὶς ναυτιᾷ, χολὴν αὐτὸ ποιεῖ ἀντὶ ὕδατος,

ἐμεῖ, στροφοῦται, διψῇ σφοδρότερον. [5] τοιοῦτόν ἐστι μετ' ἐπιθυμίας πλουτεῖν, μετ' ἐπιθυμίας ἄρχειν, μετ' ἐπιθυμίας καλῇ συγκαθεύδειν: ζηλοτυπία πρόσσεστιν, φόβος τοῦ στερηθῆναι, αἰσχροὶ λόγοι, αἰσχροῖ ἐνθυμήματα, ἔργα ἀσχήμονα.

καὶ τί, φησίν, ἀπολλύω; [6] — ἄνθρωπε, ὑπῆρχες αἰδήμων καὶ νῦν οὐκέτι εἶ: οὐδὲν ἀπολώλεκας; ἀντὶ Χρυσίππου καὶ Ζήνωνος Ἀριστείδην ἀναγιγνώσκεις καὶ Εὐηρόν: οὐδὲν ἀπολώλεκας; ἀντὶ Σωκράτους καὶ Διογένους τεθαύμακας τὸν πλείστας διαφθεῖραι καὶ ἀναπεῖσαι δυνάμενον. [7] καλὸς εἶναι θέλεις καὶ πλάσσεις σεαυτὸν μὴ ὦν καὶ ἐσθῆτα ἐπιδεικνύειν θέλεις στιλπνὴν, ἵνα τὰς γυναικας ἐπιστρέφῃς, κἂν που μυραφίου ἐπιτύχῃς, μακάριος εἶναι δοκεῖς. [8] πρότερον δ' οὐδὲ ἐνεθυμοῦ τι τούτων, ἀλλὰ ποῦ εὐσχήμων λόγος, ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος, ἐνθυμήματα γενναῖον. τοιγαροῦν ἐκάθευδες ὡς ἀνὴρ, προήεις ὡς ἀνὴρ, ἐσθῆτα ἐφόρεις ἀνδρικήν, λόγους ἐλάλεις πρέποντας ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ: εἰτά μοι λέγεις [9] 'οὐδὲν ἀπώλεσα;' οὕτως οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ κέρμα ἀπολλύουσιν ἄνθρωποι; αἰδῶς οὐκ ἀπόλλυται, εὐσχημοσύνη οὐκ ἀπόλλυται; ἢ οὐκ ἔστι ζημιωθῆναι τὰτα ἀπολέσαντα; σοὶ μὲν οὐ [10] ν δοκεῖ τάχα τούτων οὐδὲν οὐκέτι εἶναι ζημία: ἦν δὲ ποτε χρόνος, ὅτε μόνην αὐτὴν ὑπελογίζου καὶ ζημίαν καὶ βλάβην, ὅτε ἡγωνίας, μὴ τις ἐκσεῖσῃ σε τούτων τῶν λόγων καὶ ἔργων.

[11] ἰδοῦ, ἐκσέσεισαι ὑπ' ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενός, ὑπὸ σαυτοῦ δέ. μαχέσθητι σαυτῷ, ἀφελοῦ σαυτὸν εἰς εὐσχημοσύνην, εἰς αἰδῶ, εἰς ἐλευθερίαν. [12] εἴ σοί τίς που ἔλεγεν περὶ ἐμοῦ τὰτα, ὅτι μέ τις μοιχεύειν ἀναγκάζει, ὅτι ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν τοιαύτην, ὅτι μυρίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν ἀπελθὼν αὐτόχειρ ἐγένου τούτου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ οὕτως μοι παραχρωμένου; [13] νῦν οὖν οὐ θέλεις σαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι; καὶ πόσῳ ῥάων αὕτη ἢ βοήθεια; οὐκ ἀποκτεῖναί τινα δεῖ, οὐ δησαι, οὐχ ὑβρίσαι, οὐκ εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν αὐτῷ λαλῆσαι, τῷ μάλιστα πεισθησομένῳ, πρὸς ὃν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ σου πιθανώτερος. [14] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν κατὰγνωθι τῶν γιγνομένων, εἴτα καταγνοὺς μὴ ἀπογνῶς σεαυτοῦ μηδὲ πάθῃς τὸ τῶν ἀγεννῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ἅπαξ ἐνδόντες εἰσάπαν ἐπέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ ῥεύματος παρεσύρησαν, ἀλλὰ μάθε τὸ τῶν παιδοτριβῶν. [15] πέπτωκε τὸ παιδίον: 'ἀναστάς,' φησίν, 'πάλιν πάλαιε, μέχρις ἂν ἰσχυροπο [16] ιηθῇς.' τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ σὺ πάθε: ἴσθι γάρ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔστιν εὐαγωγότερον ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς. θελῆσαι δεῖ καὶ γέγονεν, διώρθωται: ὡς πάλιν ἀπονυστάσαι καὶ ἀπόλωλεν. ἔσωθεν γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀπώλεια καὶ βοήθεια. [17] — εἴτα τί μοι ἀγαθόν; — καὶ τί ζητεῖς τούτου μείζον; ἐξ ἀναισχύντου αἰδήμων ἔση, ἐξ ἀκόσμου κόσμιος, ἐξ ἀπίστου πιστός, ἐξ ἀκολάστου σώφρων. [18] εἴ τινα ἄλλα τούτων μείζονα ζητεῖς, ποίει ἃ ποιεῖς: οὐδὲ θεῶν σέ τις ἔτι σῶσαι δύναται.

τῖνων δεῖ καταφρονεῖν καὶ πρὸς τίνα διαφέρεσθαι.

ἀπορία πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς γίνεται, ἀμχανία περὶ τὰ ἐκτός. 'τί ποιήσω; πῶς γένηται; πῶς ἀποβῇ; [2] μὴ τόδε ἀπαντήσῃ, μὴ τόδε.' πᾶσαι αὗται αἱ φωναὶ περὶ τὰ ἀπροαίρετα στρεφομένων εἰσίν: τίς γὰρ λέγει 'πῶς μὴ συγκατατιθῶμαι τῷ ψεύδει; πῶς μὴ ἀπονεύσω ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς;' [3] ἐὰν οὕτως ἦ εὐφυής, ὥστε περὶ τούτων ἀγωνιᾷ, ὑπομνήσω αὐτὸν ὅτι 'τί ἀγωνιᾷς; ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔστιν: ἀσφαλὴς ἴσθι: μὴ πρὸ τοῦ ἐπάγειν τὸν φυσικὸν κανόνα προπηδᾷ

ἐν τῷ συγκατατίθεσθαι.’ [4] πάλιν ἂν περὶ ὀρέξεως μὴ ἀγωνιᾷ, μὴ ἀτελῆς γένηται καὶ ἀποτευκτική, [5] περὶ ἐκκλίσεως, μὴ περιπτωτική, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν καταφιλήσω, ὅτι ἀφείς περὶ ἧ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπτόηνται καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων φόβους περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων πεφρόντικεν, ὅπου αὐτός ἐστιν: εἶτα ἐρῶ αὐτῷ [6] ‘εἰ μὴ θέλῃς ὀρέγεσθαι ἀποτευκτικῶς μηδ’ ἐκκλίνειν περιπτωτικῶς, μηδενὸς ὀρέγου τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, μηδὲν ἐκκλινε τῶν μὴ ἐπὶ σοί. εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ ἀποτυχεῖν καὶ περιπεσεῖν ἀνάγκη.’ [7] ποία ἐνθάδ’ ἀπορία; ποῦ τόπον ἔχει ‘πῶς γένηται;’ καὶ ‘πῶς ἀποβῇ;’ καὶ ‘μὴ ἀπαντήσῃ τόδε ἢ τόδε;’

νῦν οὐχὶ τὸ ἐκβησόμενον ἀπροαίρετον; [8] — ναί. — ἢ δ’ οὐσία τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς προαιρετικοῖς; — ναί. — ἔξεστιν οὖν σοι παντὶ τῷ ἀποβάντι χρῆσθαι κατὰ φύσιν; μὴ τις σε κωλύσαι δύναται; [9] — οὐδεῖς. — μηκέτι οὖν μοι λέγε ‘πῶς γένηται;’ ὅπως γὰρ ἂν γένηται, σὺ αὐτὸ θήσεις καλῶς καὶ ἔσται σοι τὸ ἀποβὰν εὐτύχημα. [10] ἢ τίς ἂν ἦν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς λέγων ‘πῶς μοι μὴ μέγας λέων ἐπιφανῇ μηδὲ μέγας σὺς μηδὲ θηριώδεις ἄνθρωποι;’ καὶ τί σοι μέλει; ἂν μέγας σὺς ἐπιφανῇ, μείζον ἄθλον ἀθλήσεις; ἂν κακοὶ ἄνθρωποι, κακῶν ἀπαλλάξεις τὴν οἰκουμένην. [11] — ἂν οὖν οὕτως ἀποθάνω; — ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἀποθανῇ, γενναίαν πρᾶξιν ἐπιτελῶν ἐπεὶ γὰρ δεῖ πάντως ἀποθανεῖν, ἀνάγκη τί ποτε ποιοῦντα εὐρεθῆναι, ἢ γεωργοῦντα ἢ σκάπτοντα ἢ ἐμπορευόμενον ἢ ὑπατεύοντα ἢ ἀπεπτοῦντα ἢ διαρροιζόμενον. [12] τί οὖν θέλεις ποιῶν εὐρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου; ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ ἐμὸν μέρος ἔργον τί ποτε ἀνθρωπικόν, εὐεργετικόν, κοινωφελές, γενναῖον. [13] εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναμαι τὰ τηλικαῦτα ποιῶν εὐρεθῆναι, ἐκεῖνό γε τὸ ἀκώλυτον, τὸ διδόμενον, ἐμαυτὸν ἐπανορθῶν, ἐξεργαζόμενος τὴν δύναμιν τὴν χρηστικὴν τῶν φαντασιῶν, ἀπάθειαν ἐκπονῶν, ταῖς σχέσεσι τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀποδιδούς: εἰ οὕτως εὐτυχῆς εἰμι, καὶ τοῦ τρίτου τόπου παραπτόμενος, τοῦ περὶ τὴν τῶν κριμάτων ἀσφάλειαν.

[14] ἂν μετὰ τούτων με ὁ θάνατος καταλάβῃ, ἀρκεῖ μοι ἂν δύνωμαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀνατεῖναι τὰς χεῖρας, εἰπεῖν ὅτι ‘ὥς ἔλαβον ἀφορμὰς παρὰ σοῦ πρὸς τὸ αἰσθῆσθαι σου τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ἀκολουθῆσαι αὐτῇ, τούτων οὐκ ἡμέλησα: οὐ κατήσχυνά σε τὸ ἐμὸν μέρος. [15] ἰδοῦ, πῶς κέχρημαι ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, ἰδοῦ, πῶς ταῖς προλήψεσιν. μὴ ποτέ σε ἐμεμψάμην, μὴ τι τῶν γινομένων τινὶ δυσηρέστησα ἢ ἄλλως γενέσθαι ἠθέλησα, μὴ τι τὰς σχέσεις παρέβηναι; [16] † ὁ με σὺ ἐγέννησας, χάριν ἔχω, ὦν ἔδωκας: ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐχρησάμην τοῖς σοῖς, ἀρκεῖ μοι. πάλιν αὐτὰ ἀπόλαβε καὶ κατὰταξον εἰς ἣν θέλεις χώραν. σὰ γὰρ ἦν πάντα, σὺ μοι αὐτὰ δέδωκας.’ [17] οὐκ ἀρκεῖ οὕτως ἔχοντα ἐξελθεῖν; καὶ τίς βίων κρείττων ἢ εὐσχημονέστερος τοῦ οὕτως ἔχοντος, ποία δὲ καταστροφή εὐδαιμονεστέρα;

[18] ἵνα δὲ ταῦτα γένηται, οὐ μικρὰ δέξασθαι οὐδὲ μικρῶν ἀποτυχεῖν. οὐ δύνασαι καὶ ὑπατεῦσαι θέλεις καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἀγροὺς ἔχειν ἐσπουδακέναι καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν δουλαρίων φροντίζειν καὶ σεαυτοῦ. [19] ἀλλ’ ἂν τι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων θέλῃς, τὰ σὰ ἀπώλετο. αὕτη τοῦ πράγματος ἡ φύσις: προῖκα οὐδὲν γίνεται. [20] καὶ τί θαυμαστόν; ἂν ὑπατεῦσαι θέλῃς, ἀγρυπνησαί σε δεῖ, περιδραμεῖν, τὰς χεῖρας καταφιλήσαι, πρὸς ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις θύραις κατασαπῆναι, πολλὰ μὲν εἰπεῖν, πολλὰ δὲ πρᾶξαι ἀνελεύθερα, δῶρα πέμψαι πολλοῖς, ξένια καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐνίοις: καὶ τί τὸ γινόμενόν ἐστιν; [21] δώδεκα

δεσμά ράβδων καὶ τρεῖς ἢ τετράκις ἐπὶ βῆμα καθίσαι καὶ κερκήσια δοῦναι καὶ σφυρίσιν δειπνίσαι. ἢ δεῖξάτω μοί τις, τί ἐστὶ παρὰ ταῦτα. [22] ὑπὲρ ἀπαθείας οὖν, ὑπὲρ ἀταραξίας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθεύδοντα καθεύδειν, ἐργηγορότα ἐργηγορέναι, μὴ φοβεῖσθαι μηδέν, μὴ ἀγωνιᾶν ὑπὲρ μηδενὸς οὐδὲν ἀναλῶσαι θέλεις, οὐδὲν πονήσαι; [23] ἀλλ' ἂν τι ἀπόληταί σου περὶ ταῦτα γινομένου ἢ ἀναλωθῇ κακῶς ἢ ἄλλος τύχη ὧν ἔδει σε τυχεῖν, εὐθὺς μὴ δηχθῇ ἐπὶ τῷ γενομένῳ; [24] οὐκ ἀντιθήσεις, τί ἀντὶ τίνος λαμβάνεις, πόσον ἀντὶ πόσου; ἀλλὰ προῖκα θέλεις τὰ τηλικαῦτα λαβεῖν; καὶ πῶς δύνασαι; [25] ἔργον ἔργῳ. οὐ δύνασαι καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἔχειν ἐπιμελείας τετυχηκότα καὶ τὸ σαυτοῦ ἡγεμονικόν. εἰ δ' ἐκεῖνα θέλεις, τοῦτο ἄφες: εἰ δὲ μή, οὔτε τοῦτο ἕξεις οὔτ' ἐκεῖνα, περισπώμενος ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα. εἰ τοῦτο θέλεις, ἐκεῖνά σε ἀφεῖναι δεῖ. [26] ἐκχεθήσεται τὸ ἔλαιον, ἀπολεῖται τὰ σκευάρια, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἀπαθῆς ἔσομαι. ἐμπρησμός ἐσται ἐμοῦ μὴ παρόντος καὶ ἀπολεῖται τὰ βιβλία, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ χρήσομαι ταῖς φαντασίαις κατὰ φύσιν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἔξω φαγεῖν. [27] εἰ οὕτως τάλας εἰμί, λιμὴν τὸ ἀποθανεῖν. οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ λιμὴν πάντων, ὁ θάνατος, αὕτη ἡ καταφυγή. διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ χαλεπὸν ἐστίν. [28] ὅταν θέλῃς, ἐξηλθες καὶ οὐ καπνίζῃ. τί οὖν ἀγωνιᾷς, τί ἀγρυπνεῖς; οὐχὶ δὲ εὐθὺς ἀναλογισάμενος, ποῦ σου τὸ ἀγαθόν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ κακόν, λέγεις ὅτι 'ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἀμφοτέρα: οὔτε τούτου τις ἀφελέσθαι με δύναται οὔτ' ἐκείνῳ ἄκοντα περιβαλεῖν. [29] τί οὖν οὐ ρέγχω βαλὼν; τὰ ἐμὰ ἀσφαλῶς ἔχει: τὰ ἀλλότρια ὄψεται αὐτὰ ὡς ἂν φέρῃ, ὡς ἂν διδῶται παρὰ τοῦ ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν. [30] τίς εἰμι ὁ θέλων αὐτὰ οὕτως ἔχειν ἢ οὕτως; μὴ γάρ μοι δέδοται ἐκλογή αὐτῶν; μὴ γὰρ ἐμέ τις αὐτῶν διοικητὴν πεποιήκεν; ἀρκεῖ μοι ὧν ἔχω ἐξουσίαν. ταῦτά με δεῖ κάλλιστα παρασκευάσαι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὡς ἂν θέλῃ ὁ ἐκείνων κύριος.'

[31] ταῦτά τις ἔχων πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀγρυπνεῖ, καὶ στρέφεται ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα; τί θέλων ἢ τί ποθὼν; Πάτροκλον ἢ Ἀντίλοχον ἢ Μενέλαον; πότε γὰρ ἡγήσατο ἀθάνατόν τινα τῶν φίλων; πότε γὰρ οὐκ εἶχεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν, ὅτι αὐριον ἢ εἰς τρίτην δεῖ ἢ αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἐκεῖνον; [32] 'ναί,' φησὶν, 'ἀλλ' ὥμην, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἐπιβιώσεται μοι καὶ αὐξήσει μου τὸν υἱόν.' μωρὸς γὰρ ἦς καὶ τὰ ἄδηλα ὧν. τί οὖν οὐκ ἐγκαλεῖς σεαυτῷ, ἀλλὰ κλαίων κάθησαι ὡς τὰ κοράσια; [33] 'ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνός μοι φαγεῖν παρετίθει.' ἔζη γάρ, μωρέ: νῦν δ' οὐ δύναται. ἀλλ' Αὐτομέδων σοι παραθήσει: ἂν δὲ καὶ Αὐτομέδων ἀποθάνῃ, ἄλλον εὐρήσεις. [34] ἂν δ' ἡ χύτρα, ἐν ἣ ἦμετό σοι τὸ κρέας, καταγῇ, λιμῷ σε δεῖ ἀποθανεῖν, ὅτι μὴ ἔχεις τὴν συνήθη χύτραν; οὐ πέμπεις καὶ ἄλλην καινὴν ἀγοράζεις;

οὐ μὲν γάρ τι,

[35] φησὶν,

κακώτερον ἄλλο πάθοιμι.

τοῦτο γάρ σοι κακόν ἐστιν; εἴτ' ἀφείς τοῦτο ἐξελεῖν αἰτιᾷ τὴν μητέρα, ὅτι σοι οὐ προεῖπεν, ἴν' ὀδυνώμενος ἐξ ἐκείνου διατελῇς; [36] τί δοκεῖτε; μὴ ἐπίτηδες ταῦτα συνθεῖναι Ὅμηρον, ἴν' ἴδωμεν, ὅτι οἱ εὐγενέστατοι, οἱ ἰσχυρότατοι, οἱ πλουσιώτατοι, οἱ εὐμορφότατοι, ὅταν οἷα δεῖ δόγματα μὴ ἔχωσιν, οὐδὲν κωλύονται ἀθλιώτατοι εἶναι καὶ δυστυχέστατοι;

περὶ καθαριότητος.

ἀμφισβητοῦσιν τινες, εἰ ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου περιέχεται τὸ κοινωνικόν: ὅμως δ' αὐτοὶ οὗτοι οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀμφισβητῆσαι, ὅτι τό γε καθάριον πάντως περιέχεται καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλω καὶ τούτῳ τῶν ζώων χωρίζεται. [2] ὅταν οὖν ἄλλο τι ζῶον ἴδωμεν ἀποκαθαίρων ἑαυτό, ἐπιλέγειν εἰώθαμεν θαυμάζοντες ὅτι 'ὥς ἄνθρωπος.' καὶ πάλιν ἂν τις ἐγκαλῇ τινι ζῶῳ, εὐθὺς εἰώθαμεν ὥσπερ ἀπολογούμενοι λέγειν ὅτι 'οὐ δῆπου ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν.' [3] οὕτως ἐξαίρετόν τι περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι οἰόμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν αὐτὸ πρῶτον λαμβάνοντες. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι φύσει καθαροὶ καὶ ἀκήρατοι, ἐφ' ὅσον ἡγγίκασιν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἄνθρωποι κατὰ τὸν λόγον, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τοῦ καθαροῦ καὶ τοῦ καθαρίου εἰσὶν ἀνθεκτικοί. [4] ἐπεὶ δ' ἀμήχανον τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν παντάπασιν εἶναι καθαρὰν ἐκ τοιαύτης ὕλης κεκραμένην, ὁ λόγος παραληφθεὶς εἰς τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ταύτην καθάριον ἀποτελεῖν πειρᾶται. [5] πρώτη οὖν καὶ ἀνωτάτω καθαρότης ἡ ἐν ψυχῇ γενομένη καὶ ὁμοίως ἀκαθαρσία. ψυχῆς δ' ὥς σώματος μὲν ἀκαθαρσίαν οὐκ ἂν εὖροις, ὥς ψυχῆς δὲ τί ἂν ἄλλο εὖροις ἢ τὸ παρέχον αὐτὴν ῥυπαρὰν πρὸς τὰ ἔργα τὰ αὐτῆς; [6] ἔργα δὲ ψυχῆς ὁρμᾶν, ἀφορμᾶν, ὀρέγεσθαι, ἐκκλίνειν, παρασκευάζεσθαι, ἐπιβάλλεσθαι, συγκατατίθεσθαι. [7] τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἔργοις ῥυπαρὰν παρέχον αὐτὴν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον; οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὰ μοχθηρὰ κρίματα αὐτῆς. [8] ὥστε ψυχῆς μὲν ἀκαθαρσία δόγματα πονηρὰ, κάθαρσις δ' ἐμποίησις οἴων δεῖ δογμάτων. καθαρὰ δ' ἡ ἔχουσα οἷα δεῖ δόγματα: μόνη γὰρ αὕτη ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς αὐτῆς ἀσύγχυτος καὶ ἀμόλυντος. [9]

δεῖ δὲ τι εἰκόδς τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ σώματος φιλοτεχνεῖν κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον. ἀμήχανον ἦν μύξας μὴ ρεῖν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοιοῦτον ἔχοντος τὸ σύγκραμα: διὰ τοῦτο χεῖρας ἐποίησεν ἡ φύσις καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς ῥίνας ὥς σωλῆνας πρὸς τὸ ἐκδιδόναι τὰ ὑγρά. ἂν οὖν ἀναρροφῇ τις αὐτάς, λέγω ὅτι οὐ ποιεῖ ἔργον ἀνθρωπικόν. [10] ἀμήχανον ἦν μὴ πηλοῦσθαι τοὺς πόδας μηδὲ ὅλως μολύνεσθαι διὰ τοιούτων τινῶν πορευομένους; διὰ τοῦτο ὕδωρ παρεσκεύασεν, διὰ τοῦτο χεῖρας. [11] ἀμήχανον ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ τρώγειν μὴ ῥυπαρόν τι προσμένειν τοῖς ὁδοῦσι: διὰ τοῦτο 'πλῦνον,' φησὶν, 'τοὺς ὁδόντας.' διὰ τί; ἵν' ἄνθρωπος ἦς καὶ μὴ θηρίον μηδὲ σιῖδιον. [12] ἀμήχανον μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρώτος καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐσθῆτα συνοχῆς ὑπολείπεσθαι τι περὶ τὸ σῶμα ῥυπαρόν καὶ δεόμενον ἀποκαθάρσεως: διὰ τοῦτο ὕδωρ, ἔλαιον, χεῖρες, ὀθόνιον, ξύστρα, νίτρον, ἔσθ' ὅθ' ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα παρασκευὴ πρὸς τὸ καθῆραι αὐτό. [13] οὐ: ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν χαλκεὺς ὥς χαλκεὺς ἐξιώσει τὸ σιδήριον καὶ ὄργανα πρὸς τοῦτο ἔξει κατεσκευασμένα καὶ τὸ πινάκιον αὐτὸς σὺ πλυνεῖς, ὅταν μέλλῃς ἐσθίειν, ἐὰν μὴ ἦς παντελῶς ἀκάθαρτος καὶ ῥυπαρός: τὸ σῶμάτιον δ' οὐ πλυνεῖς οὐδὲ καθαρὸν ποιήσεις; [14] — διὰ τί; φησὶν. — πάλιν ἐρῶ σοι: πρῶτον μὲν ἵνα τὰ ἀνθρώπου ποιῆς, εἴτα ἵνα μὴ ἀνιᾶς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. [15] τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἐνθάδε ποιεῖς καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνῃ. σαυτὸν ἄξιον ἡγῇ τοῦ ὄζειν: ἔστω, ἴσθι ἄξιος. μή τι καὶ τοὺς παρακαθίζοντας, μή τι καὶ τοὺς συγκατακλινομένους, μή τι καὶ τοὺς καταφιλοῦντας; [16] ἢ ἄπελθ' εἰς ἐρημίαν πού ποτε, ἦς ἄξιος εἶ, καὶ μόνος διάγε κατόζων σεαυτοῦ. δίκαιον γάρ ἐστι τῆς σῆς ἀκαθαρσίας σὲ μόνον ἀπολαύειν. ἐν πόλει δ' ὄντα οὕτως ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ἀγνωμόνως ἀναστρέφεσθαι τίνος σοι φαίνεται; [17] εἰ δ' ἵππον σοι

πεπιστεύκει ἡ φύσις, περιεώρας αὐτὸν καὶ ἀτημέλητον; καὶ νῦν οἴου σου τὸ σῶμα ὡς ἵππον ἐγκεχειρίσθαι: πλύνον αὐτό, ἀπόσμηξον, ποιήσον, ἵνα σε μηδεὶς ἀποστρέφηται, μηδεὶς ἐκτρέπηται. [18] τίς δ' οὐκ ἐκτρέπεται ῥυπαρὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὄζοντα, κακόχρουν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν κεκοπρωμένον; ἐκείνη ἡ ὁσμη ἐξωθέν ἐστιν ἐπίθετος, ἡ δ' ἐξ ἀθεραπευσίας ἐσωθεν καὶ οἰονεὶ διασεσηπότος.

ἀλλὰ Σωκράτης ὀλιγάκις ἐλούετο. [19] — ἀλλὰ ἔστιλβεν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἦν οὕτως ἐπίχαρι καὶ ἡδύ, ὥστ' ἦρων αὐτοῦ οἱ ὠραιότατοι καὶ εὐγενέστατοι καὶ ἐπεθύμουν ἐκείνῳ παρακατακλίνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς εὐμορφοτάτοις. ἐξῆν ἐκείνῳ μῆτε λούεσθαι μῆτε πλύνεσθαι, εἰ ἤθελεν: καίτοι καὶ τὸ ὀλιγάκις ἰσχὺν εἶχεν. κἂν θερμῷ μὴ θέλῃς, ψυχρῷ. [20] — ἀλλὰ λέγει Ἀριστοφάνης

τοὺς ὠχρίωντας, τοὺς ἀνυποδήτους λέγω. —

Λέγει γὰρ καὶ ἀεροβατεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκ τῆς παλαιίστρας κλέπτειν τὰ ἱμάτια. [21] ἐπεὶ τοι πάντες οἱ γεγραφοτές περὶ Σωκράτους πάντα τάναντία αὐτῷ προσμαρτυροῦσιν, ὅτι ἡδὺς οὐ μόνον ἀκοῦσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἦν. πάλιν περὶ Διογένους ταῦτα γράφουσι. [22] δεῖ γὰρ μὴδὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἔμφασιν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἀποσοβεῖν τοὺς πολλούς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα εὐθυμον καὶ ἀτάραχον ἐπιδεικνύειν αὐτὸν οὕτως καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος. [23] 'ἴδετε, ὦ ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔχω, οὐδενὸς δέομαι: ἴδετε, πῶς ἄοικος ὢν καὶ ἄπολις καὶ φυγᾶς, ἂν οὕτως τύχη, καὶ ἀνέστιος πάντων τῶν εὐπατριδῶν καὶ πλουσίων ἀταραχώτερον διάγω καὶ εὐρούστερον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σωματίον ὁρᾷτε ὅτι οὐ κακοῦται ὑπὸ τῆς αὐστηρᾶς διαίτης.' [24] ἂν δέ μοι ταῦτα λέγῃ τις ἀνθρώπου σχῆμα καταδίκου ἔχων καὶ πρόσωπον, τίς με πείσει θεῶν προσελθεῖν φιλοσοφία, ἥ γε τοιούτους ποιεῖ; μὴ γένοιτο: οὐδ', εἰ σοφὸς ἐμελλον εἶναι, ἤθελον. [25]

ἐγὼ μὲν νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς τὸν νέον τὸν πρῶτως κινούμενον θέλω μᾶλλον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς με πεπλασμένον τὴν κόμην ἢ κατεφθινηκότα καὶ ῥυπαρόν. βλέπεται γάρ τις ἐν ἐκείνῳ τοῦ καλοῦ φαντασία, ἔφεσις δὲ τοῦ εὐσχήμονος. ὅπου δ' αὐτὸν εἶναι φαντάζεται, ἐκεῖ καὶ φιλοτεχνεῖ. [26] λοιπὸν ὑποδείξαι μόνον αὐτῷ δεῖ καὶ εἰπεῖν 'νεανίσκε, τὸ καλὸν ζητεῖς καὶ εὖ ποιεῖς. ἴσθι οὖν, ὅτι ἐκεῖ φύεται, ὅπου τὸν λόγον ἔχεις: ἐκεῖ αὐτὸ ζήτει, ὅπου τὰς ὁρμὰς καὶ τὰς ἀφορμὰς, ὅπου τὰς ὀρέξεις, τὰς ἐκκλίσεις. [27] τοῦτο γὰρ ἔχεις ἐν σεαυτῷ ἐξαίρετον, τὸ σωματίον δὲ φύσει πηλὸς ἐστίν. τί πονεῖς εἰκῇ περὶ αὐτό; εἰ μὴδὲν ἕτερον, τῷ χρόνῳ γνώσῃ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστίν.' ἂν δέ μοι ἔλθῃ κεκοπρωμένος, [28] ῥυπαρός, μύστακα ἔχων μέχρι τῶν γονάτων, τί αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν ἔχω, ἀπὸ ποίας αὐτὸν ὁμοιότητος ἐπαγαγεῖν; [29] περὶ τί γὰρ ἐσπούδακεν ὅμοιον τῷ καλῷ, ἵν' αὐτὸν μεταθῶ καὶ εἴπω 'οὐκ ἔστιν ἐνθάδε τὸ καλόν, ἀλλ' ἐνθάδε;' θέλεις αὐτῷ λέγω 'οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ κεκοπρωθῆναι τὸ καλόν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ λόγῳ;' ἐφίεται γὰρ τοῦ καλοῦ; ἔμφασιν γάρ τινα αὐτοῦ ἔχει; ἀπελθε καὶ χοίρῳ διαλέγου, ἵν' ἐν βορβόρῳ μὴ κυλήται. [30] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Πολέμωνος ἦσαν τοὶ οἱ λόγοι οἱ Ξενοκράτους ὡς φιλοκάλου νεανίσκου: εἰσῆλθεν γὰρ ἔχων ἐναύσματα τῆς περὶ τὸ καλὸν σπουδῆς, ἀλλαχοῦ δ' αὐτὸ ζητῶν. [31] ἐπεὶ τοι οὐδὲ τὰ ζῶα τὰ ἀνθρώποις σύντροφα ῥυπαρὰ ἐποίησεν ἡ φύσις. μὴ τι ἵππος κυλίνεται ἐν βορβόρῳ, μὴ τι κύων γενναῖος; ἀλλ' ὁ ὕς καὶ τὰ σαπρὰ χηνίδια

καὶ σκώληκες καὶ ἀράχνη, τὰ μακροτάτω τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης συναναστροφῆς ἀπεληλασμένα. [32] σὺ οὖν ἄνθρωπος ὢν οὐδὲ ζῶον εἶναι θέλεις τῶν ἀνθρώποις συντρόφων, ἀλλὰ σκώληξ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀράχνη; οὐ λούσῃ πού ποτε ὡς θέλεις, οὐκ ἀποπλυνεῖς σεαυτόν, οὐχ ἤξεις καθαρός, ἵνα σοι χαίρωσιν οἱ συνόντες; ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ ἡμῖν συνέρχῃ τοιοῦτος, ὅπου πτύσαι οὐ νενόμισται οὐδ' ἀπομύξασθαι, ὅλος ὢν πτύσμα καὶ μύξα;

[33] τί οὖν; καλλωπίζεσθαι τις ἀξιοῖ; μὴ γένοιτο, εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνο ὃ πεφύκαμεν, τὸν λόγον, τὰ δόγματα, τὰς ἐνεργείας, τὸ δὲ σῶμα μέχρι τοῦ καθαρίου, μέχρι τοῦ μὴ προσκόπτειν. [34] ἀλλ' ἂν ἀκούσῃς, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ φορεῖν κόκκινα, ἀπελθὼν κόπρωσόν σου τὸν τρίβωνα ἢ κατάρρηξον. — ἀλλὰ πόθεν ἔχω καλὸν τρίβωνα; — ἄνθρωπε, ὕδωρ ἔχεις, πλύνον αὐτόν. [35] ἰδοὺ νέος ἀξιέραστος, ἰδοὺ πρεσβύτερος ἄξιος τοῦ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἀντερᾶσθαι, ὃ τις υἱὸν αὐτοῦ παραδῶ ... θησόμενον, ὃ θυγατέρες, ὃ νέοι προσελεύσονται, ἂν οὕτως τύχῃ, ἵνα ἐν κοπρῶνι λέγῃ τὰς σχολάς. [36] μὴ γένοιτο. πᾶσα ἐκτροπὴ ἀπὸ τίνος ἀνθρωπικοῦ γίνεται, αὕτη ἐγγύς ἐστι τῷ μὴ ἀνθρωπικῇ εἶναι.

ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΟΣΟΧΗΣ.

ὅταν ἀφῇς πρὸς ὀλίγον τὴν προσοχήν, μὴ τοῦτο φαντάζου, ὅτι, ὁπότεν θέλῃς, ἀναλήψῃ αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο πρόχειρον ἔστω σοι, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ σήμερον ἀμαρτηθὲν εἰς τᾶλλα χεῖρον ἀνάγκη σοι τὰ πράγματα ἔχειν. [2] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ πάντων χαλεπώτατον ἔθος τοῦ μὴ προσέχειν ἐγγίνεται, εἴτα ἔθος τοῦ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν προσοχήν: αἰεὶ δ' εἰς ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον χρόνον εἴωθας ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὸ εὐροεῖν, τὸ εὐσχημονεῖν, τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν καὶ διεξάγειν. [3] εἰ μὲν οὖν λυσιτελὴς ἢ ὑπέρθεσις ἐστίν, ἢ παντελὴς ἀπόστασις αὐτῆς ἐστὶ λυσιτελεστέρα: εἰ δ' οὐ λυσιτελεῖ, τί οὐχὶ διηνεκῇ τὴν προσοχήν φυλάσσεις; [4] 'σήμερον παῖζα θέλω.' τί οὖν κωλύει προσέχοντα; 'ἄσαι.' τί οὖν κωλύει προσέχοντα; μὴ γὰρ ἐξαιρεῖται τι μέρος τοῦ βίου, ἐφ' ὃ οὐ διατείνει τὸ προσέχειν; χεῖρον γὰρ αὐτὸ προσέχων ποιήσεις, βέλτιον δὲ μὴ προσέχων; [5] καὶ τί ἄλλο τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ κρεῖσσον ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ προσεχόντων γίνεται; ὁ τέκτων μὴ προσέχων ... ; ὁ κυβερνήτης μὴ προσέχων κυβερνᾷ ἀσφαλέστερον; ἄλλο δὲ τι τῶν μικροτέρων ἔργων ὑπὸ ἀπροσεξίας ἐπιτελεῖται κρεῖσσον; [6] οὐκ αἰσθάνῃ, ὅτι, ἐπειδὴν ἀφῇς τὴν γνώμην, οὐκ ἔτι ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐστὶν ἀνακαλέσασθαι αὐτήν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσχημον, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ αἰδήμον, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ κατεσταλμένον; ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ ἐπελθὼν ποιεῖς, ταῖς προθυμίαις ἐπακολουθεῖς.

ΤΙΣΙΝ οὖν δεῖ με προσέχειν; [7] — πρῶτον μὲν ἐκείνοις τοῖς καθολικοῖς καὶ ἐκεῖνα πρόχειρα ἔχειν καὶ χωρὶς ἐκείνων μὴ καθευδεῖν, μὴ ἀνίστασθαι, μὴ πίνειν, μὴ ἐσθίειν, μὴ συμβάλλειν ἀνθρώποις: ὅτι προαιρέσεως ἀλλοτρίας κύριος οὐδεὶς, ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ μόνῃ τὰγαθὸν καὶ κακόν. [8] οὐδεὶς οὖν κύριος οὐτ' ἀγαθὸν μοι περιποιῆσαι οὔτε κακῶ με περιβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐξουσίαν ἔχω μόνος. [9] ὅταν οὖν ταῦτα ἀσφαλῇ μοι ἦ, τί ἔχω περὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ταράσσεσθαι; ποῖος τύραννος φοβερός, ποῖα νόσος, ποῖα πενία, ποῖον πρόσκρουσμα; [10] — ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦρεσα τῷ δεῖνι. — μὴ οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἐμὸν ἐστὶν ἔργον, μὴ τι ἐμὸν κρίμα; — οὐ. — τί οὖν ἔτι μοι μέλει; — ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ τις εἶναι. — ὧσεται αὐτὸς καὶ οἷς δοκεῖ, [11] ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω, τί με δεῖ ἀρέσκειν, τί με ὑποτετάχθαι, τί με πείθεσθαι: τῷ θεῷ καὶ [12] μετ' ἐκείνων ... ἐμὲ ἐκείνος

συνέστησεν ἑμαυτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν προαίρεσιν ὑπέταξεν ἐμοὶ μόνῳ δοῦς κανόνας εἰς χρῆσιν αὐτῆς τὴν ὀρθήν, οἷς ὅταν κατακολουθήσω, ἐν συλλογισμοῖς οὐκ ἐπιστρέφομαι οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλο τι λεγόντων, ἐν μεταπίπτουσιν οὐ φροντίζω οὐδενός. διὰ τί οὖν ἐν τοῖς μείζουσιν ἀνιῶσί με οἱ ψέγοντες; [13] τί τὸ αἷτιον ταύτης τῆς ταραχῆς; οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ ἀγύμναστος εἰμι. [14] ἐπεὶ τοι πᾶσα ἐπιστήμη καταφρονητική ἐστὶ τῆς ἀγνοίας καὶ τῶν ἀγνοούντων καὶ οὐ μόνον αἱ ἐπιστῆμαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ τέχναι. φέρε ὃν θέλεις σκυτέα καὶ τῶν πολλῶν καταγελᾶ περὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔργον: φέρε ὃν θέλεις τέκτονα. [15]

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἔχειν πρόχειρα καὶ μηδὲν δίχα τούτων ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τετάσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν σκοπὸν, μηδὲν τῶν ἔξω διώκειν, μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλοτρίων, ἀλλ' ὡς διέταξεν ὁ δυνάμενος, τὰ προαιρετικὰ ἐξ ἅπαντος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὡς ἂν διδῶται. [16] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ μεμνησθαι, τίνες ἐσμέν καὶ τί ἡμῖν ὄνομα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν σχέσεων πειρᾶσθαι τὰ καθήκοντα ἀπευθύνειν: [17] τίς καιρὸς ὧδῆς, τίς καιρὸς παιδείας, τίνων παρόντων: τί ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος: μὴ τι καταφρονήσωσιν ἡμῶν οἱ συνόντες, μὴ τι ἡμεῖς αὐτῶν: πότε σκῶσαι καὶ τίνας ποτὲ καταγελάσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι ποτὲ συμπεριενεχθῆναι καὶ τίνι, καὶ λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ συμπεριφορᾷ πῶς τηρῆσαι τὸ αὐτοῦ. ὅπου δ' ἂν ἀπονέυσης ἀπὸ τινος τούτων, [18] εὐθὺς ζημία, οὐκ ἔξωθὲν ποθεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐνεργείας.

[19] τί οὖν; δυνατόν ἀναμάρτητον ἤδη εἶναι; ἀμήχανον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο δυνατόν πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν τετάσθαι διηνεκῶς. ἀγαπητὸν γάρ, εἰ μηδέποτε ἀνιέντες ταύτην τὴν προσοχὴν ὀλίγων γε ἀμαρτημάτων ἐκτὸς ἐσόμεθα. νῦν δ' ὅταν εἴπῃς [20] 'ἀπαύριον προσέξω,' ἴσθι ὅτι τοῦτο λέγεις 'σήμερον ἔσομαι ἀναίσχυντος, ἄκαιρος, ταπεινός: ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἔσται τὸ λυπεῖν με: ὀργισθῆσομαι σήμερον, φθονήσω.' [21] βλέπε, ὅσα κακὰ σεαυτῷ ἐπιτρέπεις. ἀλλ' εἰ σοι αὔριον καλῶς ἔχει, πόσῳ κρεῖττον σήμερον: εἰ αὔριον συμφέρει, πολὺ μᾶλλον σήμερον, ἵνα καὶ αὔριον δυνηθῇς καὶ μὴ πάλιν ἀναβάλλῃς εἰς τρίτην.

πρὸς τοὺς εὐκόλως ἐκφέροντας τὰ αὐτῶν.

ὅταν τις ἡμῖν ἀπλῶς δόξῃ διειλέχθαι περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων, πῶς ποτε ἐξαγόμεθα καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐκφέρειν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπόρρητα καὶ τοῦτο ἀπλοῦν οἰόμεθα εἶναι: [2] πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἄνισον εἶναι δοκεῖ αὐτὸν μὲν ἀκηκοῦναι τὰ τοῦ πλησίον, μὴ μέντοι μεταδιδόναι κάκεῖνῳ ἐν τῷ μέρει τῶν ἡμετέρων. εἴθ' ὅτι οἰόμεθα οὐχ ἀπλῶν ἀνθρώπων παρέξειν αὐτοῖς φαντασίαν σιωπῶντες τὰ ἴδια. [3] ἀμέλει πολλακίς εἰώθασιν λέγειν 'ἐγὼ σοι πάντα τὰματοῦ εἴρηκα, σύ μοι οὐδὲν τῶν σῶν εἰπεῖν θέλεις; [4] ποῦ γίνεται τοῦτο;' πρόσεστι δὲ καὶ τὸ οἶεσθαι ἀσφαλῶς πιστεῦειν τῷ ἤδη τὰ αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκότι: ὑπέρχεται γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὗτος ἐξείποι τὰ ἡμέτερα εὐλαβούμενος, μήποτε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξείπωμεν τὰ ἐκείνου. [5] οὕτως καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ οἱ προπετεῖς λαμβάνονται. παρακεκάθικέ σοι στρατιώτης ἐν σχήματι ἰδιωτικῷ καὶ ἀρξάμενος κακῶς λέγει τὸν Καίσαρα, εἶτα σὺ ὥσπερ ἐνέχυρον παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν τῆς πίστεως τὸ αὐτὸν τῆς λαιδορίας κατῆρχθαι λέγεις καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα φρονεῖς, εἶτα δεθεῖς ἀπάγῃ. [6] τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ ἐν τῷ καθόλου πάσχομεν. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀσφαλῶς

πεπίστευκεν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, οὕτως κἀγὼ τῷ ἐπιτυχόντι: [7] ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀκούσας σιωπῶ, ἂν γε ὃ τοιοῦτος, ὁ δ' ἐξελθὼν ἐκφέρει πρὸς πάντας. εἶτ' ἂν γνῶ τὸ γενόμενον, ἂν μὲν ὃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκείνῳ ὅμοιος, ἀμύνασθαι θέλων ἐκφέρω τὰ ἐκείνου καὶ φύρω καὶ φύρομαι. [8] ἂν δὲ μνημονεύω, ὅτι ἄλλος ἄλλον οὐ βλάπτει, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἔργα ἕκαστον καὶ βλάπτει καὶ ὠφελεῖ, τούτου μὲν κρατῶ τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίον τι ποιῆσαι ἐκείνῳ, ὅμως δ' ὑπὸ φλυαρίας τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ πέπονθα ἃ πέπονθα.

[9] ναί: ἄλλ' ἄνισόν ἐστιν ἀκούσαντα τὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἀπόρρητα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μέρει μηδενὸς μεταδιδόναι αὐτῷ. [10] — μὴ γάρ σε παρεκάλουν, ἄνθρωπε; μὴ γάρ ἐπὶ συνθήκαις τισὶν ἐξήνεγκας τὰ σαυτοῦ, ἵν' ἀκούσης ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ τὰ ἐμά; [11] εἰ σὺ φλύαρος εἶ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀπαντήσαντας φίλους εἶναι δοκεῖς, θέλεις καὶ ἐμὲ ὁμοίον σοι γενέσθαι; τί δ', εἰ σὺ καλῶς μοι πεπίστευκας τὰ σαυτοῦ, σοὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστι καλῶς πιστεῦσαι, θέλεις με προσπεσεῖν; [12] οἶον εἰ πίθον εἶχον ἐγὼ μὲν στεγνόν, σὺ δὲ τετρυπημένον καὶ ἐλθὼν παρακατέθου μοι τὸν σαυτοῦ οἶνον, ἵνα βάλω εἰς τὸν ἐμὸν πίθον, εἶτ' ἡγανάκεις ὅτι μὴ κἀγὼ σοὶ πιστεύω τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ οἶνον: σὺ γὰρ τετρυπημένον ἔχεις τὸν πίθον. [13] πῶς οὖν ἔτι ἴσον γίνεται; σὺ πιστῷ παρακατέθου, σὺ αἰδήμονι, τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἐνεργείας μόνας βλαβεράς ἡγουμένῳ καὶ ὠφελίμους, τῶν δ' ἐκτὸς οὐδέν: [14] ἐγὼ σοὶ θέλεις παρακαταθῶμαι, ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἡτιμακότι, θέλονται δὲ κερματίου τυχεῖν ἢ ἀρχῆς τιнос ἢ προαγωγῆς ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, κἂν μέλλης τὰ τέκνα σου κατασφάζειν, ὥς ἡ Μήδεια; [15] ποῦ τοῦτο ἴσον ἐστίν; ἀλλὰ δεῖξόν μοι σαυτὸν πιστόν, αἰδήμονα, βέβαιον, δεῖξον, ὅτι δόγματα ἔχεις φιλικά, δεῖξόν σου τὸ ἀγγεῖον ὅτι οὐ τέτρηται καὶ ὄψει, πῶς οὐκ ἀναμένω ἵνα μοι σὺ πιστεύσης τὰ σαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν σὲ παρακαλῶ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν ἐμῶν. [16] τίς γὰρ οὐ θέλει χρῆσασθαι ἀγγεῖῳ καλῷ, τίς ἀτιμάζει σύμβουλον εὖνουν καὶ πιστόν, τίς οὐκ ἄσμενος δέξεται τὸν ὥσπερ φορτίου μεταληψόμενον τῶν αὐτοῦ περιστάσεων καὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ κουφιοῦντα αὐτὸν τῷ μεταλαβεῖν;

ναί: ἄλλ' ἐγὼ σοὶ πιστεύω, σὺ ἐμοὶ οὐ πιστεύεις. [17] — πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲ σὺ ἐμοὶ πιστεύεις, ἀλλὰ φλύαρος εἶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν δύνασαι κατασχεῖν. ἐπεὶ τοι εἰ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἐμοὶ μόνῳ αὐτὰ πιστευσον: [18] νῦν δ' ὃν ἂν εὐσυχολοῦντα ἴδης, παρακαθίσας αὐτῷ λέγεις 'ἀδελφέ, οὐδένα σου ἔχω εὐνούστοτερον οὐδὲ φίλτερον, παρακαλῶ σε ἀκοῦσαι τὰ ἐμά:' καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς οὐδέ τι ὀλίγον ἐγνωσμένους ποιεῖς. [19] εἰ δὲ καὶ πιστεύεις ἐμοί, δηλὸν ὅτι ὥς πιστῷ καὶ αἰδήμονι, οὐχ ὅτι σοὶ τὰ ἑμαυτοῦ ἐξεῖπον. [20] ἄφες οὖν, ἵνα κἀγὼ ταῦτα ὑπολάβω. δεῖξόν μοι, ὅτι, ἂν τις τινὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἐξείπῃ, ἐκεῖνος πιστός ἐστι καὶ αἰδήμων. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἦν, ἐγὼ περιερχόμενος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἑμαυτοῦ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ τούτου ἔνεκα ἔμελλον πιστὸς καὶ αἰδήμων ἔσεσθαι. τὸ δ' ἐστὶν οὐ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ δογμάτων δεῖ οὐχ ὧν ἔτυχεν. [21] ἂν γοῦν τινα ἴδης περὶ τὰ ἀπροαίρετα ἐσπουδακότα καὶ τούτοις ὑποτεταχότα τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν, ἴσθι ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος μυρίους ἔχει τοὺς ἀναγκάζοντας, τοὺς κωλύοντας. [22] οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ χρεῖα πίσης ἢ τροχοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἐξειπεῖν ἃ οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ παιδισκαρίου νευμάτιον, ἂν οὕτως τύχῃ, ἐκσεῖσει αὐτόν, Καισαριανοῦ φιλοφροσύνη, ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμία, κληρονομία, ἄλλα τούτοις

ὅμοια τρισμύρια. [23] μεμνησθαι οὖν ἐν τοῖς καθόλου, ὅτι οἱ ἀπόρρητοι λόγοι πίστεως χρειάν ἔχουσι καὶ δογμάτων τοιούτων: ταῦτα δὲ ποῦ νῦν εὐρεῖν ῥαδίως; [24] ἢ δειξάτω μοί τις τὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα, ὥστε λέγειν ‘ἐμοὶ μόνων μέλει τῶν ἐμῶν, τῶν ἀκωλύτων, τῶν φύσει ἐλευθέρων. ταύτην οὐσίαν ἔχω τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα γινέσθω ὡς ἂν διδῶται: οὐ διαφέρωμαι.’

ENCHIRIDION

[1] τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. ἐφ' ἡμῖν μὲν ὑπόληψις, ὀρμή, ὄρεξις, ἔκκλισις καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ ὅσα ἡμέτερα ἔργα: οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ σῶμα, ἡ κτῆσις, δόξαι, ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ ὅσα οὐχ ἡμέτερα ἔργα. [2] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ φύσει ἐλεύθερα, ἀκώλυτα, ἀπαραπόδιστα, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀσθενῆ, δοῦλα, κωλυτά, ἀλλότρια. μέμνησο οὖν, [3] ὅτι, ἐὰν τὰ φύσει δοῦλα ἐλεύθερα οἰηθῇς καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἴδια, ἐμποδισθῇς, πενήθῃς, ταραχθῇς, μέμνη καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ἐὰν δὲ τὸ σὸν μόνον οἰηθῇς σὸν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀλλότριον, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, ἀλλότριον, οὐδεὶς σε ἀναγκάσει οὐδέποτε, οὐδεὶς σε κωλύσει, οὐ μέμνη οὐδένα, οὐκ ἐγκαλέσεις τινί, ἄκων πράξεις οὐδὲ ἔν, οὐδεὶς σε βλάψει, ἐχθρὸν οὐχ ἔξεις, οὐδὲ γὰρ βλαβερὸν τι πείσῃ. [4] τηλικούτων οὖν ἐφίεμενος μέμνησο, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ μετρίως κεκινημένον ἄπτεσθαι αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀφιέναι παντελῶς, τὰ δ' ὑπερτίθεσθαι πρὸς τὸ παρόν. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐθέλῃς καὶ ἄρχῃς καὶ πλουτεῖν, τυχὸν μὲν οὐδ' αὐτῶν τούτων τεύξῃ διὰ τὸ καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἐφίεσθαι, πάντως γε μὴν ἐκείνων ἀποτεύξῃ, δι' ὧν μόνων ἐλευθερία καὶ εὐδαιμονία περιγίνεται. [5] εὐθὺς οὖν πάσῃ φαντασίᾳ τραχεῖα μελέτα ἐπιλέγειν ὅτι 'φαντασία εἶ καὶ οὐ πάντως τὸ φαινόμενον.' ἔπειτα ἐξέταξε αὐτὴν καὶ δοκίμαζε τοῖς κανόσι τούτοις οἷς ἔχεις, πρῶτῳ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ μάλιστα, πότερον περὶ τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἢ περὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν: κἂν περὶ τι τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ᾗ, πρόχειρον ἔστω τὸ διότι 'οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐμέ'

μέμνησο, ὅτι ὀρέξεως ἐπαγγελία ἐπιτυχία, οὗ ὀρέγῃ, ἐκκλίσεως ἐπαγγελία τὸ μὴ περιπεσεῖν ἐκείνῳ, ὃ ἐκκλίνεται, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν ὀρέξει ἀποτυγχάνων ἀτυχής, ὁ δὲ ἐν ἐκκλίσει περιπίπτων δυστυχής. ἂν μὲν οὖν μόνᾳ ἐκκλίνῃς τὰ παρὰ φύσιν τῶν ἐπὶ σοί, οὐδενί, ὧν ἐκκλίνεις, περιπεσῇ: νόσον δ' ἂν ἐκκλίνῃς ἢ θάνατον ἢ πενίαν, δυστυχῆσεις. [2] ἄρον οὖν τὴν ἔκκλινιν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ μετάθεες ἐπὶ τὰ παρὰ φύσιν τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν. τὴν ὄρεξιν δὲ παντελῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀνελε: ἂν τε γὰρ ὀρέγῃ τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν τινος, ἀτυχεῖν ἀνάγκη τῶν τε ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ὅσων ὀρέγεσθαι καλὸν ἂν, οὐδὲν οὐδέπω σοι πάρεστι. μόνῳ δὲ τῷ ὀρμᾶν καὶ ἀφορμᾶν χρῶ, κούφως μέντοι καὶ μεθ' ὑπεξαίρεσεως καὶ ἀνειμένους.

ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν ψυχαγωγούντων ἢ χρεῖαν παρεχόντων ἢ στεργομένων μέμνησο ἐπιλέγειν, ὁποῖόν ἐστιν, ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτάτων ἀρξάμενος: ἂν χύτραν στέργῃς, ὅτι 'χύτραν στέργω.' κατεαγείσης γὰρ αὐτῆς οὐ ταραχθήσῃ: ἂν παιδίον σαυτοῦ καταφιλῇς ἢ γυναῖκα, ὅτι ἄνθρωπον καταφιλεῖς: ἀποθανόντος γὰρ οὐ ταραχθήσῃ.

ὅταν ἄπτεσθαί τινος ἔργου μέλλῃς, ὑπομίμησκε σεαυτόν, ὁποῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἔργον. ἐὰν λουσόμενος ἀπῆς, πρόβαλλε σεαυτῷ τὰ γινόμενα ἐν βαλανείῳ, τοὺς ἀπορραίνοντας, τοὺς ἐγκρουομένους, τοὺς λοιδοροῦντας, τοὺς κλέπτοντας, καὶ οὕτως ἀσφαλέστερον ἄψῃ τοῦ ἔργου, ἐὰν ἐπιλέγῃς εὐθὺς ὅτι 'λούσασθαι θέλω καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσιν τηρῆσαι.' καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐφ' ἐκάστου ἔργου. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τι πρὸς τὸ λούσασθαι γένηται

ἐμποδῶν, πρόχειρον ἔσται διότι ‘ἄλλ’ οὐ τοῦτο ἤθελον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσαν τηρῆσαι: οὐ τηρήσω δέ, ἐὰν ἀγανακτῶ πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα.’

ταράσσει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐ τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ τὰ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων δόγματα: οἷον ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν δεινόν (ἐπεὶ καὶ Σωκράτει ἂν ἐφαίνετο) , ἀλλὰ τὸ δόγμα τὸ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου, διότι δεινόν, ἐκεῖνο τὸ δεινόν ἐστίν. ὅταν οὖν ἐμποδιζώμεθα ἢ ταρασσώμεθα ἢ λυπώμεθα, μηδέποτε ἄλλον αἰτιώμεθα, ἀλλ’ ἑαυτούς, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὰ ἑαυτῶν δόγματα. ἀπαιδεύτου ἔργον τὸ ἄλλοις ἐγκαλεῖν, ἐφ’ οἷς αὐτὸς πράσσει κακῶς: ἡργμένου παιδεύεσθαι τὸ ἑαυτῶ: πεπαιδευμένου τὸ μήτε ἄλλω μήτε ἑαυτῶ.

ἐπὶ μηδενὶ ἐπαρθῆς ἀλλοτρίῳ προτερήματι. εἰ ὁ ἵππος ἐπαιρόμενος ἔλεγεν ὅτι ‘καλὸς εἰμι,’ οἷστον ἂν ἦν: σὺ δέ, ὅταν λέγῃς ἐπαιρόμενος ὅτι ‘ἵππον καλὸν ἔχω,’ ἴσθι, ὅτι ἐπὶ ἵππου ἀγαθῷ ἐπαίρη. τί οὖν ἐστι σόν; χρήσις φαντασιῶν. ὥσθ’, ὅταν ἐν χρήσει φαντασιῶν κατὰ φύσιν σχῆς, τηνικαῦτα ἐπάρθητι: τότε γὰρ ἐπὶ σῶ τινι ἀγαθῷ ἐπαρθήσῃ.

καθάπερ ἐν πλῶ τοῦ πλοίου καθορμισθέντος εἰ ἐξέλθοις ὑθρεύσασθαι, ὁδοῦ μὲν πάρεργον καὶ κοχλίδιον ἀναλέξῃ καὶ βολβάριον, τετάσθαι δέ δεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, μή ποτε ὁ κυβερνήτης καλέσῃ, κἂν καλέσῃ, πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀφιέναι, ἵνα μὴ δεδεμένος ἐμβληθῆς ὡς τὰ πρόβατα: οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ, ἐὰν διδῶται ἀντὶ βολβαρίου καὶ κοχλιδίου γυναικάριον καὶ παιδίον, οὐδὲν κωλύσει: ἐὰν δέ ὁ κυβερνήτης καλέσῃ, τρέχε ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ἀφείς ἐκεῖνα ἅπαντα μηδὲ ἐπιστρεφόμενος. ἐὰν δέ γέρων ᾖ, μηδὲ ἀπαλλαγῆς ποτε τοῦ πλοίου μακράν, μή ποτε καλοῦντος ἐλλίπῃς.

μὴ ζητεῖ τὰ γινόμενα γίνεσθαι ὡς θέλεις, ἀλλὰ θέλε τὰ γινόμενα ὡς γίνεται καὶ εὐροήσεις.

νόσος σώματός ἐστιν ἐμπόδιον, προαιρέσεως δὲ οὐ, ἐὰν μὴ αὐτὴ θέλῃ. χῶλανσις σκέλους ἐστὶν ἐμπόδιον, προαιρέσεως δὲ οὐ. καὶ τοῦτο ἐφ’ ἐκάστου τῶν ἐμπιπτόντων ἐπίλεγε: εὐρήσεις γὰρ αὐτὸ ἄλλου τινὸς ἐμπόδιον, σὸν δὲ οὐ. ἐφ’ ἐκάστου τῶν προσπιπτόντων μέμνησο ἐπιστρέφων ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν ζητεῖν, τίνα δύνάμιν ἔχεις πρὸς τὴν χρήσιν αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν καλὸν ἴδῃς ἢ καλὴν, εὐρήσεις δύνάμιν πρὸς ταῦτα ἐγκράτειαν: ἐὰν πόνος προσφέρεται, εὐρήσεις καρτερίαν: ἂν λοιδορία, εὐρήσεις ἀνεξικακίαν. καὶ οὕτως ἐθιζόμενόν σε οὐ συναρπάσουσιν αἱ φαντασίαι.

ἐφ’ ἐκάστου τῶν προσπιπτόντων μέμνησο ἐπιστρέφων ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν ζητεῖν, τίνα δύνάμιν ἔχεις πρὸς τὴν χρήσιν αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν καλὸν ἴδῃς ἢ καλὴν, εὐρήσεις δύνάμιν πρὸς ταῦτα ἐγκράτειαν: ἐὰν πόνος προσφέρεται, εὐρήσεις καρτερίαν: ἂν λοιδορία, εὐρήσεις ἀνεξικακίαν. καὶ οὕτως ἐθιζόμενόν σε οὐ συναρπάσουσιν αἱ φαντασίαι.

μηδέποτε ἐπὶ μηδενὸς εἵπῃς ὅτι ‘ἀπώλεσα αὐτό,’ ἀλλ’ ὅτι ‘ἀπέδωκα.’ τὸ παιδίον ἀπέθανεν; ἀπεδόθη. ἢ γυνὴ ἀπέθανεν; ἀπεδόθη. ‘τὸ χωρίον ἀφῆρέθην.’ οὐκοῦν καὶ τοῦτο ἀπεδόθη. ‘ἀλλὰ κακὸς ὁ ἀφελόμενος.’ τί δὲ σοὶ μέλει, διὰ τίνος σε ὁ δοὺς ἀπῆτησε; μέχρι δ’ ἂν διδῶ, ὡς ἀλλοτρίου αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελοῦ, ὡς τοῦ πανδοχείου οἱ παριόντες.

εἰ προκόψαι θέλεις, ἄφες τοὺς τοιούτους ἐπιλογισμούς. ‘ἐὰν ἀμελήσω τᾶν

ἐμῶν, οὐχ ἔξω διατροφάς·’ ἐὰν μὴ κολάσω τὸν παῖδα, πονηρὸς ἔσται.’ κρεῖσσον γὰρ λιμῶ ἀποθανεῖν ἄλυπον καὶ ἄφοβον γενόμενον ἢ ζῆν ἐν ἀφθόνοις ταρασσόμενον. κρεῖττον δὲ τὸν παῖδα κακὸν εἶναι ἢ σὲ κακοδαίμονα. [2] ἄρξαι τοιγαροῦν ἀπὸ τῶν σμικρῶν. ἐκχεῖται τὸ ἐλάδιον, κλέπτεται τὸ οἰνάριον: ἐπίλεγε ὅτι ‘τοσοῦτου πωλεῖται ἀπάθεια, τοσοῦτου ἀταραξία.’ προῖκα δὲ οὐδὲν περιγίνεται. ὅταν δὲ καλῆς τὸν παῖδα, ἐνθυμοῦ, ὅτι δύναται μὴ ὑπακοῦσαι καὶ ὑπακούσας μὴδὲν ποιῆσαι ὧν θέλεις: ἀλλ’ οὐχ οὕτως ἐστὶν αὐτῷ καλῶς, ἵνα ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ ἦ τὸ σὲ μὴ ταραχθῆναι.

εἰ προκόψαι θέλεις, ὑπόμεινον ἔνεκα τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀνόητος δόξας καὶ ἡλίθιος, μὴδὲν βούλου δοκεῖν ἐπίστασθαι: κἂν δόξης τις εἶναι τισιν, ἀπίστει σεαυτῷ. ἴσθι γὰρ ὅτι οὐ ῥάδιον τὴν προαίρεσιν τὴν σεαυτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσας φυλάξαι καὶ τὰ ἐκτός, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἐπιμελούμενον τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀμελεῖσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη.

ἐὰν θέλῃς τὰ τέκνα σου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς φίλους σου πάντοτε ζῆν, ἡλίθιος εἶ: τὰ γὰρ μὴ ἐπὶ σοὶ θέλεις ἐπὶ σοὶ εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια σὰ εἶναι. οὕτω κἂν τὸν παῖδα θέλῃς μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν, μωρὸς εἶ: θέλεις γὰρ τὴν κακίαν μὴ εἶναι κακίαν, ἀλλ’ ἄλλο τι. ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς ὀρεγόμενος μὴ ἀποτυγχάνειν, τοῦτο δύνασαι. τοῦτο οὖν ἄσκει, ὃ δύνασαι. [2] κύριος ἐκάστου ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου θελομένων ἢ μὴ θελομένων ἔχων τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰς τὸ περιποιῆσαι ἢ ἀφελέσθαι. ὅστις οὖν ἐλεύθερος εἶναι βούλεται, μήτε θελέτω τι μήτε φευγέτω τι τῶν ἐπ’ ἄλλοις: εἰ δὲ μὴ, δουλεύειν ἀνάγκη.

μέμνησο, ὅτι ὥς ἐν συμποσίῳ σε δεῖ ἀναστρέφεσθαι. περιφερόμενον γέγονέ τι κατὰ σέ: ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα κοσμίως μετάλαβε. παρέρχεται: μὴ κάτεχε. οὐπω ἤκει: μὴ ἐπίβαλλε πόρρῳ τὴν ὄρεξιν, ἀλλὰ περίμενε, μέχρις ἂν γένηται κατὰ σέ. οὕτω πρὸς τέκνα, οὕτω πρὸς γυναῖκα, οὕτω πρὸς ἀρχάς, οὕτω πρὸς πλοῦτον: καὶ ἔση ποτὲ ἄξιός τῶν θεῶν συμπότης. ἂν δὲ καὶ παρατεθέντων σοὶ μὴ λάβῃς, ἀλλ’ ὑπερίδῃς, τότε οὐ μόνον συμπότης τῶν θεῶν ἔση, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνάρχων. οὕτω γὰρ ποιῶν Διογένης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι ἀξίως θεοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ ἐλέγοντο.

ὅταν κλαίοντα ἴδῃς τινὰ ἐν πένθει ἢ ἀποδημοῦντος τέκνου ἢ ἀπολωλεκότα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, πρόσεχε μὴ σε ἡ φαντασία συναρπάσῃ ὥς ἐν κακοῖς ὄντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκτός, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἔστω πρόχειρον ὅτι ‘τοῦτον θλίβει οὐ τὸ συμβεβηκός (ἄλλον γὰρ οὐ θλίβει) , ἀλλὰ τὸ δόγμα τὸ περὶ τούτου.’ μέχρι μέντοι λόγου μὴ ὅκνει συμπεριφέρεσθαι αὐτῷ, κἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, καὶ συνεπιστενάξαι: πρόσεχε μέντοι μὴ καὶ ἔσωθεν στενάξῃς. μέμνησο, ὅτι ὑποκριτῆς εἶ δράματος, οἷου ἂν θέλῃ ὁ διδάσκαλος: ἂν βραχύ, βραχείος: ἂν μακρόν, μακροῦ: ἂν πτωχὸν ὑποκρίνασθαι σε θέλῃ, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτον εὐφυῶς ὑποκρίνῃ ἂν χωλόν, ἂν ἄρχοντα, ἂν ιδιώτην. σὸν γὰρ τοῦτ’ ἔστι, τὸ δοθὲν ὑποκρίνασθαι πρόσωπον καλῶς: ἐκλέξασθαι δ’ αὐτὸ ἄλλου.

κόραξ ὅταν μὴ αἴσιον κεκράγῃ, μὴ συναρπαζέτω σε ἡ φαντασία: ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς διαίρει παρὰ σεαυτῷ καὶ λέγε ὅτι ‘τούτων ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν ἐπισημαίνεται, ἀλλ’ ἢ τῷ σωματίῳ μου ἢ τῷ κτησειδίῳ μου ἢ τῷ δοξαρίῳ μου ἢ τοῖς τέκνοις ἢ τῇ γυναικί. ἐμοὶ δὲ πάντα αἴσια σημαίνεται, ἐὰν ἐγὼ θέλω: ὃ τι γὰρ ἂν τούτων ἀποβαίνῃ, ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ ἐστὶν ὠφελήθηνα ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ.’

ἀνίκητος εἶναι δύνασαι, ἐὰν εἰς μηδένα ἀγῶνα καταβαίνης, ὃν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ σοὶ νικῆσαι. [2] ὅρα μήποτε ἰδὼν τινα προτιμώμενον ἢ μέγα δυνάμενον ἢ ἄλλως εὐδοκιμοῦντα μακαρίσης, ὑπὸ τῆς φαντασίας συναρπασθεῖς. ἐὰν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἢ οὐσία τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἦ, οὔτε φθόνος οὔτε ζηλοτυπία χώραν ἔχει· σὺ τε αὐτὸς οὐ στρατηγός, οὐ πρύτανις ἢ ὑπατος εἶναι θελήσεις, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθερος. μία δὲ ὁδὸς πρὸς τοῦτο, καταφρόνησις τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν.

μέμνησο, ὅτι οὐχ ὁ λοιδορῶν ἢ ὁ τύπτων ὑβρίζει, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόγμα τὸ περὶ τούτων ὡς ὑβρίζοντων. ὅταν οὖν ἐρεθίσῃ σέ τις, ἴσθι, ὅτι ἡ σὴ σε ὑπόληψις ἠρέθικε. τοιγαροῦν ἐν πρώτοις πειρῶ ὑπὸ τῆς φαντασίας μὴ συναρπασθῆναι: ἂν γὰρ ἅπαξ χρόνου καὶ διατριβῆς τύχῃς, ῥᾶον κρατήσεις σεαυτοῦ.

θάνατος καὶ φυγὴ καὶ πάντα τὰ δεινὰ φαινόμενα πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔστω σοι καθ' ἡμέραν, μάλιστα δὲ πάντων ὁ θάνατος: καὶ οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε οὔτε ταπεινὸν ἐνθυμηθήσῃ οὔτε ἄγαν ἐπιθυμήσεις τινός.

εἰ φιλοσοφίας ἐπιθυμεῖς, παρασκευάζου αὐτόθεν ὡς καταγελασθησόμενος, ὡς καταμωκησομένων σου πολλῶν, ὡς ἐρούντων ὅτι 'ἄφνω φιλόσοφος ἡμῖν ἐπανελήλυθε' καὶ 'πόθεν ἡμῖν αὕτη ἡ ὀφρὺς;' σὺ δὲ ὀφρὺν μὲν μὴ σχῆς: τῶν δὲ βελτίστων σοι φαινομένων οὕτως ἔχου, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τεταγμένος εἰς ταύτην τὴν χώραν: μέμνησό τε διότι, ἐὰν μὲν ἐμμείνῃς τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οἱ καταγελῶντές σου τὸ πρότερον οὗτοί σε ὕστερον θαυμάσονται, ἐὰν δὲ ἡττηθῇς αὐτῶν, διπλοῦν προσλήψῃ καταγέλωτα.

ἐὰν ποτέ σοι γένηται ἔξω στραφῆναι πρὸς τὸ βούλεσθαι ἀρέσαι τινί, ἴσθι ὅτι ἀπώλεσας τὴν ἔνστασιν. ἀρκοῦ οὖν ἐν παντὶ τῷ εἶναι φιλόσοφος εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκεῖν βούλει τῷ εἶναι, σαυτῷ φαίνου καὶ ἱκανὸς ἔσῃ.

οὗτοί σε οἱ διαλογισμοὶ μὴ θλιβέτωσαν 'ἄτιμος ἐγὼ βιώσομαι καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ.' εἰ γὰρ ἡ ἀτιμία ἐστὶ κακόν, οὐ δύνασαι ἐν κακῷ εἶναι δι' ἄλλον, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν αἰσχυρῷ: μή τι οὖν σόν ἐστιν ἔργον τὸ ἀρχῆς τυχεῖν ἢ παραληφθῆναι ἐφ' ἐστίασιν; οὐδαμῶς. πῶς οὖν ἔπι τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀτιμία; πῶς δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ ἔσῃ, ὃν ἐν μόνοις εἶναι τινα δεῖ τοῖς ἐπὶ σοί, ἐν οἷς ἔξεστί σοι εἶναι πλείστου ἀξίω; [2] ἀλλὰ σοι οἱ φίλοι ἀβοήθητοι ἔσονται. τί λέγεις τὸ ἀβοήθητοι; οὐχ ἔξουσι παρὰ σοῦ κερμάτιον: οὐδὲ πολίτας Ῥωμαίων αὐτοὺς ποιήσεις. τίς οὖν σοι εἶπεν, ὅτι ταῦτα τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστίν, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀλλότρια ἔργα; τίς δὲ δοῦναι δύναται ἐτέρῳ, ἢ μὴ ἔχει αὐτός; 'κτῆσαι οὖν,' φησίν, 'ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἔχωμεν.' [3] εἰ δύναμαι κτήσασθαι τηρῶν ἐμαυτὸν αἰδήμονα καὶ πιστὸν καὶ μεγαλόφρονα, δείκνυε τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ κτήσομαι. εἰ δ' ἐμὲ ἀξιοῦτε τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπολέσαι, ἵνα ὑμεῖς τὰ μὴ ἀγαθὰ περιποιήσησθε, ὁρᾶτε ὑμεῖς, πῶς ἄνισοί ἐστε καὶ ἀγνώμονες. τί δὲ καὶ βούλεσθε μᾶλλον; ἀργύριον ἢ φίλον πιστὸν καὶ αἰδήμονα; εἰς τοῦτο οὖν μοι μᾶλλον συλλαμβάνετε καὶ μή, δι' ὧν ἀποβαλῶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα, ἐκεῖνά με πράσσειν ἀξιοῦτε. [4] 'ἀλλ' ἡ πατρίς, ὅσον ἐπ' ἐμοί,' φησίν, 'ἀβοήθητος ἔσται.' πάλιν, ποῖαν καὶ ταύτην βοήθειαν; στοὰς οὐχ ἔξει διὰ σέ οὔτε βαλανεῖα. καὶ τί τοῦτο; οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑποδήματα ἔχει διὰ τὸν χαλκέα οὐδ' ὄπλα διὰ τὸν σκυτέα: ἱκανὸν δέ, ἐὰν ἕκαστος ἐκπληρώσῃ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον. εἰ δὲ ἄλλον τινὰ αὐτῇ κατεσκεύαζες πολίτην πιστὸν καὶ αἰδήμονα, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτὴν ὠφέλεις; 'ναί.' οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ σὺ αὐτὸς ἀνωφελὴς ἂν εἴης αὐτῇ. 'τίνα οὖν ἔξω,' φησί, 'χώραν ἐν τῇ πόλει;' ἣν ἂν δύνῃ φυλάττων

ἅμα τὸν πιστὸν καὶ αἰδήμονα. [5] εἰ δὲ ἐκείνην ὠφελεῖν βουλόμενος ἀποβαλεῖς ταῦτα, τί ὄφελος ἂν αὐτῇ γένοιτο ἀναιδῆς καὶ ἄπιστος ἀποτελεσθεῖς;

Προειμήθη σοὺ τις ἐν ἐστιάσει ἢ ἐν προσαγορεύσει ἢ ἐν τῷ παραληφθῆναι εἰς συμβουλίαν; εἰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ταῦτά ἐστι, χαίρειν σε δεῖ, ὅτι ἔτυχεν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνος· εἰ δὲ κακὰ, μὴ ἄχθου, ὅτι σὺ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔτυχες· μέμνησο δέ, ὅτι οὐ δύνασαι μὴ ταῦτα ποιῶν πρὸς τὸ τυγχάνειν τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν τῶν ἴσων ἀξιοῦσθαι. [2] πῶς γὰρ ἴσον ἔχειν δύναται ὁ μὴ φοιτῶν ἐπὶ θύρας τινὸς τῷ φοιτῶντι; ὁ μὴ παραπέμπων τῷ παραπέμποντι; ὁ μὴ ἐπαινῶν τῷ ἐπαινοῦντι, ἄδικος οὖν ἔσῃ καὶ ἄπληστος, εἰ μὴ προϊέμενος ταῦτα, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐκεῖνα πιπράσκειται, προῖκα αὐτὰ βουλήσῃ λαμβάνειν. [3] ἀλλὰ πόσου πιπράσκονται θρίδακες; ὀβολοῦ, ἂν οὕτω τύχη. ἂν οὖν τις προέμενος τὸν ὀβολὸν λάβῃ θρίδακας, σὺ δὲ μὴ προέμενος μὴ λάβῃς, μὴ οἶου ἔλαττον ἔχειν τοῦ λαβόντος. ὥς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔχει θρίδακας, οὕτω σὺ τὸν ὀβολόν, ὃν οὐκ ἔδωκας. [4] τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ ἐνταῦθα. οὐ παρεκλήθης ἐφ' ἐστίαςίν τινος; οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκας τῷ καλοῦντι, ὅσου πωλεῖ τὸ δεῖπνον. ἐπαίνου δ' αὐτὸ πωλεῖ, θεραπείας πωλεῖ. δὸς οὖν τὸ διάφορον, εἰ σοι λυσιτελεῖ, ὅσου πωλεῖται. εἰ δὲ κἀκεῖνα θέλεις μὴ προῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτα λαμβάνειν, ἄπληστος εἶ καὶ ἀβέλτερος. [5] οὐδὲν οὖν ἔχεις ἀντὶ τοῦ δείπνου; ἔχεις μὲν οὖν τὸ μὴ ἐπαινέσαι τοῦτον, ὃν οὐκ ἠθελες, τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰσόδου.

Τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως καταμαθεῖν ἔστιν ἐξ ὧν οὐ διαφερόμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους. οἶον, ὅταν ἄλλου παιδάριον κατεάξῃ τὸ ποτήριον, πρόχειρον εὐθὺς λέγειν ὅτι 'τῶν γινομένων ἐστίν.' ἴσθι οὖν, ὅτι, ὅταν καὶ τὸ σὸν κατεαγῇ, τοιοῦτον εἶναί σε δεῖ, ὅποιον ὅτε καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἄλλου κατεάγῃ. οὕτω μετατίθει καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ μείζονα. τέκνον ἄλλου τέθνηκεν ἢ γυνή; οὐδεὶς ἐστίν ὃς οὐκ ἂν εἴποι ὅτι 'ἀνθρώπινον;' ἀλλ' ὅταν τὸ αὐτοῦ τινος ἀποθάνῃ, εὐθὺς 'οἶμοι, τάλας ἐγώ.' ἐχρῆν δὲ μεμνησθαι, τί πάσχομεν περὶ ἄλλων αὐτὸ ἀκούσαντες.

ὥσπερ σκοπὸς πρὸς τὸ ἀποτυχεῖν οὐ τίθεται, οὕτως οὐδὲ κακοῦ φύσις ἐν κόσμῳ γίνεται.

εἰ μὲν τὸ σῶμά σοὺ τις ἐπέτρεπε τῷ ἀπαντήσαντι, ἡγανάκτεις ἂν· ὅτι δὲ σὺ τὴν γνώμην τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἐπιτρέπεις τῷ τυχόντι, ἵνα, ἐὰν λοιδορήσῃται σοι, ταραχθῇ ἐκείνη καὶ συγχυθῇ, οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ τούτου ἕνεκα;

ἐκάστου ἔργου σκόπει τὰ κατηγούμενα καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα αὐτοῦ καὶ οὕτως ἔρχου ἐπ' αὐτό. εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν μὲν πρώτην προθύμως ἤξεις ἅτε μηδὲν τῶν ἐξῆς ἐντεθυμημένος, ὕστερον δὲ ἀναφανέντων δυσχερῶν τινων αἰσχυρῶς ἀποστήσῃ. θέλεις Ὀλύμπια νικῆσαι; [2] κἀγώ, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς· κομπὸν γάρ ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ σκόπει τὰ κατηγούμενα καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα καὶ οὕτως ἅπτου τοῦ ἔργου. δεῖ σ' εὐτακτεῖν, ἀναγκοτροφεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι πεμμάτων, γυμνάζεσθαι πρὸς ἀνάγκην, ἐν ὥρᾳ τεταγμένη, ἐν καύματι, ἐν ψύχει, μὴ ψυχρὸν πίνειν, μὴ οἶνον, ὥς ἔτυχεν, ἀπλῶς ὥς ἱατρῷ παραδεδοκέναι σεαυτὸν τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ, εἴτα ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι παρορύσσεσθαι, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε χεῖρα ἐκβαλεῖν, σφυρὸν στρέψαι, πολλὴν ἀφὴν καταπιεῖν, ἔσθ' ὅτε μαστιγωθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τούτων πάντων νικηθῆναι. [3] ταῦτα ἐπισκεννάμενος, ἂν ἔτι θέλῃς, ἔρχου ἐπὶ τὸ ἀθλεῖν. εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὥς τὰ παιδιά ἀναστραφήσῃ, ἃ νῦν μὲν παλαιστὰς παίζει, νῦν δὲ

μονομάχους, νῦν δὲ σαλπίζει, εἴτα τραγωδεῖ: οὕτω καὶ σὺ νῦν μὲν ἀθλητής, νῦν δὲ μονομάχος, εἴτα ῥήτωρ, εἴτα φιλόσοφος, ὅλη δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ οὐδέν: ἀλλ' ὥς πίθηκος πᾶσαν θέαν, ἣν ἂν ἴδῃς, μιμῇ καὶ ἄλλο ἐξ ἄλλου σοι ἀρέσκει. οὐ γὰρ μετὰ σκέψεως ἦλθες ἐπὶ τι οὐδὲ περιοδεύσας, ἀλλ' εἰκῇ καὶ κατὰ ψυχρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν. [4] οὕτω θεασάμενοί τινες φιλόσοφον καὶ ἀκούσαντες οὕτω τινὸς λέγοντος, ὡς Εὐφράτης λέγει (καίτοι τίς οὕτω δύναται εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος; [5]), θέλουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ φιλοσοφεῖν. ἄνθρωπε, πρῶτον ἐπίσκεψαι, ὁποῖόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα: εἴτα καὶ τὴν σεαυτοῦ φύσιν κατάμαθε, εἰ δύνασαι βαστάσαι. πένταθλος εἶναι βούλει ἢ παλαιστής; ἴδε σεαυτοῦ τοὺς βραχίονας, τοὺς μηρούς, τὴν ὀσφὺν κατάμαθε. [6] ἄλλος γὰρ πρὸς ἄλλο πέφυκε. δοκεῖς, ὅτι ταῦτα ποιῶν ὡσαύτως δύνασαι ἐσθίειν, ὡσαύτως πίνειν, ὁμοίως ὀρέγεσθαι, ὁμοίως δυσαρεστεῖν; ἀγρυπνήσαι δεῖ, πονῆσαι, ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἀπελθεῖν, ὑπὸ παιδαρίου καταφρονηθῆναι, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων καταγελασθῆναι, ἐν παντὶ ἥττον ἔχειν, ἐν τιμῇ, ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἐν δίκῃ, ἐν πραγματικῷ παντί. [7] ταῦτα ἐπίσκεψαι. εἰ θέλεις ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι τούτων ἀπάθειαν, ἐλευθερίαν, ἀταραξίαν: εἰ δὲ μὴ, μὴ προσάγαγε. μὴ ὡς τὰ παιδιά νῦν φιλόσοφος, ὕστερον δὲ τελώνης, εἴτα ῥήτωρ, εἴτα ἐπίτροπος Καίσαρος. ταῦτα οὐ συμφωνεῖ. ἓνα σε δεῖ ἄνθρωπον ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν εἶναι: ἢ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν σε δεῖ ἐξεργάζεσθαι τὸ σαυτοῦ ἢ τὸ ἐκτὸς ἢ περὶ τὰ ἔσω φιλοτεχνεῖν ἢ περὶ τὰ ἔξω: τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἢ φιλοσόφου τάξιν ἐπέχειν ἢ ιδιώτου.

Τὰ καθήκοντα ὡς ἐπῆσαν ταῖς σχέσεσι παραμετρεῖται. πατὴρ ἐστίν: ὑπαγορεύεται ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, παραχωρεῖν ἀπάντων, ἀνέχεσθαι λοιδοροῦντος, παῖοντος. 'ἀλλὰ πατὴρ κακὸς ἐστίν.' μὴ τι οὖν πρὸς ἀγαθὸν πατέρα φύσει ὀκείωθης; ἀλλὰ πρὸς πατέρα. 'ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀδικεῖ.' τήρει τοιγαροῦν τὴν τάξιν τὴν σεαυτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν μηδὲ σκόπει, τί ἐκεῖνος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ τί σοὶ ποιήσαντι κατὰ φύσιν ἢ σὴ ἔξει προαίρεσις: σὲ γὰρ ἄλλος οὐ βλάψει, ἂν μὴ σὺ θέλῃς: τότε δὲ ἔση βεβλαμμένος, ὅταν ὑπολάβῃς βλάπτεσθαι. οὕτως οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ γείτονος, ἀπὸ τοῦ πολίτου, ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸ καθήκον εὐρήσεις, ἐὰν τὰς σχέσεις ἐθίζῃ θεωρεῖν.

Τῆς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας ἴσθι ὅτι τὸ κυριώτατον ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν, ὀρθὰς ὑπολήψεις περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχειν ὡς ὄντων καὶ διοικούντων τὰ ὅλα καλῶς καὶ δικαίως καὶ σαντὸν εἰς τοῦτο κατατεταχέναι, τὸ πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ εἴκειν πᾶσι τοῖς γινομένοις καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκόντα ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρίστης γνώμης ἐπιτελουμένοις. οὕτω γὰρ οὐ μέμνη ποτὲ τοὺς θεοὺς οὔτε ἐγκαλέσεις ὡς ἀμελοῦμενος. [2] ἄλλως δὲ οὐχ οἷόν τε τοῦτο γίνεσθαι, ἐὰν μὴ ἄρῃς ἀπὸ τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν μόνοις θῆς τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν. ὡς, ἂν γέ τι ἐκείνων ὑπολάβῃς ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, ὅταν ἀποτυγχάνῃς ὧν θέλεις καὶ περιπίπτῃς οἷς μὴ θέλεις, μέμψασθαι σε καὶ μισεῖν τοὺς αἰτίους. [3] πέφυκε γὰρ πρὸς τοῦτο πᾶν ζῶον τὰ μὲν βλαβερά φαινόμενα καὶ τὰ αἷτια αὐτῶν φεῦγειν καὶ ἐκτρέπεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὠφέλιμα καὶ τὰ αἷτια αὐτῶν μετιέναι τε καὶ τεθηπέναι. ἀμήχανον οὖν βλάπτεσθαι τινα οἰόμενον χαίρειν τῷ δοκοῦντι βλάπτειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ αὐτῇ τῇ βλάβῃ χαίρειν ἀδύνατον. [4] ἐνθεν καὶ πατὴρ ὑπὸ υἱοῦ λοιδορεῖται, ὅταν τῶν δοκούντων ἀγαθῶν εἶναι τῷ παιδί μὴ μεταδιδῶ: καὶ Πολυνείκην καὶ Ἐτεοκλέα τοῦτ' ἐποίησε πολεμίους ἀλλήλοις

τὸ ἀγαθὸν οἶεσθαι τὴν τυραννίδα. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ γεωργὸς λοιδορεῖ τοὺς θεοὺς, διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ναύτης, διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἔμπορος, διὰ τοῦτο οἱ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἀπολλύντες. ὅπου γὰρ τὸ συμφέρον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ εὐσεβές. ὥστε, ὅστις ἐπιμελεῖται τοῦ ὀρέγεσθαι ὡς δεῖ καὶ ἐκκλίνειν, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ εὐσεβείας ἐπιμελεῖται. [5] σπένδειν δὲ καὶ θύειν καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐκάστοτε προσήκει καθαρῶς καὶ μὴ ἐπισεσυρμένως μηδὲ ἀμελῶς μηδὲ γε γλίσχρους μηδὲ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν.

ὅταν μαντικῇ προσίης, μέμνησο, ὅτι, τί μὲν ἀποβήσεται, οὐκ οἶδας, ἀλλὰ ἤκεις ὡς παρὰ τοῦ μάντεως αὐτὸ πεισόμενος, ὅποιον δέ τι ἐστίν, ἐλήλυθας εἰδώς, εἴπερ εἰ φιλόσοφος. εἰ γὰρ ἐστὶ τι τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη μήτε ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ εἶναι μήτε κακόν. [2] μὴ φέρε οὖν πρὸς τὸν μάντιν ὄρεξιν ἢ ἐκκλυσιν μηδὲ τρέμων αὐτῷ πρόσει, ἀλλὰ διεγνώκως, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἀποβησόμενον ἀδιάφορον καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς σέ, ὅποιον δ' ἂν ᾖ, ἔσται αὐτῷ χρήσασθαι καλῶς καὶ τοῦτο οὐθεὶς κωλύσει. θαρρῶν οὖν ὡς ἐπὶ συμβούλους ἔρχου τοὺς θεοὺς: καὶ λοιπόν, ὅταν τί σοι συμβουλευθῇ, μέμνησο τίνας συμβούλους παρέλαβες καὶ τίνων παρακούσεις ἀπειθήσας. [3] ἔρχου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεύεσθαι, καθάπερ ἡξίου Σωκράτης, ἐφ' ὧν ἡ πᾶσα σκέψις τὴν ἀναφορὰν εἰς τὴν ἔκβασιν ἔχει καὶ οὔτε ἐκ λόγου οὔτε ἐκ τέχνης τινὸς ἄλλης ἀφορμαὶ δίδονται πρὸς τὸ συνιδεῖν τὸ προκείμενον: ὥστε, ὅταν δεῖσῃ συγκινδυνεῦσαι φίλῳ ἢ πατρίδι, μὴ μαντεύεσθαι, εἰ συγκινδυνεύτεον. καὶ γὰρ ἂν προεῖπῃ σοι ὁ μάντις φαῦλα γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερά, δηλὸν ὅτι θάνατος σημαίνεται ἢ πῆρωσις μέρους τινὸς τοῦ σώματος ἢ φυγή: ἀλλ' αἰρεῖ ὁ λόγος καὶ σὺν τούτοις παρίστασθαι τῷ φίλῳ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι συγκινδυνεύειν. τοιγαροῦν τῷ μείζονι μάντει πρόσεχε, τῷ Πυθίῳ, ὃς ἐξέβαλε τοῦ ναοῦ τὸν οὐ βοηθήσαντα ἀναιρουμένῳ τῷ φίλῳ.

τάξον τινὰ ἤδη χαρακτηῖρα σαυτῷ καὶ τύπον, ὃν φυλάξεις ἐπὶ τε σεαυτοῦ ὦν καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐντυχάνων. [2] καὶ σιωπῇ τὸ πολὺ ἔστω ἢ λαλεῖσθω τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δι' ὀλίγων. σπανίως δέ ποτε καιροῦ παρακαλοῦντος ἐπὶ τὸ λέγειν λέξον μὲν, ἀλλὰ περὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν τυχόντων: μὴ περὶ μονομαχιῶν, μὴ περὶ ἵπποδρομιῶν, μὴ περὶ ἀθλητῶν, μὴ περὶ βρωμάτων ἢ πομάτων, τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ μὴ περὶ ἀνθρώπων ψέγων ἢ ἐπαινῶν ἢ συγκρίνων. [3] ἂν μὲν οὖν οἶός τε ᾖς, μετάγαγε τοῖς σοῖς λόγοις καὶ τοὺς τῶν συνόντων ἐπὶ τὸ προσῆκον. εἰ δὲ ἐν ἄλλοφύλοις ἀποληφθεὶς τύχοις, σιώπα. [4] γέλως μὴ πολὺς ἔστω μηδὲ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς μηδὲ ἀνειμένος. [5] ὄρκον παραίτησαι, εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε, εἰς ἅπαν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων. ἐστιάσεις τὰς ἔξω καὶ ἰδιωτικὰς διακρούου: [6] ἐὰν δέ ποτε γίνηται καιρὸς, ἐντετάσθω σοι ἡ προσοχή, μήποτε ἄρα ὑπορρυῆς εἰς ἰδιωτισμόν. ἴσθι γάρ, ὅτι, ἐὰν ὁ ἐταῖρος ᾖ μεμολυσμένος, καὶ τὸν συνανατριβόμενον αὐτῷ συμμολύνεσθαι ἀνάγκη, κἂν αὐτὸς ὦν τύχη καθαρός. [7] τὰ περὶ τὸ σῶμα μέχρι τῆς χρείας ψιλῆς παραλάμβανε, οἶον τροφάς, πόμα, ἀμπεχόνην, οἰκίαν, οἰκετίαν: τὸ δὲ πρὸς δόξαν ἢ τρυφήν ἅπαν περιέγραφε. περὶ ἀφροδίσια εἰς δύναμιν πρὸ γάμου καθαρευτέον: [8] ἀπτομένῳ δὲ ὦν νόμιμόν ἐστι μεταληπτέον. μὴ μέντοι ἐπαχθῆς γίνου τοῖς χρωμένοις μηδὲ ἐλεγκτικός: μηδὲ πολλαχοῦ τὸ ὅτι αὐτὸς οὐ χρῆ, παράφερε. [9] ἐὰν τίς σοι ἀπαγγεῖλῃ ὅτι ὁ δεῖνά σε κακῶς λέγει, μὴ ἀπολογοῦ πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα,

ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνου διότι 'ἡγνώνει γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ προσόντα μοι κακά, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ταῦτα μόνα ἔλεγεν.' [10] εἰς τὰ θέατρα τὸ πολὺ παριέναι οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. εἰ δέ ποτε καιρὸς εἴη, μηδενὶ σπουδάζων φαίνου ἢ σεαυτῷ, τοῦτ' ἔστι. θέλε γίνεσθαι μόνα τὰ γινόμενα καὶ νικᾷν μόνον τὸν νικῶντα: οὕτω γὰρ οὐκ ἐμποδισθήσῃ. βοῆς δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιγελαῖν τινὶ ἢ ἐπὶ πολὺ συγκινεῖσθαι παντελῶς ἀπέχου. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναι μὴ πολλὰ περὶ τῶν γεγεννημένων διαλέγου, ὅσα μὴ φέρει πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν: ἐμφαίνεται γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι ἐθαύμασας τὴν θεάν. [11] εἰς ἀκροάσεις τινῶν μὴ εἰκῇ μηδὲ ῥαδίως πάρῃθι: παριῶν δὲ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ τὸ εὐσταθὲς καὶ ἅμα ἀνεπαχθὲς φύλασσε. [12] ὅταν τινὶ μέλλῃς συμβαλεῖν, μάλιστα τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ δοκούντων, πρόβαλε σαυτῷ, τί ἂν ἐποίησεν ἐν τούτῳ Σωκράτης ἢ Ζήνων, καὶ οὐκ ἀπορήσεις τοῦ χρῆσασθαι προσηκόντως τῷ ἐμπεσόντι. [13] ὅταν φοιτᾷς πρὸς τινα τῶν μέγα δυναμένων, πρόβαλε, ὅτι οὐχ εὐρήσεις αὐτὸν ἔνδον, ὅτι ἀποκλεισθήσῃ, ὅτι ἐντιναχθήσονται σοὶ αἱ θύραι, ὅτι οὐ φροντιεῖ σου. κἂν σὺν τούτοις ἐλθεῖν καθήκῃ, ἐλθὼν φέρε τὰ γινόμενα καὶ μηδέποτε εἴπῃς αὐτὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὅτι 'οὐκ ἦν τοσούτου:' ἰδιωτικὸν γὰρ καὶ διαβεβλημένον πρὸς τὰ ἐκτός. [14] ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις ἀπέστω τὸ ἑαυτοῦ τινῶν ἔργων ἢ κινδύνων ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ ἀμέτρως μεμνήσθαι. οὐ γάρ, ὥς σοὶ ἡδὺ ἔστι τὸ τῶν σῶν κινδύνων μεμνήσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡδὺ ἔστι τὸ τῶν σοὶ συμβεβηκότων ἀκούειν. [15] ἀπέστω δὲ καὶ τὸ γέλωτα κινεῖν: ὀλισθηρὸς γὰρ ὁ τρόπος εἰς ἰδιωτισμὸν καὶ ἅμα ἱκανὸς τὴν αἰδῶ τὴν πρὸς σέ τῶν πλησίον ἀνιέναι. [16] ἐπισφαλὲς δὲ καὶ τὸ εἰς αἰσχρολογίαν προελθεῖν. ὅταν οὖν τι συμβῇ τοιούτον, ἂν μὲν εὐκαιρον ἦ, καὶ ἐπιπλήξον τῷ προελθόντι: εἰ δὲ μὴ, τῷ γε ἀποσιωπῆσαι καὶ ἐρυθριᾶσαι καὶ σκυθρωπάσαι δηλὸς γίνου δυσχεραίνων τῷ λόγῳ.

ὅταν ἡδονῆς τινος φαντασίαν λάβῃς, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, φύλασσε σαυτόν, μὴ συναρπασθῇς ὑπ' αὐτῆς: ἀλλ' ἐκδεξάσθω σε τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ ἀναβολὴν τινα παρὰ σεαυτοῦ λάβε. ἔπειτα μνήσθητι ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χρόνων, καθ' ὃν τε ἀπολαύσεις τῆς ἡδονῆς, καὶ καθ' ὃν ἀπολαύσας ὕστερον μετανοήσεις καὶ αὐτὸς σεαυτῷ λαιδωρήσῃ: καὶ τούτοις ἀντίθες ὅπως ἀποσχόμενος χαιρήσεις καὶ ἐπαινέσεις αὐτὸς σεαυτόν. ἐὰν δέ σοι καιρὸς φανῇ ἄσασθαι τοῦ ἔργου, πρόσεχε, μὴ ἡτήτησῃ σε τὸ προσηνὲς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡδὺ καὶ ἐπαγωγόν: ἀλλ' ἀντιτίθει, πόσῳ ἄμεινον τὸ συνειδέναι σεαυτῷ ταύτην τὴν νίκην νενικηκότι.

ὅταν τι διαγνούς, ὅτι ποιητέον ἐστί, ποιῇς, μηδέποτε φύγῃς ὀφθῆναι πράσσων αὐτό, κἂν ἄλλοιόν τι μέλλωσιν οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπολαμβάνειν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ποιεῖς, αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον φεῦγε: εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς, τί φοβῇ τοὺς ἐπιπληξόντας οὐκ ὀρθῶς;

ὥς τὸ 'ἡμέρα ἐστί' καὶ 'νύξ ἐστί' πρὸς μὲν τὸ διεξυγμένον μεγάλην ἔχει ἀξίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ συμπεπλεγμένον ἀπαξίαν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ τὴν μείζω μερίδα ἐκλέξασθαι πρὸς μὲν τὸ σῶμα ἐχέτω ἀξίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τὸ κοινωνικὸν ἐν ἐστιάσει, οἶον δεῖ, φυλάξαι, ἀπαξίαν ἔχει. ὅταν οὖν συνεσθῇς ἐτέρῳ, μέμνησο, μὴ μόνον τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα ἀξίαν τῶν παρακειμένων ὀρᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἐστιάτορα αἰδῶ φυλάξαι.

ἐὰν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἀναλάβῃς τι πρόσωπον, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἡσχημόνησας καί,

ὁ ἡδύνασο ἐκπληρῶσαι, παρέλιπες.

ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν καθάπερ προσέχεις, μὴ ἐπιβῆς ἤλφ ἢ στρέψῃς τὸν πόδα σου, οὕτω πρόσεχε, μὴ καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν βλάβῃς τὸ σεαυτοῦ. καὶ τοῦτο ἐὰν ἐφ' ἐκάστου ἔργου παραφυλάσσωμεν, ἀσφαλέστερον ἀψόμεθα τοῦ ἔργου.

μέτρον κτήσεως τὸ σῶμα ἐκάστω ὥς ὁ πούς ὑποδήματος. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτου στήῃ, φυλάξεις τὸ μέτρον: ἐὰν δὲ ὑπερβῇς, ὥς κατὰ κρημνοῦ λοιπὸν ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι: καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑποδήματος, ἐὰν ὑπὲρ τὸν πόδα ὑπερβῇς, γίνεται κατάχρυσον ὑπόδημα, εἴτα πορφυροῦν, κεντητόν. τοῦ γὰρ ἅπαξ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον ὅρος οὐθείς ἐστιν.

αἱ γυναικες εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κυρίαι καλοῦνται. τοιγαροῦν ὁρῶσαι, ὅτι ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν αὐταῖς πρόσεστι, μόνον δὲ συγκοιμῶνται τοῖς ἀνδράσι, ἄρχονται καλλωπίζεσθαι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πάσας ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας. προσέχειν οὖν ἄξιον, ἵνα αἰσθωνται, διότι ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τιμῶνται ἢ τῷ κόσμῳ φαίνεσθαι καὶ αἰδήμονες.

Αφυΐας σημεῖον τὸ ἐνδιατρίβειν τοῖς περὶ τὸ σῶμα, οἷον ἐπὶ πολὺ γυμνάζεσθαι, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐσθίειν, ἐπὶ πολὺ πίνειν, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀποπατεῖν, ὀχεύειν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν παρέργῳ ποιητέον: περὶ δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἡ πᾶσα ἔστω ἐπιστροφή.

ὅταν σέ τις κακῶς ποιῇ ἢ κακῶς λέγῃ, μέμνησο, ὅτι καθήκειν αὐτῷ οἰόμενος ποιεῖ ἢ λέγει. οὐχ οἷόν τε οὖν ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ σοὶ φαινομένῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἑαυτῷ, ὥστε, εἰ κακῶς αὐτῷ φαίνεται, ἐκεῖνος βλάπτεται, ὅστις καὶ ἐξηπάτηται. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀληθὲς συμπεπλεγμένον ἂν τις ὑπολάβῃ ψεῦδος, οὐ τὸ συμπεπλεγμένον βέβλαπται, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐξαπατηθεῖς. ἀπὸ τούτων οὖν ὁρμώμενος πρῶτος ἔξεις πρὸς τὸν λοιδοροῦντα. ἐπιφθέγγου γὰρ ἐφ' ἐκάστω ὅτι 'ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ.'

Πᾶν πρᾶγμα δύο ἔχει λαβάς, τὴν μὲν φορητὴν, τὴν δὲ ἀφόρητον. ὁ ἀδελφός ἐὰν ἀδικῇ, ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὸ μὴ λάμβανε, ὅτι ἀδικεῖ (αὕτη γὰρ ἡ λαβὴ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ οὐ φορητὴ), ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖθεν μᾶλλον, ὅτι ἀδελφός, ὅτι σύντροφος, καὶ λήψῃ αὐτὸ καθ' ὃ φορητόν.

Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι ἀσύνακτοι 'ἐγὼ σου πλουσιώτερός εἰμι, ἐγὼ σου ἄρα κρείσσων:' 'ἐγὼ σου λογιώτερος, ἐγὼ σου ἄρα κρείσσων.' ἐκεῖνοι δὲ μᾶλλον συνακτικοὶ 'ἐγὼ σου πλουσιώτερός εἰμι, ἢ ἐμὴ ἄρα κτήσις τῆς σῆς κρείσσων:' 'ἐγὼ σου λογιώτερος, ἢ ἐμὴ ἄρα λέξις τῆς σῆς κρείσσων.' σὺ δέ γε οὕτε κτήσις εἶ οὕτε λέξις.

Λούεται τις ταχέως: μὴ εἴπῃς ὅτι κακῶς, ἀλλ' ὅτι ταχέως. πίνει τις πολὺν οἶνον: μὴ εἴπῃς ὅτι κακῶς, ἀλλ' ὅτι πολὺν. πρὶν γὰρ διαγνῶναι τὸ δόγμα, πόθεν οἶσθα, εἰ κακῶς; οὕτως οὐ συμβήσεται σοὶ ἄλλων μὲν φαντασίας καταληπτικὰς λαμβάνειν, ἄλλοις δὲ συγκατατίθεσθαι.

μηδαμοῦ σεαυτὸν εἴπῃς φιλόσοφον μηδὲ λάλει τὸ πολὺ ἐν ιδιώταις περὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν θεωρημάτων: οἷον ἐν συμποσίῳ μὴ λέγε, πῶς δεῖ ἐσθίειν, ἀλλ' ἐσθιε, ὥς δεῖ. μέμνησο γάρ, ὅτι οὕτως ἀφηρήκει πανταχόθεν Σωκράτης τὸ ἐπιδεικτικόν, ὥστε ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν βουλόμενοι φιλοσόφοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συσταθῆναι, κἀκεῖνος ἀπῆγεν αὐτούς. [2] οὕτως ἠνείχετο παρορώμενος. κἂν περὶ θεωρήματός τινος ἐν ιδιώταις ἐμπύτη λόγος,

σιώπα τὸ πολὺ: μέγας γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνος εὐθὺς ἐξεμέσαι, ὃ οὐκ ἔπενας. καὶ ὅταν εἶπῃ σοὶ τις, ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶσθα, καὶ σὺ μὴ δηχθῆς, τότε ἴσθι, ὅτι ἄρχῃ τοῦ ἔργου. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα οὐ χόρτον φέροντα τοῖς ποιμέσιν ἐπιδεικνύει πόσον, ἔφαγεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν νομὴν ἔσω πέψαντα ἔρια ἔξω φέρει καὶ γάλα: καὶ σὺ τοίνυν μὴ τὰ θεωρήματα τοῖς ιδιώταις ἐπιδείκνυε, ἀλλ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν πεφθέντων τὰ ἔργα.

ὅταν εὐτελεῶς ἡρμοσμένος ᾗς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, μὴ καλλωπίζου ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὴδ', ἂν ὕδωρ πίνης, ἐκ πάσης ἀφορμῆς λέγε, ὅτι ὕδωρ πίνεις. κἂν ἀσκήσῃς ποτε πρὸς πόνον θέλης. σεαυτῷ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἔξω: μὴ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας περιλάμβανε: ἀλλὰ διψῶν ποτε σφοδρῶς ἐπίσπασαι ψυχροῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἐκπτυσον καὶ μηδενὶ εἶπης.

ιδιώτου στάσις καὶ χαρακτήρ: οὐδέποτε ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προσδοκᾷ ὠφέλειαν ἢ βλάβην, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω. φιλοσόφου στάσις καὶ χαρακτήρ: πᾶσαν ὠφέλειαν καὶ βλάβην ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προσδοκᾷ. [2] σημεῖα προκόπτοντος: οὐδένα ψέγει, οὐδένα ἐπαινεῖ, οὐδένα μέμφεται, οὐδενὶ ἐγκαλεῖ, οὐδὲν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγει ὡς ὄντος τινὸς ἢ εἰδότος τι. ὅταν ἐμποδισθῇ τι ἢ κωλυθῇ, ἑαυτῷ ἐγκαλεῖ. κἂν τις αὐτὸν ἐπαινῇ, καταγελᾷ τοῦ ἐπαινοῦντος αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ: κἂν ψέγῃ, οὐκ ἀπολογεῖται. περίεσι δὲ καθάπερ οἱ ἄρρωστοι, εὐλαβοῦμένος τι κινῆσαι τῶν καθισταμένων, πρὶν πῆξιν λαβεῖν. [3] ὄρεξιν ἅπασαν ἥρκεν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ: τὴν δ' ἐκκλίσιν εἰς μόνον τὰ παρὰ φύσιν τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν μετατέθεικεν. ὁρμὴ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἀνειμένη χρῆται. ἂν ἡλίθιος ἢ ἀμαθὴς δοκῇ, οὐ πεφρόντικεν. ἐνὶ τε λόγῳ, ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἑαυτὸν παραφυλάσσει καὶ ἐπίβουλον.

ὅταν τις ἐπὶ τῷ νοεῖν καὶ ἐξηγεῖσθαι δύνασθαι τὰ Χρυσίππου βιβλία σεμνύνηται, λέγε αὐτὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὅτι 'εἰ μὴ Χρύσιππος ἀσαφῶς ἐγεγράφει, οὐδὲν ἂν εἶχεν οὗτος, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔσεμνύνετο.' ἐγὼ δὲ τί βούλομαι; καταμαθεῖν τὴν φύσιν καὶ ταύτῃ ἐπεσθαι. ζητῶ οὖν, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐξηγούμενος; καὶ ἀκούσας, ὅτι Χρύσιππος, ἔρχομαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἀλλ' οὐ νοῶ τὰ γεγραμμένα: ζητῶ οὖν τὸν ἐξηγούμενον. καὶ μέχρι τούτων οὕτω σεμνὸν οὐδέν. ὅταν δὲ εὗρω τὸν ἐξηγούμενον, ἀπολείπεται χρῆσθαι τοῖς παρηγγελμένοις: τοῦτο αὐτὸ μόνον σεμνὸν ἐστίν. ἂν δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ ἐξηγεῖσθαι θαυμάσω, τί ἄλλο ἢ γραμματικὸς ἀπετελέσθην ἀντὶ φιλοσόφου; πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἀντὶ Ὁμήρου Χρύσιππον ἐξηγούμενος. μᾶλλον οὖν, ὅταν τις εἶπῃ μοι 'ἐπανάγνωθί μοι Χρύσιππον,' ἐρυθριῶ, ὅταν μὴ δύνωμαι ὅμοια τὰ ἔργα καὶ σύμφωνα ἐπιδεικνύειν τοῖς λόγοις.

ὅσα προτίθεται, τούτοις ὡς νόμοις, ὡς ἀσεβήσων, ἂν παραβῆς, ἔμμενε. ὃ τι δ' ἂν ἐρῇ τις περὶ σοῦ, μὴ ἐπιστρέφου: τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔτ' ἔστι σόν.

εἰς ποῖον ἔτι χρόνον ἀναβάλλῃ τὸ τῶν βελτίστων ἀξιοῦν σεαυτὸν καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ παραβαίνειν τὸν διαιροῦντα λόγον; παρείληφας τὰ θεωρήματα, οἷς ἔδει σε συμβάλλειν, καὶ συμβέβληκας. ποῖον οὖν ἔτι διδάσκαλον προσδοκᾷς, ἵνα εἰς ἐκείνον ὑπερθῇ τὴν ἐπ' ἀνόρθωσιν ποιῆσαι τὴν σεαυτοῦ; οὐκ ἔτι εἰ μαιράκιον, ἀλλὰ ἀνὴρ ἤδη τέλειος. ἂν νῦν ἀμελήσῃς καὶ ῥαθυμῆσῃς καὶ ἀεὶ προθέσεις ἐκ προθέσεως ποιῇ καὶ ἡμέρας ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις ὀρίζῃς, μεθ' ἧς προσέξεις σεαυτῷ, λήσεις σεαυτὸν οὐ προκόψας, ἀλλ' ἰδιώτης διατελέσεις καὶ ζῶν καὶ ἀποθνήσκων. [2] ἤδη οὖν ἀξιώσον σεαυτὸν βιοῦν ὡς τέλειον καὶ

προκόποντα: καὶ πᾶν τὸ βέλτιστον φαινόμενον ἔστω σοὶ νόμος ἀπαράβατος. καὶ ἐπίπονόν τι ἢ ἡδὺ ἢ ἔνδοξον ἢ ἄδοξον προσάγεται, μέμνησο, ὅτι νῦν ὁ ἀγὼν καὶ ἡδὴ πάρεστι τὰ Ὀλύμπια καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναβάλλεσθαι οὐκέτι καὶ ὅτι παρὰ μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀπόλλυται προκοπὴ καὶ σῶζεται. [3] Σωκράτης οὕτως ἀπετελέσθη, ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν προσαγομένων αὐτῷ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ προσέχων ἢ τῷ λόγῳ. σὺ δὲ εἰ καὶ μήπω εἶ Σωκράτης, ὥς Σωκράτης γε εἶναι βουλόμενος ὀφείλεις βιοῦν.

ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ἀναγκαιότατος τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ὁ τῆς χρήσεως τῶν θεωρημάτων, οἷον τὸ μὴ ψεύδεσθαι: ὁ δεύτερος ὁ τῶν ἀποδείξεων, οἷον πόθεν ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι: τρίτος ὁ αὐτῶν τούτων βεβαιωτικὸς καὶ διαρθρωτικὸς, οἷον πόθεν ὅτι τοῦτο ἀπόδειξις; τί γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις, τί ἀκολουθία, τί μάχη, τί ἀληθές, τί ψεῦδος; [2] οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν τρίτος τόπος ἀναγκαῖος διὰ τὸν δεύτερον, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος διὰ τὸν πρῶτον: ὁ δὲ ἀναγκαιότατος καὶ ὅπου ἀναπαύεσθαι δεῖ, ὁ πρῶτος. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔμπαλιν ποιοῦμεν: ἐν γὰρ τῷ τρίτῳ τόπῳ διατρίβομεν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πᾶσα σπουδὴ: τοῦ δὲ πρώτου παντελῶς ἀμελοῦμεν. τοιγαροῦν ψευδόμεθα μὲν, πῶς δὲ ἀποδείκνυται ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι, πρόχειρον ἔχομεν.

ἐπὶ παντὸς πρόχειρα ἐκτέον ταῦτα:

ἄγου δέ μ', ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ σύ γ' ἡ Πεπρωμένη,
ὅποι ποθ' ὑμῖν εἰμι διατεταγμένος:
ὥς ἔψομαί γ' ἄοκνος: ἦν δέ γε μὴ θέλω,
κακὸς γενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἔψομαι. [2]
ὅστις δ' ἀνάγκη συγκεχώρηκεν καλῶς,
σοφὸς παρ' ἡμῖν, καὶ τὰ θεῖ' ἐπίσταται.

[3] 'ἀλλ', ὦ Κρίτων, εἰ ταύτη τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον, ταύτη γενέσθω.' [4] 'ἐμὲ δὲ Ἄνυτος καὶ Μέλिटος ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δύνανται, βλάψαι δὲ οὔ.'

CYNEGETICUS

Τοῦ Ἀρριανοῦ Κυνηγετικοῦ κεφάλαια.

α Προοίμιον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ: Ξενοφῶντι παραλειφθέντα εἰπεῖν Ἀρριανὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται.

β Ὅτι Ξενοφῶν οὐκ ἤδει τὰς Κελτικὰς κύνας οὐδὲ τὰς ταύταις ὁμοίας.

γ Περί Κελτικῶν κυνῶν, καὶ οἷαι τὴν ιδέαν αὐται. δ Περί σημείων, ἀφ' ὧν δεῖ τὰς ταχείας τεκμαίρεσθαι κύνας καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον.

ε Περί τῆς τοῦ συγγραφέως κυνός, ὅποια ποτ' ἦν.

ς Περί χρωμάτων, καὶ ὡς ἂν ἔχωσιν ταῦτα ὅτι ἀδιάφορον.

ζ Περί τῆς γνώμης τῶν κυνῶν, ὅποια ταύτης τὰ σημεῖα. η Περί τοῦ πῶς διαγνωστέον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσθίειν τὴν ποιότητα τῶν κυνῶν.

θ Περί τοῦ μετὰ τίνων καὶ πῶς κοιταστέον τὰς κύνας.

ι Ὅτι ἡ τριῖς ταῖς κυσὶν ὠφέλιμος, καὶ πῶς ταύτας δεῖ ἀποτρίβειν. ια Ὅτι ἄμεινον δεδέσθαι τὰς κύνας ἢ λελυμένας εἶναι.

ιβ Περί τοῦ ἐπὶ πόσον τῆς ἡμέρας προακτέον τὰς κύνας, καὶ πόσας καὶ ποίας ἐν ταῦτῳ λυτέον.

ιγ Περί τοῦ ποσάκις δεῖ ἐν χειμῶνι ἢ θέρει σιτεῖσθαι τὰς κύνας. ιδ Περί τοῦ ποῖῳ καιρῷ ἐξακτέον τὰς κύνας ἐπὶ θήραν.

ιε '19' Πῶς Κελτοὶ θηρῶσιν καὶ πότε.

ισ '15' Περί διαστήματος, ἀφ' οἴτου δεῖ τῷ λαγῷ ἐπιλύειν τὰς κύνας, καὶ πόσας ταύτας.

ιζ '16' Περί λαγῶν, καὶ τίς ἡ τούτων ἀρετή. ιη '17' Ὅτι τὸ ἀνακαλεῖν ἐν ταῖς θήραις τὰς κύνας ἀγαθὸν ταύταις.

ιδ '18' Ὅτι δεῖ τὴν κύνα καλῶς ἡγωνισμένην καταψῶντα ἐπευφημεῖν. [p. 57]

κ Ὅπως εἰς κυνηγέσιον ἐξίεναι χρή τοὺς μὴ τὸ θήραμα οὗ ἐστὶν ἐγνωκότας.

κα Περί τοῦ πῶς θηρῶσιν Κελτοί.

κβ Ὅτι οὐ χρή ἐπιλύειν κύνας νεογνῷ θηράματι.

κγ Πῶς θηρατέον ἐλάφους ἢ ἄλλο τι μέγιστον.

κδ Ὅπως Λίβυες μεθ' ἵππων αἰροῦσιν τὰ μεγάλα θηράματα.

κε Περί τοῦ ἀφ' οἷας ἡλικίας δεῖ ἐξάγειν εἰς θήραν τὰς θηλείας κύνας.

κς Περί ἀρρένων κυνῶν, ἀφ' οἷας ἡλικίας χρεῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θήραν ἐξάγειν.

κζ Πῶς ἐπὶ ὀχείαν ἀκτέον τὰς κύνας.

κη Ὅτι, εἴ τις ὀρήν τὴν μῆξιν τῶν κυνῶν, οὐκ ἐπιτελεῖται γόνιμος.

κθ Περί καιροῦ πρὸς σκυλακειάν ἐπιτηδεῖον.

λ Πῶς μετὰ τὸ τεκεῖν ἐπαναληπτέον εἰς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸν δρόμον τῶν κυνῶν.

λα Περί ὧν Ξενοφῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνατροφῆς διατάττεται.

λβ Διαφοραὶ ἄρρενος καὶ θηλείας κυνός.

λγ Ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς κυνηγέτας θύειν τῇ Ἀρτέμειδι.

λδ Περί τοῦ Κελτῶν νόμου καὶ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτῶν γινομένου ἐράνου τῇ

Ἀρτέμιδι.

λε Παραίνεις πρὸς τὸ θύειν τοῖς ἐφόροις τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

λς Ἐξ Ὁμήρου μαρτύρια, ὅτι χρή θύειν τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων εὔρεταις ἐν τῇ τῶνδε μεταχειρίσει.

Ξενοφῶντι τῷ Γρύλλου λέλεκται μὲν ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀπὸ κυνηγεσίων γίγνεται, καὶ οἱ παιδευθέντες ὑπὸ Χείρωνι τὴν παιδευσιν ταύτην ὅπως θεοφιλεῖς τε ἦσαν καὶ ἔντιμοι ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, λέλεκται δὲ καὶ καθ' ὃ τι ἔοικεν τῇ πολεμικῇ ἐπιστῇ ἢ κυνηγετικῇ, καὶ ἥντινα ἡλικίαν ἔχοντα χρή ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν γνώμην ὁποῖόν τινα: καὶ περὶ ἄρκύων δὲ καὶ δικτύων καὶ ἐνοδίων ὁποῖα χρή παρασκευάσασθαι, καὶ πάγας ὅπως ἰστάναι τοῖς θηρίοις, ὅσα ἀγῆ ἀλωτά. [2] καὶ περὶ λαγῶν δὲ λέλεκται, ἥτις ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν, [p. 58] καὶ ὅπως νέμονται καὶ ὅπου εὐνάζονται, καὶ ὅπως χρή μαστεύειν αὐτούς: καὶ περὶ κυνῶν, ὅσαι ἰχνεύειν σοφαὶ καὶ ὅσαι πονηραὶ, καὶ ὅπως ἀπὸ τε τοῦ εἶδους καὶ τῶν ἔργων τεκμαίρεσθαι χρή ἐκατέρας. [3] ἔστιν δὲ ἃ καὶ περὶ συῶν θήρας λέλεκται καὶ ἐλάφων καὶ ἄρκτων καὶ λεόντων, [4] ὅπως σοφία καὶ δόλῳ ἀλωτά. ὅσα δὲ ἐλλείπειν μοι δοκεῖ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, οὐχὶ ἀμελεία ἀλλ' ἀγνοία τοῦ γένους τῶν κυνῶν τοῦ Κελτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἵππων τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ, ταῦτα λέξω, ὁμόνυμός τε ὢν αὐτῶ καὶ πόλεως τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ ἀμφὶ ταῦτά ἀπὸ νέου ἐσπουδακώς, κυνηγέσια καὶ στρατηγίαν καὶ σοφίαν: [5] ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος, ἃ Σίμωνι περὶ ἱππικῆς ἐνδεῶς λελεγμένα ἦν, ῥήθη δεῖν ἀναγράψαι, οὐχὶ ἔριδι τῇ πρὸς Σίμονα, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὠφέλιμα ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἐγίνωσκεν.

ὅτι μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἡπίστατο τὸ γένος τῶν κυνῶν τὸ Κελτικόν, δοκῶ ἔγωγε ὡς οὐδὲ τεκμηρίων δεῖ πρὸς αὐτό: ἄγνωστα γὰρ ἦν τὰ ἔθνη τῆς Εὐρώπης, ὅσα ταύτῃ ᾤκισται, ὅτι μὴ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὅσα Ἕλληνες κατεῖχον, ἢ ὅσοις κατ' ἐμπορίαν διὰ θαλάσσης ἐπεμύγνουν. [2] ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ἄλλο γένος κυνῶν ἐγίνωσκεν, ὃ κατὰ ὠκύτητα ἔοικεν τῷ Κελτικῷ, τεκμαίρεσθαι ὑπάρχει ἀπὸ τῶνδε. λέγει γὰρ ὡς ὅσοι ἀλίσκονται λαγῷ ὑπὸ κυνῶν, παρὰ φύσιν σώματος ἀλίσκονται ἢ τύχῃ χρησάμενοι. [3] εἰ δέ γε ἡπίστατο τὰς κύνας τὰς Κελτικάς, ταῦτόν τοῦτο δοκεῖ ἂν μοι ἀποφήνασθαι περὶ τῶν κυνῶν, ὡς ὁπόσους λαγῶς οὐχ αἰροῦσιν κύνες κατὰ πόδας, παρὰ φύσιν σώματος οὐχ αἰροῦσιν ἢ τύχῃ χρησάμεναι. ὡς ὅσαι γε ἀγαθαὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν θυμὸν γενναῖαι, ταύτας δὲ οὐκ ἂν ποτε διαφύγοι λαγῶς, εἰ μὴ τις δυσχωρία ἐμποδῶν γένοιτο, ἢ ὕλη ἀποκρύψασα, ἢ κατάδυσις κοίλῃ καὶ βαθεῖα ἀφελομένη, ἢ τάφρος διαδραμεῖν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ [p. 59] παρασχοῦσα. [4] ἐνθὲνδε, οἶμαι, ὅπως μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκους χρή ἐπελαύνειν τὸ λαγῷ ἐπεξέρχεται τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ εἰ παραδράμοι τὰς ἄρκους, ὅπως χρή μεταθεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνευρίσκειν κατὰ τὸ ἵχνος, ἔστε ἀλῶναι ἀπαγορεύσαντα ὑπὸ καμάτου. [5] ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀρκύων δεῖ τῷ κύνας ἀγαθὰς κεκτημένῳ οὔτε τοῦ μαστεύειν διαφυγόντα, οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο ἐδήλωσεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν θήραν ταύτην μόνην ἐξηγεῖται, ἣν Κᾶρες τε καὶ Κρήτες θηρῶσιν.

θηρῶσιν δὲ καὶ Κελτοὶ ἀφαιροῦντες τὰ ἄρκους, ὅσοι γε οὐκ ἀπὸ κυνηγεσίων βιοτεύουσιν, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐν θήρᾳ καλοῦ ἔνεκα: ἔστιν γὰρ καὶ ταύτῃ κυνῶν

γένος ἰχνεύσαι μὲν οὐ μείον σοφὸν ἢ τὸ Καρικὸν καὶ Κρητικὸν, τὴν δὲ ιδέαν ἀνιάρων καὶ θηριῶδες. [2] καὶ αὗται ἰχνεύουσιν σὺν κλαγγῇ καὶ ὑλαγμῷ, ὅποσα αἱ Καρικαὶ ἐπικλάζουσαι. ἀλλ' αὐταὶ γε ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔκφρονες γίνονται, ἐπειδὴν αἰσθώνται ἴχνους· καὶ ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ ἐπὶ ἐώλοις ὑπερλαμπρύνονται. [3] ὥστε ἐμεμψάμην ἔγωγε αὐτῶν τὸ πολὺ τῆς κλαγγῆς καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπὶ παντὶ ἴχνει, τῷ δρομαίῳ οὐ μείον ἢ τῷ εὐναίῳ. [4] μεταθεῖν δὲ καὶ ἀνευρίσκειν τὸν ὑποκινήσαντα οὔτε τῶν Καρικῶν φαυλότερα εἰσὶν οὔτε τῶν Κρητικῶν, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὴν ὠκύτητα. ἀγαπητὸν γοῦν εἰ καὶ ἓνα λαγῷ χειμῶνος ὥρα κατακάνοιεν· τοσαύτην διατριβὴν ἐς τὸ ἀναπαύεσθαι αὐτῷ παρέχουσιν, εἰ μὴ πῃ ἄρα ὑπὸ θορυβούντων κυνῶν ἀλοίῃ ἔκφρων γενόμενος. καλοῦνται δὲ Ἑγούσαι αἶδε αἱ κύνες, ἀπὸ ἔθνους Κελτικοῦ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσαι, οὗ πρῶτον, ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφυσάν τε καὶ ἠυδοκίμησαν. [5] ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων, ὅσα ἂν τις τῷ λόγῳ ἐπέξελθῃ λελεγμένα ἐρεῖ πρὸς Ξενοφῶντος τοῦ πάλαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἴδιον οὐδὲ διάφορον ἐν τῷ μαστεύειν ἢ μεταθεῖν [p. 60] ἐπιδεικνύουσιν, πλὴν γε δὴ εἴ τις ἐθέλοι περὶ τῆς ιδέας αὐτῶν λέγειν, ἥς ἔμοιγε οὐ δοκεῖ ἄξιον ὅτι μὴ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν μόνον, ὥς δασεῖαι καὶ πονηραὶ ἰδεῖν, καὶ ὅσαι γενναιόταται αὐτῶν, αὗται αἱ πονηρόταται. ὥστε εὐδοκιμεῖ ἐν Κελτοῖς ὁ ἀπεικάσας αὐτὰς τοῖς ἀνὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς πτωχεύουσιν. καὶ γὰρ φωνὴ αὐταῖς γοερά τε καὶ ἐλεεινὴ ἐστίν, καὶ οὐχ ὥς θυμούμεναι ἄρα πρὸς τὸ θηρίον ἐπικλάζουσιν ἐν τῇ ἰχνεῖα, ἀλλ' ὥς οἰκτιζόμεναι καὶ λιπαροῦσαι. [6] περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων οὐκ ἂν τις ἀναγράψαι μοι δοκεῖ ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον. αἱ δὲ ποδώκειες κύνες αἱ Κελτικαὶ καλοῦνται μὲν οὐέρτραγοι φωνῇ τῇ Κελτῶν, οὐκ ἀπὸ ἔθνους οὐδενός, καθάπερ αἱ Κρητικαὶ ἢ Καρικαὶ ἢ Λάκαιναι, ἀλλ' ὥς τῶν Κρητικῶν αἱ διάπονοι ἀπὸ τοῦ φιλοπονεῖν καὶ αἱ ἰταμαὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀξέος καὶ αἱ μικταὶ ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν, οὕτω δὲ [7] καὶ αὗται ἀπὸ τῆς ὠκύτητος. τὴν δὲ ιδέαν καλὸν τι χρῆμά εἰσιν κατὰ τε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αἱ γενναιόταται αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἅπαν καὶ τὴν τρίχα καὶ τὴν χροάν· οὕτω ταῖς τε ποικίλαις ἐπανθεῖ τὸ ποικίλον, καὶ ὅσαις ἀπλῇ χρᾷ ἐστίν, ἀποστίλβει καὶ αὕτη, καὶ ἐστὶν ἥδιστον θέαμα ἀνδρὶ θηρευτικῷ.

λέξω δὲ καὶ αὐτός, ἀφ' οἷων τινῶν χρή τεκμαίρεσθαι τὰς ὠκείας τε καὶ γενναίας, καὶ τίσιν ἂν προσέχων τις τὸν νοῦν τὰς ἀγεννεῖς τε καὶ βραδείας ἀποκρίνειεν αὐτῶν. [2] πρῶτα μὲν δὴ μακραὶ ἔστων ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἐπ' οὐράν· ἐν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτω τεκμήριον ἐς ὠκύτητά τε καὶ γενναιότητα εὗροις ἂν ἐπιλεγόμενος ταυτὸν ἐπὶ πάσῃ ιδέᾳ κυνός, ὥς τὸ μῆκος, καὶ τοῦναντίον τὴν βραχύτητα ἐς τὸ βραδὺ καὶ ἀγεννές. ὥστε ἥδη ἔγωγε εἶδον πολλὰ ἄλλα κακὰ ἐχούσας κύνας, ὅτι δὲ μακραὶ ἐτύγγανον, ὠκείαι ἦσαν καὶ θυμοειδεῖς. [3] καὶ μὴν καὶ αἱ μείζους [p. 61] εἰ τὰ ἄλλα φαῦλαι τύχοιεν, κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ μέγεθος εὐφυέστεραι τῶν σμικρῶν. φαῦλαι δὲ τῶν μεγάλων, ὅσαι τὰ μέλη ἀπαγεῖς καὶ ἀσύμμετροι· ὥστε φαυλότεραι ἂν εἶεν οὕτω γε ἔχουσαι τῶν σμικρῶν, εἰ τὰ ἄλλα κακὰ ἴσα προσείη αὐταῖς. [4] ἐχόντων δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐλαφρὰς καὶ ἀρθρώδεις· εἰ δὲ γρυπαὶ ἢ σιμαὶ εἶεν, οὐ παρὰ μέγα διοίσει τοῦτο· οὐδ' εἰ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῖς μετώποις ἰνώδη ἔχοιεν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐν μεγάλῳ ποιητέον. ἀλλ' αἱ βαρυκέφαλοι μόναι πονηραί, καὶ ὅσαις παχέα τὰ ρύγχη καὶ μὴ ἐς ὅξυ ἀλλ' ἀθρόως ἀπολήγοντα. [5] τὰ δὲ ὄμματα ἔστω μεγάλα μετέωρα καθαρὰ λαμπρά,

ἐκπλήττοντα τὸν θεώμενον. καὶ κράτιστα μὲν τὰ πυρῶπὰ καὶ ὑπεραστράπτοντα, οἷα πορδάλεων ἢ λεόντων ἢ λυγκῶν· δευτέρα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰ μέλανα, εἰ τύχοι ἀναπεπταμένα τε καὶ γοργὰ ἰδεῖν· τρίτα δὲ τὰ χαροπὰ· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τὰ χαροπὰ φαῦλά ἐστιν, οὐδὲ φαύλων κυνῶν σύμβολα, εἰ τύχοι καθαρὰ καὶ γοργὰ ἰδεῖν.

ἐπεὶ τοι ἀνέθρεψα ἐγὼ κύνα χαροπὴν οἷαν χαροπωτάτην, καὶ αὕτη ὠκεῖα τε ἦν καὶ φιλόπονος καὶ εὖψυχος καὶ εὖπους, ὥστε καὶ τέσσαρσιν ἤδη ποτὲ λαγῶς ἐφ' ἡλικίας ἀντήρκεσεν. [2] καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ πραοτάτη τέ ἐστιν ἔτι γὰρ μοι ἦν, ὁπότε ταῦτα ἔγραφον καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτη, καὶ οὐπω πρόσθεν ἄλλη κύων ὥς αὕτη οὔτε ἐμὲ ἐπόθησεν οὔτε τὸν ἐταῖρον τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ σύνθηρον τὸν Μέγιλλον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ δρόμου ἀπεπαύσατο, οὐκέτι ἡμῶν ἢ θατέρου γε ἀπαλλάσσεται. [3] ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐγὼ ἔνδον εἶην, ἅμα ἐμοὶ διατρίβει, καὶ προϊόντα ποι παραπέμπει, καὶ ἐπὶ γυμνάσιον ἰόντι ἐφομαρτεῖ, καὶ γυμναζομένῳ παρακάθεται, καὶ ἐπανιόντος πρόεισιν, θαμινὰ ἐπιστρεφομένη, ὥς καταμανθάνειν μὴ πῃ ἄρα ἐξετράπην τῆς ὁδοῦ· ἰδοῦσα δὲ καὶ ἐπιμειδιάσασα αὐθις αὐτὴ πρόεισιν. [4] εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τι [p. 62] ἔργον πολιτικὸν ἴοιμι, ἢ δὲ τῷ ἐταίρῳ τῷ ἐμῷ σύνεστιν, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα δρᾷ. ὁπότερος δὲ ἡμῶν κάμνῃ τὸ σῶμα, ἐκεῖνου αὐτὴ οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεται. εἰ δὲ καὶ δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου ἴδοι, ἐπιφθέγγεται, οἷα φιλοφρονουμένη. καὶ δειπνοῦντι συνοῦσα ἄπτεται ἄλλοτε ἄλλῳ τοῖν ποδοῖν, ὑπομιμνήσκουσα ὅτι κἂν αὕτη ἄρα μεταδοτέον εἶη τῶν σιτίων. καὶ μὴν καὶ πολυφθογγός ἐστιν, ὥς οὐπω ἐγὼ ἰδεῖν μοι δοκῶ ἄλλην κύνα· καὶ ὅσων δεῖται τῇ φωνῇ σημαίνει. [5] καὶ ὅτι σκυλακευομένη μάλιστα ἐκολάζετο, εἴ τις ἐς τοῦτο ἔτι μάλιστα ὀνομάσειεν, πρόσσειν τῷ ὀνομάσαντι, καὶ ὑποπτήξασα λιπαρεῖ, καὶ τὸ στόμα ἐφαρμόζει τῷ στόματι ὥς φιλοῦσα, καὶ ἐπιτηδῆσασα ἐκκρέματα τοῦ αὐχένος, καὶ οὐ πρόσθεν ἀνίστην, πρὶν τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἀποπαῦσαι τὸν θυμούμενον. [6] ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαι μοι δοκῶ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀναγράψαι τῆς κυνός, ὥς καὶ ἐς ὕστερον ἀπολελειφθαι αὐτῆς, ὅτι ἦν ἄρα Ξενοφῶντι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ κύων, Ὀρμὴ ὄνομα, ὠκυτάτη τε καὶ σοφωτάτη καὶ πραοτάτη. [7] ὧτα δὲ μεγάλα ἔστω ταῖς κυσὶν καὶ μαλθακά, ὥστε ὑπὸ μεγέθους καὶ μαλθακότητος ἐπικεκλασμένα φαίνεσθαι· οὕτως ἂν εἶη κράτιστα. οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ ὀρθὰ εἶη, οὐ πονηρόν, εἰ μὴ σμικρά τε εἶη καὶ σκληρά. [8] τράχηλος δὲ μακρός τε ἔστω καὶ περιφερὴς καὶ ὑγρός· ὥστε εἰ ἀντιτείνῃς ἀπὸ τῶν δεραίων τὰς κύνας ἐς τοῦπίσω, ἐπικεκλάσθαι δοκεῖν τὸν τράχηλον δι' ὑγρότητα καὶ μαλθακότητα. [9] στήθη δὲ πλατέα ἀμείνω τῶν στενῶν, καὶ τὰς ὠμοπλάτας διεστώσας ἐχόντων καὶ μὴ συμπεπηγυῖας ἀλλ' ὥς οἷόν τε λευμένας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. σκέλη στρογγύλα ὀρθὰ εὐπαγῇ, πλευρὰς γενναίας· ὁσφὺν πλατεῖαν ἰσχυράν, μὴ σαρκώδη ἀλλὰ νεύροις πεπηγυῖαν. λαγόνas ἀνειμένας, ἰσχία μὴ συνδεδεμένα, κενεῶνας [p. 63] λαγαρούς. οὐρὰς λεπτὰς μακράς, δασείας τὴν τρίχα, ὑγρὰς εὐκαμπεῖς, τὸ ἄκρον τῆς οὐρᾶς δασύτερον. [10] ὑποκόλια μακρὰ εὐπαγῇ. σκέλη δὲ εἰ μὲν τὰ ὀπίσθια ἔχοιεν μεῖζω τῶν ἐμπροσθεν, τὰ ὀρθια ἂν μεταθέοιεν ἄμεινον· εἰ δὲ τὰ ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ὀπισθίων. τὰ κατάντη· [11] εἰ δ' ἴσα εἶη ἅμφω, τὰ πεδινὰ. ἐπεὶ δὲ χαλεπώτερον ἐν ὀρθίῳ μὴ ἡττηθῆναι λαγῶ, ὅτι καὶ ὁ λαγὼς τὰ ὀρθια θεῖ ἄμεινον, ἐκεῖναι δοκοῦσιν γενναιότεραι αἱ κύνες, ὅσαι τὰ ὀπισθεν μεῖζω

ἔχουσιν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν: πόδες δὲ οἱ περιφερεῖς καὶ στερροὶ κράτιστοι.

τὰ δὲ χρώματα οὐδὲν διοίσει ὅποια ἂν ἔχωσιν, οὐδ' εἰ παντελῶς εἶεν μέλαινα ἢ πυρραὶ ἢ λευκαί: οὐδὲ τὸ ὄντα ἔστω στιλπνὰ καὶ καθαρὰ, καὶ ἡ θρίξ, εἴτε οὖν τοῦ δασέος γένους εἴτε τοῦ ψιλοῦ τύχειεν αἱ κύνες, λεπτὴ ἔστω καὶ πυκνὴ καὶ μαλθακὴ. [2] κράτιστοι δὲ ἄρρενες μὲν, ὅσοι μεγάλοι τε καὶ εὐπαγεῖς ὄντες ὑπὸ ὑγρότητος θηλείαις εὐόκασιν: θήλειαι δέ, ὅσαι διὰ τὸ γενναῖον καὶ μυῶδες τοῦ σώματος ἄρρεσιν. [3] τοῦ μὲν δὴ σώματος ταῦτά τις ἂν δοκεῖ μοι ἐπισκοπῶν ἀποχρῶντα τεκμήρια ποιεῖσθαι ἐς γενναιότητα, καὶ τὰ ἐναντία τοῦ ἐναντίου. οὐ μείω δὲ καὶ ἡ γνώμη τῶν κυνῶν ἐς ἑκάτερα τεκμηριοῦσθαι παρέξει τῷ ὥς χρὴ ὁρῶντι.

αὐτίκα ὅσαι σκυθρωπαὶ κύνες πρὸς ἅπαντας, οὐ γενναῖαι: εἰ δὲ ἔστιν ἅς εὖροις πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγνώτας χαλεπὰς, τῷ δὲ ἀνατρέφοντι προσφιλεῖς, τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν μᾶλλον ἢ κακόν. [2] ἤδη δὲ ἔγνωσιν κύνα, ἥτις οἴκοι μὲν κατηφῆς ἦν καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν πλησιαζόντων ἔχαιρεν: ἐπὶ θήραν δὲ ἐξαγομένη ὑπερηυφραίνετο καὶ παντὶ τῷ προσελθόντι προσμειδιῶσα καὶ προσσαίνουσα διεδήλου ὅτι ἀνιάται οἴκοι μένουσα. [3] καὶ τοῦτο ἀγαθόν. κράτισται δὲ αἱ φιланθρωπόταται [p. 64] καὶ ὅσαις οὐκ ἔστιν ξένον ὄψις ἀνθρώπου οὐδενός. ὅσαι δὲ ἀνθρώπους δεδίασιν καὶ ὑπὸ φόφου ἐκπλήσσονται καὶ θορυβώδεις εἰσὶν καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ εἰκὴ κινδύνονται [— καὶ ταῦτα ἀλογίστων ἐστὶν καὶ οὐκ ἐμφρόνων —], καθάπερ ἄνθρωποι οἱ δειλοὶ καὶ ἔκφρονες, οὕτω δὲ καὶ αἱ κύνες αἱ τοιαῦται οὐποτε ἂν εἶεν γενναῖαι. [4] κακαὶ δὲ καὶ ὅσαι λυθεῖσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἐν χωρίῳ οὐκ ἐπανίστανται ἐπὶ τὸν ἄγοντα ἀνακαλοῦμεναι, ἀλλ' ἀποσκιρτῶσιν, καὶ ἦν μὲν πρῶως μετακαλῆς, καταφρονοῦσιν, ἦν δὲ σὺν ἀπειλῇ, δειμαίνουσαι οὐ προσίστανται. [5] ἀλλὰ χρὴ ἀποσκιρτήσασαν τὴν κύνα καὶ περιδραμοῦσαν ἐπανιέναι ἐπὶ τὸν κυναγωγόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ καλοίῃ αὐτήν, σημαίνουσαν ὅτι οἷα τε ὑπακούειν, εἰ δὴ ἐθέλει: ἔτι δὲ εἰ μὴ λαμβάνοιτο, πάλιν αὖ ἀποσκιρτάτω, καὶ πάλιν ἐπανίτω. [6] πεπαιδευμένα δέ, ὅσαι φθεγξαμένου τοῦ κυναγωγοῦ ὑποκατακλίνονται, μὴ ὑπὸ δέους, ἀλλὰ φιλοφρονοῦμεναι τὸν τροφέα καὶ τιμῶσαι, καθάπερ οἱ προσκυνοῦντες μέγαν βασιλέα. οὐδὲ τὸ ἴστασθαι δὲ ἐν πεδίῳ λυθεῖσαν κύνα ἀγαθόν, εἰ μὴ πρεσβυτέρα τύχοι: ὄκνον γὰρ σημαίνει. [7] ταῖς δὲ γενναιοτάταις καὶ ἐπισκύνιον πρόσεστιν, καὶ σοβαραὶ φαίνονται, καὶ τὸ βάδισμα κοῦφον καὶ πυκνὸν καὶ ἄβρόν: καὶ μεταβάλλουσιν τὰς πλευράς, καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἀνατείνουσιν, καθάπερ οἱ ἵπποι, ἐπειδὰν λαμπρύνωσιν.

ἐσθίουσιν δὲ αἱ μὲν λάβρως αἱ δὲ κοσμίως, καὶ τὸ [2] κόσμιον γενναιότερον τοῦ ἀκόσμου. ἀγαθαὶ δέ, ὅσαι μὴ κακόσιτοι, ἀλλ' ἄρτω ἢ μάζῃ χαίρουσιν: κράτιστον γὰρ κυνὶ τοῦτο σιτίον, καὶ οὐ δέος μὴ ὑπερεμπλησθῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. ἄμεινον δὲ εἰ ξηρὰ τῇ τροφῇ χαίρουσιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ὕδατι καταβρέχοις καὶ τούτῳ χαίρουσιν, οὐ κακόν. [3] καμνούση δὲ ἐμβάλλειν ἢ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ κρέως λιπαροῦ, ἢ βοδὸς ἥπαρ ἐν σποδιᾷ θερμῇ φρύξαντα, ἔπειτα [p. 65] τρίψαντα καθάπερ ἄλφита ἐπιπάττειν. [4] καὶ ταῖς γε σκυλακευομέναις ἀγαθὸν τοῦτο ἐς τὸ πῆξαι τὰ μέλη, ἐπειδὰν ἀποπαύσωνται τοῦ γάλακτος. τὸ γάλα δὲ σκυλακεῦσαι κράτιστον ἐς ἕνατον μῆνα καὶ πορρωτέρω: καὶ καμνούση δὲ καὶ μαλθακιζομένη ἀγαθὸν καὶ πῶμα καὶ σιτίον, ἀγαθὴ δὲ καὶ ἀσιτία καμνούση. οὐδὲν δὲ οἶον εὐνὴ μαλθακὴ καὶ ἀλεινὴ.

κρατίστη δὲ ἢ μετ' ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι καὶ φιλόανθρωποι ἀποτελοῦνται, καὶ τῷ χρωτὶ τῷ ἀνθρωπεῖφι χαίρουσιν, καὶ φιλοῦσιν οὐ μείον τὸν συγκαθεύδοντα ἢ τὸν τρέφοντα. κἂν τῶν λυπούντων τὴν κύνα τις αἰσθάνοιτο, ὡς διψῶση τε ἐν νυκτὶ ἐπικουρῆσαι καὶ ἐπιγομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν ἀναγκαίων· γνοίῃ δ' ἂν καὶ ὅπως ἀνεπαύσατο. εἰ γὰρ ἀγρυπνήσειεν, ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ θήραν οὐκ ἀσφαλές, οὐδ' εἰ ἐπιστάξειεν θαμινὰ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, οὐδ' εἴ τι ἀπεμέσειεν τῶν σιτίων· [2] ταῦτα δὲ γνοίῃ ἂν ὁ συναναπαυόμενος. κακίστη δὲ κοίτη κυνῶν μετὰ κυνῶν, πολὺ δὲ πλεον, εἰ καὶ ἐπιψαύουσαι ἀλλήλων ἀναπαύοιντο· ὡς ἄνθρωπος μὲν συγκαθεύδων κυνὶ ἀφαιρεῖ τοῦ χρωτὸς τὸ ἀνιαρόν· κύνες δὲ ἐν ταῦτῳ ἀναπαυόμεναι ὅ τι περ πονηρόν τοῦ χρωτὸς τῷ πλησιάζειν τε καὶ ἐκθερμαίνειν ἐπάξουσιν· ὥστε φώρας ἐμπύμπλασθαι τὸ πολὺ, ὅποτε ἐν ταῦτῳ ἀναπαύοιντο. [3] δημοῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ ὁδμή, ἐπειδὴν ἐσέλθῃς οὐ κύνες πολλὰ ἀναπαύονται· οὕτω χαλεπὴ τέ ἐστιν καὶ δριμεῖα.

μέγα δὲ ὄφελος κυνὶ καὶ τριῖνσι τοῦ σώματος παντός, οὐ μείον ἢ ἵππῳ· τά τε γὰρ μέλη πῆξαι καὶ ῥῶσαι ἀγαθὴ, καὶ τὴν τρίχα μαλθακὴν ἐργάζεται καὶ τὴν χροάν στιλπνὴν, καὶ τοῦ χρωτὸς ἀποκαθαίρει ὅ τι περ πονηρόν. [2] τρίβειν δὲ τὰ μὲν νῶτα καὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν τῇ δεξιᾷ, ὑποθέντα τὴν ἀριστερὰν τῇ λαγόνι, ὡς μὴ ἐπιθλιβομένην ἄνωθεν τὴν κύνα ὀκλάζουσιν κακοπαθεῖν· [3] τὰς δὲ [p. 66] πλευρὰς ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ τοὺς γλουτοὺς μέχρι ἄκρων τῶν ποδῶν, καὶ τὰς ὠμοπλάτας ὡσαύτως. [4] ἐπειδὴν δ' ἱκανῶς φαίνονται ἔχειν, ἐπαίρειν τῆς οὐρᾶς λαβόμενον καὶ ἀνατείναντα ἀφιέναι· ἡ δὲ διασεισέται τε ἀφεθεῖσα καὶ δῆλη ἔσται ὅτι ἡγάπησεν τὸ πραχθέν.

δεδέσθαι δὲ κύνα γενναίαν δι' ἡμέρας, ὥσπερ τι ἄλλο, ἀγαθόν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀναγώγους ἀποτελεῖσθαι ἀνάγκη. καὶ εἴ ποτε ἄρα δεσμοῦ δεηθῇεν, ἀσχάλλουσιν καὶ κλαυθυμρίζονται καὶ ἀπεσθίουσιν τοὺς ἱμάντας· ὥστε σιδήρου δεῖν ἐπ' αὐταῖς, καθάπερ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς [2] κακούργοις. καὶ ἐσθίειν δὲ ἀνάγκη λελυμένην κύνα πᾶν τὸ ἐμπεσόν, καὶ τὸ ἀκμαῖον τοῦ δρόμου ἀφαιρεῖται αὐτῶν ὁ δὲ ἡμέρας περίπατος. ἀλλὰ χρὴ τεταγμένα μὲν περιπατεῖν, τὸ πολὺ δὲ ἀμπαύεσθαι.

προάγειν δὲ τὰς κύνας τοῦλάχιστον τετράκις ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς ὁμαλὸν χωρίον καὶ καθαρὸν. ἐνταῦθα ἀφιέναι τοῦ δεσμοῦ, τῶν τε ἀναγκαίων ἕνεκα καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀποσκιρτᾶν καὶ διαθεῖν· [2] εἰ δὲ ἀργοῦσαι ἀπὸ θήρας τύχοιεν, καὶ πλεονάκις τοῦτο δρᾶν. καὶ δύο ἐπιλύειν ἐν ταῦτῳ, ὥστε ἀμιλλωμένας καὶ παιζούσας ὁμοῦ μὲν εὐφραίνεσθαι [3] ὁμοῦ δὲ γυμνάζεσθαι. πολλὰς δὲ μὴ λύειν ἐν ταῦτῳ· ἐμπύπτουσαι γὰρ ἀλλήλαις ἔστιν ὅτε μεγάλα κακὰ ἐργάζονται. [4] ἀλλὰ μηδὲ σκληρὰν κύνα καὶ πεπηγυῖαν ἅμα τῇ σκυλακευομένῃ λυέτω· βαρεῖα γὰρ αὕτη καὶ ἀνιαρὰ συμφέρεσθαι, καὶ διώκουσά τε αἰρεῖ καὶ ἀποφεύγουσα ἀπολείπει εὐμαρῶς, ὥστε ἀθυμεῖν ἀνάγκη τὸ σκυλάκιον ἐν ἑκατέρῳ μείον φερόμενον. [5] ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ὅσαι διεχθρεύουσιν ἀλλήλαις, μηδὲ ταύτας λύειν ὁμοῦ, ὡς μὴ λυμαίνωνται ἀλλήλας· εἰσὶν γάρ τοι κύνες ἐχθραὶ ἀλλήλαις καὶ ἄφιλοι, καθάπερ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ οἱ τε ἄρρενες τοῖς ἄρρεσιν καὶ αἱ θήλειαι [p. 67] ταῖς θηλείαις, τὸ πολὺ ὑπὸ φθόνου. καὶ οὐδὲ τούτων ἀμελῶς χρὴ ἔχειν.

καὶ δὴ χειμῶνος μὲν ὥρῳ ἅπαξ σιτεῖσθαι τὰς κύνας ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς

ἐσπέρας· ἥ τε γὰρ ἡμέρα βραχεῖα, καὶ χρή γεγυμνάσθαι αὐτάς, ὥστε, εἰ δέοι πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας διαπονεῖσθαι ἐν θήρᾳ, τοῦ λιμοῦ ἀνέχεσθαι. [2] θέρους δὲ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὀρθροῦ ὀλίγον δοῦναι ἐμφαγεῖν, ὡς μὴ ἀποκναίεσθαι ὑπὸ μήκους· καὶ γὰρ εἰ διψήσειαν, ἀλυπότερον ἂν πίνοιεν ἐμφαγοῦσαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ στέαρ ταριχευόμενον καθείης τῆς κυνός, ἀγαθὸν καὶ τοῦτο. [3] εἰ δὲ μέγα τὸ καῦμα ἐπιφλέγοι, ᾧ ἐμβάλοντα ἐς τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἀνατείναντα τῆς κυνός τὸ στόμα καθεῖναι, ὡς ἀθρόον καταπιεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο σιτίον τε ἱκανὸν ἔσται αὐτῇ, καὶ ἀναψύξει τὸ ἄσθμα, καὶ ἀναπαύσει τὸ δῖψος.

ἐξάγειν δὲ ἐπὶ θήραν ἥρος μὲν καὶ φθινοπώρου θαμινά· ἀσφαλέσταται γὰρ αἱ ὥραι αὗται ταῖς κυσίν. [2] θέρους δὲ ὀλιγάκις καὶ τὸ πολὺ διαλείποντα, εἰ πνίγος εἴη· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέχονται καύματος αἱ κύνες, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ ἤδη διώξασαι ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπεπνίγησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄσθματος. [3] τούτου δὲ ἔνεκα φέρειν χρή ᾧ τὸν κυνηγέτην, ὥστε, εἰ ὑπερασθμαῖνοι ἢ κύων, καθίεναι ἀθρόα· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὃ τι μᾶλλον ἀναψύχει τε αὐταῖς τὸ καῦμα καὶ τὸ ἄσθμα ἀμπαύει. [4] εἰ δὲ πίοι ἀθρόον ὑπερασθμαίνουσα, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀσφαλές. τούτων δὲ ἔνεκα χρή φυλάσσεσθαι ἐν καύματι ἐξάγειν. [5] καὶ χειμῶνος δὲ μὴ ἐξάγειν, εἰ τὸ κρύος τύχοι χαλεπόν, καὶ πολὺ δὴ μάλιστα, εἰ πεπηγυῖα ἢ γῆ τύχοι· ἀποκαίονται γὰρ ἐν τῷ κρυστάλλῳ αἱ κύνες, καὶ τοὺς ὄνυχας ἔστιν αἱ ἀπολλύουσιν, καὶ τὰ νέρθεν τῶν ποδῶν αὐταῖς ῥήγνυται. [6] εἰ δὲ εὐψυχότεραι εἶεν, θραύοιεν ἂν περὶ τῷ κρυστάλλῳ τὰ ὅστ᾽ αὐτῶν ποδῶν ἀφειδῶς θέουσαι. ὁ δὲ λαγῶς [p. 68] κοῦφός τέ ἐστιν καὶ δασεὶς ἔχει τοὺς πόδας, ὥστε ἀλύπως θεῖν ἐν τῷ πάγῳ.

χρή δὲ ὅστις κύνας ἀγαθὰς ἔχει μήτε ἐγγύθεν ἐπιλύειν τῷ λαγῷ μήτε πλείους δυοῖν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ ὠκὺς τύχοι καὶ πολλὰς πολλακίς κύνας διαπεφευγώς, ἀλλὰ γε ἐξ εὐνῆς ἀνιστάμενον καὶ σὺν βοῇ ἐπικειμένων ἐκπλαγῆναι ἀνάγκη καὶ πατάσσειν αὐτῷ τὴν καρδίαν. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πολλακίς γενναῖοι λαγῷ ἀκλεῶς ἀπώλοντο, μὴδὲν μήτε δράσαντες μήτε ἀποδειξάμενοι μνήμης ἄξιον. ἔαν δὲ ὑπεκφυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐνῆς καὶ ἀναθαρρήσαι. [2] ὁ δέ, εἰ τύχοι δρομικός, ἐπαρεῖ εὐθὺς τὰ ὄντα καὶ μεγάλα ἀπὸ τῆς εὐνῆς πηδήσεται· οἱ δὲ διαρρίψαντες τὰ μέλη, καθάπερ οἱ σκιρτῶντες, ἀπευθυνοῦσιν τὸν δρόμον. καὶ τότε ἄρα ἔστιν τὸ θέαμα ἄξιον τῶν πόνων, ὅσους ἐπὶ ταῖς κυσίν πονεῖν ἀνάγκη.

κράτιστοι δὲ τῶν λαγῶν οἱ ἐν τόποις περιφανέσιν καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις τὰς εὐνὰς ἔχοντες· ὑπὸ θάρρους γὰρ οὐκ ἀποκρύπτουσιν σφᾶς, ἀλλὰ προκαλοῦνται, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὰς κύνας. [2] οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἐπειδὰν διώκωνται, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς νάπας φεύγουσιν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλση, εἰ καὶ πάνυ πλησίον τύχοι ὄντα, ὥστε εὐμαρῶς ἀφελέσθαι αὐτοὺς τοῦ κινδύνου, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ πεδία βιάζονται, ἐρίζοντες πρὸς τὰς κύνας. καὶ εἰ μὲν βραδεῖαι κύνες ἔποιντο αὐτοῖς, τοσοῦτον ὅσον διώκονται θέουσιν· εἰ δὲ ὠκεῖαι, [3] ὅση δύναμις. πολλακίς δὲ ἤδη ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐκτραπέντες εἰ αἰσθοῖντο ἐφομαρτοῦσαν κύνα ἀγαθὴν, ὡς ἐπισκιάζεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς, θαμινὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐξελιγμοῖς διαρρίψαντες αὐτὴν οἱ δὲ τρέπονται αὖ ἐπὶ τὰς νάπας, ἢ εἴ που κατάδυσιν γινώσκοιεν. καὶ τοῦτο τεκμήριον ποιητέον ὅτι ἐκράτησεν ἢ κύων τοῦ λαγῷ· [4] οὐ γὰρ τοι ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλῳ τὸ θηρίον ἐξάγουσιν τὰς κύνας ἀλλ' ἐς [p. 69] ἀγῶνα δρόμου καὶ ἄμιλλαν οἱ γε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ κυνηγετικοί. καὶ ἀγαπῶσιν εἰ ἐπιτύχοι ὁ λαγῶς τοῦ

διασώσοντας, [5] καὶ καταφυγόντα ἐς ἀκάνθας ἔστιν ὅτε ὀλίγας καὶ ἐπτηχότα καὶ ἀπαγορεύοντα ἰδόντες οἱ δὲ ἀνακαλοῦσιν τὰς κύνας, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ, εἰ καλῶς διαγωνίσαιτο. ὥστε πολλάκις ἤδη ἔγωγε ἐφ' ἵππου ἐφομαρτῶν τῷ δρόμῳ καὶ ἀλόντι ἐπελθὼν ζῶντα ἀφειλόμην, καὶ ἀφελόμενος καὶ δήσας τὴν κύνα ἀφήκα διαφυγεῖν τὸν λαγῶ. καὶ εἰ ὕστερος ἀφικόμην ἢ ὥστε διασῶσαι, ἔπαισα τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὅτι ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἄρα ἀγαθὸν ἀπώλεσαν αἱ κύνες. [6] καὶ τούτου μόνου ἔνεκα οὐ σύμφημι τῷ ἐμαντοῦ ὁμωνύμῳ, ἀλλ' εὐρισκόμενον μὲν ὅστις ἴδοι τὸ θηρίον καὶ διωκόμενον καὶ μεταθεόμενον, συγχωρῶ διότι ἐπιλάθοιτο ἂν εἰ τοῦ ἐρῶν: ἀλίσκόμενον δὲ ἰδεῖν οὔτε ἡδὺ τὸ θέαμα ἀποφαίνω οὔτε ἐκπληκτικὸν ἀλλ' ἀνιαρὸν μᾶλλον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ γε τούτῳ ἐπιλαθέσθαι ἂν τινα εἴ τοῦ ἐρῶν. [7] ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνῳ γε τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, οὐκ ἐγνωκότι τὰς ὠκείας κύνας, συγγνωστὸν εἰ καὶ ἀλίσκόμενος λαγῶς μέγα θέαμα ἐφαίνετο. [8] ἐφομαρτούσας δὲ τῷ δρόμῳ ἐπικλάζειν εἰ καὶ μὴ παρακελευσαίμην, οἶδα ὅτι πολλὴ ἀνάγκη: ὥστε κἂν ἄναυδον κύνα ῥῆξαι φωνήν, οὐ μείον ἢ, ὥς λόγος, τὸν Κροΐσου υἱέα.

καὶ τὴν κύνα δὲ ἀνακαλεῖν ἀγαθόν: χαίρουσιν γὰρ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ δεσπότου γνωρίζουσαι, καὶ παραμυθίαν ἴσχουσιν τῶν τόνων τὸ γινώσκειν ὅτι θεατὴς αὐταῖς πάρεστιν καὶ ὅτι οὐ λανθάνουσιν ἀγωνιζόμεναι καλῶς. [2] καὶ δὴ τὸ ἐν πρώτῳ μὲν δρόμῳ, ὡς ἂν φίλον, ἀνακαλεῖν οὐ κωλύω: ἐν δευτέρῳ δὲ ἢ τρίτῳ, ὅποτε εἰκὸς διαπεπονῆσθαι τὴν κύνα, κωλύσαι ἂν μοι δοχῶ θαμινὰ ἀνακαλεῖν αὐτὴν ὀνομαστί, μὴ ποτε ἄρα ὑπὸ μένους καὶ προθυμίας, χαρίζεσθαι τῷ δεσπότῃ ἐθέλουσα, ἔπειτα παρὰ δύναμιν ἐνταθεῖσα ῥήξειεν τι τῶν ἐντός. πολλοὶ [p. 70] γὰρ ἤδη οὕτω γε κύνες καὶ αἱ γενναιόταται διεφθάρησαν. [3] ἀλλὰ τῆνικαῦτα ἀφιέναι διαγωνίζεσθαι, ὅπως ἐθέλουσιν: οὐ γάρ τοι οὐδ' ἴσος ἄγων λαγῶ καὶ κυνί: ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὅποι βούλεται θεῖ, ἢ δὲ ἐφομαρτεῖ: καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξελιξας τὸν δρόμον καὶ διαρρίψας τὴν κύνα ἵεται τοῦ πρόσω, ἢ δέ, εἰ διαρριφθεῖη, πλάζεται. καὶ ἀνάγκη φθάσαντα αὐτὸ μεταθεῖν καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν, ὅσον ἐξηνέχθη τοῦ δρόμου. [4] καὶ αἱ δυσχωρίαὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ λαγῶ μᾶλλον τί εἰσιν ἢ τῆς κυνός, οἷα τὰ τραχέα καὶ οἱ φελλεῶνες καὶ τὰ σιμὰ καὶ τὰ ἀνώμαλα, ὅτι κοῦφός τέ ἐστιν καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτῷ ὑπὸ δασύτητος οὐ ῥήγνυνται ἐν τοῖς τραχέσιν. καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς δὲ θεῖν ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν αἴσθησιν τῶν δυσκόλων.

ἔχουσιν δὲ τὴν κύνα ἢ καὶ ἄλλως κρατήσασαν τῷ δρόμῳ καταπηδήσαντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καταψᾶν χρὴ ἐπευφημοῦντα, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φιλεῖν, καὶ τὰ ὧτα ἀποτείνειν, καὶ ὀνομαστί ἐπιλέγειν 'εὐγε ὦ Κιρρά, εὐγε ὦ Βόννα, καλῶς γε ὦ Ὀρμή,' καὶ ὁ τι περ ἄλλο ἐκάστη ὄνομα αὐτὰ τοῦτο ἀνακαλοῦντα: χαίρουσιν γὰρ ἐπαινούμεναι, καθάπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ γενναῖοι. ἢ δὲ εἰ μὴ τύχοι ἀπηγορευκυῖα, πρόσσεισιν ἐπιμειδιώσα καὶ φιλοφρονουμένη. [2] ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ καλινδεῖσθαι τὴν κύνα, καθάπερ τοὺς ἵππους ὀρώμεν: δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι μὴ ἀπηγόρευσεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δρόμου, καὶ ἅμα τὸν κάματον παύει αὐτῶν.

θηρῶσιν δὲ Κελτοί, ὅσοι μὲν πλουτοῦσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τρυφῶσιν, ἔωθεν ἐκπέμποντες ἐς τὰ χωρία τὰ ὑποπτα τοὺς κατοπτεύσοντας, ὅπου τυγχάνει ἀναπαυόμενος λαγῶς: καὶ ἔστιν ὁ ἀγγέλλων, εἰ τύχοι ὀφθεῖς, ἢ ὅποσοι ἂν τύχωσιν, [2] ἔπειτα ἀφικόμενοι μεθίσιν τὰς κύνας, ἐξεγείραντες τὸ θηρίον,

αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐφ' ἵππων ἔπονται.

ὅσοις δὲ οὐκ εἰσιν οἱ κατοπτεύσοντες, οἳ μὲν αὐτῶν [p. 71] πλείους συνθήρους συναγαγόντες ἐξίσαισιν ἐφ' ἵππων, καὶ τὰ ὕποπτα ἐπερχόμενοι, ὅπου ἂν τύχη ἐξεγερθεὶς λαγῶς, μεθίσαισιν τὰς κύνας: ὅσοι δὲ τι μᾶλλον αὐτουργοὶ εἰσιν κυνηγεσίων, πεζοὶ ἐξίσαισιν, εἷς δὲ τις αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ἵππου ἐφομαρτεῖ, καὶ οὗτος διώκειν τέτακται ἅμα ταῖς κυσίν. [2] ἐκπερίαισιν δὲ ἐπὶ μετώπου ταχθέντες: ἔπειτα ἐπ' εὐθείας προελθόντες, ὅσον σύμμετρον διανῦσαι, ἐπιστρέψαντες αὐτὰ ἀνακάμπουσιν παρὰ τὰ αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν, μηδὲν ἐς δύναμιν παραλείποντες τῶν ὑπόπτων. [3] χρή δὲ εἰ πλείους κύνας ἐπαγάγοιντο, μὴ εἰκῇ τεταγμένους ἰέναι: εἰ γάρ τοι ἐξεγερθεῖν τῆς εὐνῆς λαγῶς, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν ἀπόσχοιτο μὴ οὐκ ἐφεῖναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κύνα, ὃ μὲν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ θεοῦσαν ἰδεῖν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος, ὃ δὲ τις ἐκπλαγεὶς πρὸς τὴν βοήν καὶ ἔκφρων γενόμενος: ἀλίσκοιτό τε ἂν ἄνευ ἀγῶνος λαγῶς ὑπὸ θορυβούντων κυνῶν, καὶ τοῦ θεάματος ὃ τι περ ὄφελος ἀπολλύοιτο. [4] ἀλλ' ἄρχοντα χρή ἐπιτετάχθαι τῇ θήρᾳ, καὶ οὗτος συνδουζέτω τὰς κύνας, καὶ ταττέτω ὥς εἰ μὲν ταύτη πηδήσειεν, σὺ καὶ σὺ ἐπιλύειν, ἄλλος δὲ μὴ λυέτω: εἰ δὲ ταύτη, αὐτὸς σὺ καὶ σὺ. οἱ δὲ ἐμπεδούντων τὸ ταχθέν.

Θηρῶσιν δὲ Κελτοὶ καὶ ἀναμγνύνοντες τοῖς ἰχνευταῖς κυσίν τὰς ὠκείας. καὶ οἱ μὲν μαστεύουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ δίστανται, μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντες τὰς κύνας τὰς ἀγαθὰς, οἵπερ μάλιστα εἰκὸς τὸν λαγῶ ἀπευθύνει τὸν δρόμον, ὥστε ἐφίεναι τῶν κυνῶν ὅπως ἂν τῷ προχωρῇ. [2] καὶ εἰσὶν αἱ κύνες αὗται ὃ τι περ αἱ ἄρκυς τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐκείνῳ. ἀλλ' ἄτακτοί τε οὕτω γίνονται οἱ δρόμοι καὶ ὁ λαγῶς, εἰ καὶ πάνυ ἀγαθὸς ὢν τύχοι, τὰ πολὺ ὑπὸ τῆς κλαγγῆς τῶν κυνῶν ἐκπλήσσεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ πρὸ πολλοῦ τύχοι προπηδήσας, ὥς καταστῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν γνώμην, ἀλίσκεται εὐμαρῶς, ἔκφρων γενόμενος. [3] χρή [p. 72] οὖν ὅστις ἐπιλύει κύνα ἀγαθὴν, μὴ ἐφεῖναι ἔτι θορυβουμένῳ, ἀλλ' ἐάσαντα ἐξελιχθῆναι τοὺς ἐλιγμοὺς τοὺς πρώτους, οὕτω μεθεῖναι τὴν κύνα, εἰ μὴ διαφθεῖραι ἐθέλει τὴν θέαν.

νεογνῶ δὲ ἐπιλύειν μὴ θέμις ἔστω, ἀλλὰ χρή πειθομένους τῷ ἐμῷ ὁμωνύμῳ ἀφίεναι τούτους [2] τῇ θεῷ. ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἰχνευούσας πειρατέον ἀνακαλεῖν. κακαὶ δὲ ἀνακληθῆναι αὗται καὶ δυσπειθεῖς ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, δειναὶ δὲ καὶ καταφαγεῖν τὸν ἀλόντα: ὥστε μόλις ἂν ξύλῳ παίων ἀπαλλάξειας αὐτάς.

χρή δὲ ἔλαφον ἢ τι ἄλλο ἐς μέγεθος προῆκον τοσόνδε τόνδε τὸν τρόπον θηρᾶν, ἐφίεντα τὰς κύνας τὰς γενναίας: μέγα τε γὰρ τὸ θηρίον καὶ δεῖ ἐπὶ πολὺ, καὶ διαγωνίσασθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλές. καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος οὐ μικρὸς κύνα ἀγαθὴν ἐλάφου ἔνεκα διαφθαρῆναι. [2] ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐλάφους, ἔνθα τὰ πεδία εὐήλατα, ἐν μὲν Μυσοῖς καὶ ἐν Γέταις καὶ ἐν Σκυθίᾳ καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα, ἀφ' ἵππων τῶν Σκυθικῶν καὶ Ἰλλυρικῶν διώκουσιν: οὗτοι γὰρ ἐλαύνεσθαι μὲν τὰ πρῶτα οὐκ ἀγαθοί, ἀλλὰ κἂν πάνυ καταφρονήσεως ἰδὼν παραβάλλοντας ἵππῳ Θεσσαλῷ ἢ Σικελῷ ἢ Πελοποννησίῳ: διαπονούμενοι δὲ [3] ἐπίπαν ἀντέχουσιν. καὶ τότε ἂν ἴδοις τὸν μὲν ὠκὺν ἐκείνον ἵππον καὶ μέγαν καὶ σοβαρὸν ἀπαγορεύοντα, τὸν δὲ λεπτὸν καὶ ψωραλέον πρῶτα μὲν παραμείβοντα, ἔπειτα ἀπολείποντα, ἔπειτα ἐλαύνοντα τὸ θηρίον. ὃ δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἄρα ἀντέχει, ἔστε ἀπαγορεῦσαι τὴν ἔλαφον. [4] ἀπαγορεύουσα δὲ

καὶ χανοῦσα ὑπὸ ἀνοίας ἴσταιται, καὶ ἔξεστιν ἤδη, εἰ μὲν βούλοιτο, ἀκοντίσαι ἐγγύθεν ὡς πεπεδημένην, εἰ δὲ ἐθέλοις, καὶ ζώσῃ βρόχον περιβαλόντα ἄγειν.

ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ ἀφ' ἵππων τῶν Λιβυκῶν, οἳ δὴ Νομάδες καλοῦνται, οἳ τε ἄνδρες αὐτοὶ καὶ οἳ ἵπποι, ἀπὸ τούτων [p. 73] τῶν ἵππων μὴ ὅτι ἐλάφους αἰροῦσιν ἢ δορκάδας — ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ διὰ πολλοῦ ἀγῶνος, οὐδὲ ἀγαθοὶ ἵπποι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τοιοῦτόν τι ἐλόντες — ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὄνους τοὺς ἀγρίους, οἳ δὴ ὠκύτητι διαφέροντες εἰσιν καὶ τῷ ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀντέχειν θεόντες. [2] ὁπότε γοῦν ἐπὶ μέγαν βασιλέα ἤλαυνον οἱ ἅμα Κύρῳ τῷ Δαρείου Ἑλλήνες, οἷς καὶ Ξενοφῶν συνεστράτευσεν, λέγει Ξενοφῶν, ὅτε τὰ πεδία τὰ Ἀραβίων ἐξήνουν, ἀγέλας προφαίνεσθαι τῶν ὄνων τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ὑπὸ ἐνὸς μὲν ἱππέως μήποτε ἀλῶναι ὄνον ἄγριον, δισταμένους δὲ ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐλαύνειν, τοὺς δὲ πολλοῖς ἀντίσχοντας τελευτῶντας ἤδη ἀπαγορεύειν ὑπὸ καμάτου: οὕτως ἄρα καὶ Κύρῳ τῷ μεγάλου μὲν βασιλέως παιδί, μεγάλου δὲ βασιλέως ἀδελφῷ, οὐκ ἀγαθοὶ διώκειν ἵπποι ἦσαν. [3] Λιβύων δὲ παῖδες ὀκταέτης ἔστιν οἱ αὐτῶν, οἳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ πρεσβύτεροι, ἐπὶ γυμνῶν τῶν ἵππων ἐλαύνουσιν, ῥάβδῳ χρώμενοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὅσα Ἑλλήνες χαλινῷ, καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἄρα ἐφομαρτοῦσιν τοῖς ὄνοις τοῖς ἀγρίοις, ἔστε τελευτῶντες βρόχον περιβαλόντες τῷ θηρίῳ ἄγουσιν: τὸ δὲ ἔπεται ἡττημένον. [4] οὕτω τοι θηρῶσιν ὅσοις κύνες τε ἀγαθαὶ καὶ ἵπποι, οὐ πάγαις οὐδὲ ἄρκυσιν οὐδὲ βρόχοις οὐδὲ ἀπλῶς δόλοις καὶ σοφίσμασιν ἐξαπατῶντες τὰ θηρία, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως διαγωνιζόμενοι. [5] καὶ ἔστιν τὰ θεάματα, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, οὐδέν τι ἐκείνοις παραπλήσια, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ληστεία ἢ κλοπῇ ἔοικεν, τὰ δὲ πολέμῳ τῷ ἀνὰ κράτος διαπολεμουμένῳ: καὶ οἳ μὲν ὡς πειραταὶ λάθρα ἐπιπλέοντες προσφέρονται πρὸς τὰ θηρία, οἳ δὲ, καθάπερ Ἀθηναῖοι Μήδων ἐκράτησαν ναυμαχία περὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἢ περὶ Σαλαμίνα καὶ Ψυττάλειαν ἢ αὖθις περὶ Κύπρον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τῶν θηρίων ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς κρατοῦσιν. κυνὸς ἡλικία ἐς τὸ θεῖν.

[p. 74] θήλειαν μὲν μετὰ μῆνα ἐνδέκατον ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ θήραν, πρόσθεν δὲ ἔτι ἀπὸ δεκάτου μηνός, εἰ εὐπαγῆς τύχοι καὶ μὴ ὕδρομελής, λαγῷ ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἀφιέναι ἐν χωρίῳ περιφανεῖ, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐγγύθεν ἐφιέναι τῷ λαγῷ τὴν τε ὄψιν αὐτὴν ἐμπίμπλασθαι καὶ ἐγγὺς ὁρῶσαν μετ' ἐλπίδος ἀγαθῆς πονεῖν, [2] κύνα δὲ ἄλλην τελείαν ἐφιέναι ὕστερον, ὡς μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺν κακοπαθῆσαι τὴν σκύλακα μηδὲ ἀπαγορεῦσαι ὑπὸ καμάτου. ἢ δὲ θαμινὰ καὶ εὐμαρῶς ἐξελίσσουσα τὸν λαγῷ παραδώσει τῇ σκύλακι. ἐλοῦσαν δὲ ἔαν σπαράξαι τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν, ἔστε κατακανεῖν. [3] ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐξάγεσθαι ἤδη ὥραν ἔχη, πρῶτα μὲν τὰς ὁδοὺς βαδίζειν, ὅσαι τραχεῖαι αὐτῶν: ἀγαθὸν γὰρ τὸ μελέτημα ἐς τὸ πῆξαι τοὺς πόδας ταῖς κυσίν. [4] ἔπειτα ἴστασθαι τὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὴν ἐν χωρίῳ περιφανεῖ καὶ ὑπερδεξίῳ, καὶ φθάσαντι μὲν τῷ λαγῷ καὶ προλαβόντι οὐχ ὁρῶσαν μὴ ἐφιέναι: τοῦτο γάρ τοι περὶ τῶν ἐς ἰχνεῖαν ἀσκουμένων κυνῶν παραινεῖ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐκεῖνος. [5] κύνα δὲ ὠκεῖαν εἰ μὴ ὁρῶσαν ἐπιλύσειας, πλάζεται καὶ σκιρτᾷ καὶ ἔκφρων γίγνεται καὶ ἀνασοβεῖται. [6] καὶ τοῖνυν εἴ ποτε διαφύγοι αὐτὴν τελεωθεῖσαν ἤδη ὁ λαγῶς, οὐκ ἀτρέμα ἔχει ἑαυτὴν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὸν κυναγωγὸν ἐπάνεισιν οὐδὲ ἀνακαλοῦντος ὑπακούει, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μελέτης τοῦ θεῖν ἐπὶ μηδενὶ εἰδῇ πλάζεται, καὶ μαινομένη ἔοικεν. [7] ἀλλ' ἴστασθαι μὲν τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν σκύλακα ἐν χωρίῳ, ὁποῖον ἤδη μοι λέλεκται, κρυπτόμενον οἷ

μάλιστα τεκμήριαιτο ἂν τις ὅτι πονοῦμενος [8] ὁ λαγῶς ὑποκάμψας ἤξει. ἰδόντα δὲ διαπεπονημένον ἐγγύθεν ἐφίεμαι, μὴ κατὰ στόμα: ἡ μὲν γὰρ κύων ἐξορμήσασα ἐπ' εὐθὺ ἐξενεχθήσεται, ὁ δὲ λαγῶς ἐξελίξας εὐμαρῶς παραμείψει: τὴν δὲ πολὺ ἀπολειφθῆναι ἀνάγκη καὶ χαλεπῶς ὑποκάμψαι, καθάπερ αἱ τριῆρεις εὐθυπλοῦσαι οὐκ εὐμαρῶς ἐπικάμπουσιν, εἰ μὴ ἀνεθεῖη τὸ πολὺ τῆς εἰρεσίας αὐταῖς, [p. 75] [9] ἀλλ' ἐάσαντα παραμείψαι τὸν λαγῶ ἐκ τοῦ πλαγίου χρὴ ἐφίεμαι. ἀλόντος δὲ ἐφομαρτεῖται τις σπουδῇ, πρὶν ἐμφορηθῆναι τοῦ αἵματος τὴν κύνα, οὐχ ὅτι δὴ τὰ κρέα ἄρα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιητέον ἀνδρὶ ἐς κάλλος κυνηγετοῦντι, ἀλλ' ὅτι πονηρὸν μάθημα κυνὶ γενναίᾳ, λαγῶ ἐσθίειν. καὶ ἤδη πολλαὶ κύνες οὕτω διεφθάρησαν, ἐπεὶ μακρῷ δρόμῳ ἀσθμαίνουσαι ἐνεπλήσθησαν, ἔπειτα πνιγεῖσαι ἀπώλονται.

ἄρρενα δὲ μὴ πρόσθεν ἢ διέτη γενόμενον ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ θήραν: πολὺ γάρ τοι ὕστερον τοῖς ἄρρεσιν πηγνυται τὰ μέλη. [2] καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος οὐ μικρὸς, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ ἤδη πρὶν τελεωθῆναι ἀγωνισάμενοι πρὸ ὥρας ἀπώλονται, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ὅσοι γενναϊότατοι: ὑπὸ γὰρ μένους τοσοῦτον ὅσον δύνανται θεοῦσιν. [3] τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὡσαύτως παραφυλάσσειν, ὅσα ἐπὶ ταῖς θηλείαις ἤδη μοι λέλεκται ὅπως πρακτέον. [4] φυλάσσειν δὲ ἀπὸ ὀχείας ἐντὸς τῆσδε τῆς ἡλικίας: οὔτε γὰρ ἡ γονὴ πῶ αὐτοῖς πέπηγεν, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἐξίτηλος τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀμαυρά, καθάπερ ἡ τῶν παίδων, αὐτοὶ τε διαφθεῖρονται πάμπαν, ὥς μὴδὲν ἔτι πράττοντα ὕστερον ὀρθῶσαι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν. ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τρίτου μὲν ἔτους ἐφίεσθαι ἐν ὥρᾳ ἂν εἴη τῇ συμμέτρῳ. ἐφίεσθων δὲ ὧδε. φυλάξαι χρὴ τὴν κύνα, ἐπειδὴν

ἀποκαθαρθῇ τοῦ αἵματος: πρόσθεν δὲ εἰ παραλάβοιεν τὴν γονὴν, τὸ πολὺ οὐ κρατοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκκλύζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος, καθάπερ ταῖς γυναιξίν. [2] προσέχειν δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἐνταῦθα: βραχὺς γὰρ χρόνος διαγίνεται, ἐν ᾧ οὐκέτι μὲν φέρεται αὐτῇ τὸ αἶμα, ἔτι δὲ φυλάσσει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. ἀγαθὴ δὲ τῇ θηλείᾳ ἡλικία ἢ ἀπὸ διέτους ἐς ἔβδομον ἔτος.

κράτιστον δὲ καθεῖρξαι ἐν ταυτῷ τὸν ἄρρενα ἅμα τῇ θηλείᾳ, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀφανῆ εἶναι: αἱ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ [p. 76] ὁμιλίας οὐ γόνιμοι, εἰ χρὴ πείθεσθαι ἀνδράσιν κυνηγετικοῖς. ὅσα δὲ τοιαῦτα λάθρα ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἐσπουδάσθῃ, ἐπιτυχῇ γενέσθαι λόγος. [2] μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐξάγειν μὲν ἐπὶ θήραν — ὁ γὰρ περίπατος ἀγαθὸν ἐς ρώμην ταῖς κυσίν — , ἐφίεμαι δὲ αὐτάς λαγῶ μηκέτι: κίνδυνος γὰρ διαφθεῖραι ὑπερκαμοῦσαν ἢ ὑπερταθεῖσαν. [3] καὶ τὸν ἄρρενα δὲ μὴ ἐφίεμαι ἐπὶ λαγῶ ὡσαύτως, πρὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ καμάτου ἀμπαύσασθαι καὶ ῥωσθῆναι, ἐξήκοντα ἡμερῶν οὐ μείων: ἔπειτα ἐφίεμαι ἐς ἀγῶνα οὐδὲν κωλύσει.

κρατίστη δὲ ὥρα ἐς σκυλακειάν ἢ τοῦ ἥρος: εὐκράτως γὰρ αὕτη μάλιστα ἔχει κρύους τε καὶ θάλπους. ὥς τὸ μὲν κρύος τοῖς σκυλακίοις οὐκ ἀγαθὸν ἐς ἀνατροφήν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπορία γάλακτος: τὸ δὲ καῦμα ταῖς μητράσιν χαλεπὸν ἐν τῇ ἀνατροφῇ: τὸ φθινόπωρον δὲ ταύτῃ χειρὸν τοῦ ἥρος, ὅτι χειμῶν ἐπιλαμβάνει τὰ σκυλάκια πρὶν παγῆναι.

τεκοῦσαν δὲ εἰ μὲν ἐθέλοις ἐπαναλαβεῖν τὴν πρόσθεν ὠκύτητα, μὴ εἴαν ἐκτρέφειν αὐτὴν ὅτι μὴ ἐς ὅσον ἀποκουφίσαι τὸ πολὺ τοῦ γάλακτος: εἴτα δὲ ὑφελόντα ἄλλαις παραδιδόναι κυσὶν ἐπιλεγόμενον γενναίας: τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀγεννῶν γάλα οὐ σύμφυλον ταῖς γενναίαις. [2] εἰ δὲ μηκέτι ἐς δρόμον

ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχουσα φαίνοιτο ἢ κύων, κράτιστον ἔάν ὑπὸ τῇ τεκούσῃ καὶ μὴ ὑποβάλλειν ὑφ' ἐτέραν κύνα: αἱ γὰρ θεραπείαι αἱ ἀλλότριαι, ἥπερ καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐκεῖνος ἀποφαίνει, οὐκ εἰσὶν αὖξιμοι: τὸ δὲ τῶν μητέρων καὶ τὸ γάλα ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα.

ὁπότεν δὲ ἤδη πλανᾶται τὰ σκυλάκια, ὀρθῶς συμβουλεύει ὅτι χρή γάλακτι ἀνατρέφειν αὐτά, καὶ ὅτι αἱ βαρεῖαι πλησμοναὶ τὰ τε σκέλη αὐτοῖς διαστρέφουσιν [2] καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν νόσου ἐμβάλλουσιν. καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα δὲ ὅτι βραχέα καὶ εὐανάκλητα θετέον ταῖς [p. 77] κυσίν, καὶ τοῦτο χρή πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ. καὶ ὅσα ἀναγέγραφεν ὀνόματα, τὰ μὲν εὐρών τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ποιήσας, δεξιῶς ἀναγέγραφεν. [3] εἰ δὲ μήπω ἐθέλοις σκυλακεῦσαι, φυλάσσειν ὥς ἀνυστὸν ἐπιμελέστατα τὰς κύνας, ἐπειδὴν τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ταύτῃ ἔχωνται: ἀποπαυσασμέναις δὲ οἱ μαστοὶ σφριγῶσιν καὶ ὑποπίμπλονται γάλακτος, καὶ τείνεται τὰ ὑπὸ τῇ γαστρί. [4] καὶ ἔστιν τηνικαῦτα οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐπιλύειν κύνα ἐπὶ λαγῷ: ῥήγγυνται γὰρ αὐταῖς αἱ λαγόνες. ὥστε οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ σκιρτῆσαι χρή λύειν αὐτάς ἅμα ἐτέρα κυνί: ἀμιλλώμεναι γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναιμι συνταθεῖσαι ἐς ἴσον κίνδυνον καθίστανται. [5] ἀλλὰ κράτιστον περιμεῖναι, ἔστε χαλάσαι αὐταῖς τοὺς μαστούς. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι ἤδη ἀσφαλὲς, ἐπειδὴν αἱ τρίχες ἀπορρέωσιν ἀθρόαι ἐπαφωμένῳ: τότε γὰρ λύονται, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης τῆς πρόσθεν καὶ παρίστανται ἤδη ἐς δρόμον.

κύων δὲ θήλεια μὲν ὠκυτέρα ἄρρενος, ἄρρην δὲ θηλείας διαπονεῖσθαι ἀμείνων. καὶ ὅτι δι' ἔτους θεῖ, πολλῷ τινι ἐντιμότερον τὸ κτήμα: καὶ ὅτι θήλειαι μὲν πολλαὶ ἀγαθαί, ἄρρενος δὲ γενναίου ἐπιτυχεῖν οὐκ εὐμαρές, καὶ ταύτῃ ἐντιμότερον. [2] καὶ αἱ θήλειαι μὲν ἀγαπητὸν εἰ καὶ ἐς πέμπτον ἔτος διαφυλάττειν τὸ ὠκὺ: ἄρρενες δὲ καὶ ἐς δέκατον διαφυλάσσουσιν. ὥστε μέγα μοι δοκεῖ τὸ κτήμα ἄρρην κύων τῇ ἀληθείᾳ γενναῖος καὶ οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν του εὐμενείας παραγίγνεσθαι ἀνδρὶ κυνηγετικῷ.

ἀλλὰ χρή θύειν Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀγροτέρα ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ κτήματι: θύειν δὲ χρή καὶ ἐπὶ θήρᾳ εὖ πράξαντα, καὶ ἀνατιθέναι ἀπαρχὰς τῶν ἀλισκομένων τῇ θεῷ, τε ἀποκαθαίρειν τὰς κύνας καὶ τοὺς κυνηγέτας, κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ὡς νόμος.

Κελτῶν δὲ ἔστιν οἷς νόμος καὶ ἐνιαύσια θύειν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, οἱ δὲ καὶ θησαυρὸν ἀποδεικνύουσιν τῇ θεῷ. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν λαγῷ ἀλόντι δὴ ὀβολῷ ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς [p. 78] τὸν θησαυρόν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀλώπεκι δραχμὴν, ὅτι ἐπίβουλόν τὸ χρήμα, καὶ τοὺς λαγῶς διαφθείρει: τούτου ἕνεκα πλέον ἐμβάλλουσιν, ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀλόντι. ἐπὶ δὲ δορκάδι τέσσαρας δραχμάς, ὅτι μέγα τὸ ζῷον καὶ ἡ θήρα ἐντιμότερα. [2] περιελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ἔτους ὁπότεν τὰ γενέθλια ἡκῇ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ἀνοίγνυται μὲν ὁ θησαυρός, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ συλλεχθέντος ἱερεῖον ὠνοῦνται, οἱ μὲν οἶν, οἱ δὲ αἶγα, οἱ δὲ μόσχον, εἰ οὕτω προχωροῖ. [3] θύσαντες δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερείων ἀπαρξάμενοι τῇ Ἀγροτέρα, ὡς ἐκάστοις νόμος, εὐωχοῦνται αὐτοὶ τε καὶ αἱ κύνες. τὰς κύνας δὲ καὶ στεφανοῦσιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὡς δῆλον εἶναι διότι ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἑορτάζουσιν.

καὶ ἐγὼ ἅμα τοῖς συνθήροις ἔπομαι τῷ Κελτῶν νόμῳ, καὶ ἀποφαίνω ὡς οὐδέν ἄνευ θεῶν γιγνόμενον ἀνθρώποις ἐς ἀγαθὸν ἀποτελεῦσθαι. [2] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι ναυτίλονται ἀπὸ θεῶν ἄρχονται, ὅσοις γε τοῦ σφῆζεσθαι μέλει, καὶ

ἀνασπώμεντες χαριστήρια θύουσιν τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς θαλασσίοις, Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτῃ καὶ Νηρησίῳ. καὶ ὅσοι τὴν γῆν ἐργάζονται, Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ παιδί αὐτῆς καὶ Διονύσῳ, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς τέχνας πονοῦμενοι Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἥφαιστῳ, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ παιδεύουσιν Μούσαις καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Μουσηγέτῃ καὶ Μνημοσύνῃ καὶ Ἑρμῇ, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐρωτικά Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ Ἑρωτὶ καὶ Πειθοὶ καὶ Χάρισιν. [3] οὕτω τοι καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ θήρᾳ ἐσπουδακότας οὐ χρὴ ἀμελεῖν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἀγροτέρας οὐδὲ Ἀπόλλωνος οὐδὲ πανὸς οὐδὲ Νυμφῶν οὐδὲ Ἑρμοῦ Ἐνδοίου καὶ Ἡγεμονίου, οὐδὲ ὅσοι ἄλλοι ὄρειοι θεοὶ: εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἡμιτελῆ ἀποβαίνειν ἀνάγκη τὰ σπουδάσματα. [4]

καὶ γὰρ καὶ κύνες βλάπτονται, καὶ οἱ ἵπποι χωλεῦνται, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι σφάλλονται. καὶ τοῦτό γε δηλοῖ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν τῇ ποιήσει. Τεῦκρον μὲν γε τὸν τοξικώτατον Ἑλλήνων ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι οὐ φησιν τυχεῖν [p. 79] ὅτι μὴ τῆς μηρίνθου, καὶ ταύτην διακόσαι, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἐπηύξατο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι: Μηριόνην δέ, ἄνδρα οὐ τοξικόν, ἐπευξάμενον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, ἀποπετομένης ἤδη τῆς ὀρνίθος τυχεῖν. [2] καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ Θήβας σὺν Πολυνείκει στρατευσάντων ἐλεῖν τὰς Θήβας πειθομένους τεράεσσι θεῶν καὶ Ζηνὸς ἄρωγῃ: τοὺς δὲ πατέρας αὐτῶν, οὐδέν τι χεῖρους ἐκείνων ἐς ἀλκὴν γενομένους, διαφθαρήναι ἐν Θήβαις, ὅτι μὴ ἐπείθοντο τοῖς σημαινομένοις ὑπὸ θεῶν. [3] καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα οὐ πεισθέντα Πουλυδάμαντι οὐκ ἔδῳντι ἐπελαύνειν ταῖς ναυσὶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ δράκοντι τῷ καταβληθέντι πρὸς τοῦ ἅετοῦ, ὥς οὐ σὺν κόσμῳ ἐπανελευσομένους, ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἔργῳ ἀναδιδαχθῆναι ὥς οὐκ ἀγαθὸν ἀπειθεῖν τῷ θεῷ. [4] τούτοις χρὴ πειθομένους, καθάπερ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τῷ ἔργῳ, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θήρᾳ ἄρχεσθαι τε ἀπὸ θεῶν καὶ χαριστήρια θύειν εὖ πράξαντας καὶ σπένδειν καὶ εὐφημεῖν καὶ στεφανοῦν καὶ ὑμνεῖν καὶ ἀπαρχὰς τῶν ἀλίσκομένων ἀνατιθέναι, οὐ μείον ἢ ἐπὶ νίκῃ πολέμου ἀκροθίνια.

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[2] καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ Θήβας σὺν Πολυνείκει στρατευσάντων ἐλεῖν τὰς Θήβας πειθομένους τεράεσσι θεῶν καὶ Ζηνὸς ἄρωγῃ: τοὺς δὲ πατέρας αὐτῶν, οὐδέν τι χεῖρους ἐκείνων ἐς ἀλκὴν γενομένους, διαφθαρήναι ἐν Θήβαις, ὅτι μὴ ἐπείθοντο τοῖς σημαινομένοις ὑπὸ θεῶν.

[3] καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα οὐ πεισθέντα Πουλυδάμαντι οὐκ ἔδῳντι ἐπελαύνειν ταῖς ναυσὶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ δράκοντι τῷ καταβληθέντι πρὸς τοῦ ἅετοῦ, ὥς οὐ σὺν κόσμῳ ἐπανελευσομένους, ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἔργῳ ἀναδιδαχθῆναι ὥς οὐκ ἀγαθὸν ἀπειθεῖν τῷ θεῷ.

[4] τούτοις χρὴ πειθομένους, καθάπερ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τῷ ἔργῳ, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θήρᾳ ἄρχεσθαι τε ἀπὸ θεῶν καὶ χαριστήρια θύειν εὖ πράξαντας καὶ σπένδειν καὶ εὐφημεῖν καὶ στεφανοῦν καὶ ὑμνεῖν καὶ ἀπαρχὰς τῶν ἀλίσκομένων ἀνατιθέναι, οὐ μείον ἢ ἐπὶ νίκῃ πολέμου ἀκροθίνια.

The Dual Text



Mount Aktepe, near Göreme and the Rock Sites of Cappadocia — in 131 AD Arrian was appointed governor of the Black Sea province of Cappadocia and commander of the Roman legions on the frontier with Armenia. It was unusual at this time for a Greek to hold such high military command.

DUAL GREEK AND ENGLISH TEXT



Translated by E. Iliff Robson

In this section, readers can view a section by section text of Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander*, alternating between the original Greek text and Robson's English translation.

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BOOK I.

[1] Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου ὅσα μὲν ταῦτα ἄμφω περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου συνέγραψαν, ταῦτα ἐγὼ ὡς πάντῃ ἀληθῆ ἀναγράφω, ὅσα δὲ οὐ ταῦτά, τούτων τὰ πιστότερα ἐμοὶ φαινόμενα καὶ ἅμα ἀξιοφηγότερα ἐπιλεξάμενος. [2] ἄλλοι μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέγραψαν, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὑπὲρ ὅτου πλείονες ἢ ἀξυμφωνότεροι ἐς ἀλλήλους: ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ Πτολεμαῖός τε καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος πιστότεροι ἔδοξαν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν, ὁ μὲν ὅτι συνεστράτευσεν βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Ἀριστόβουλος, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ πρὸς τῷ ξυστρατεῦσαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ὄντι αἰσχρότερον ἢ τῷ ἄλλῳ ψεύσασθαι ἦν: ἄμφω δέ, ὅτι τετελευτηκότος ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρου συγγράφουσιν [ὅτε] αὐτοῖς ἢ τε ἀνάγκη καὶ ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ ἄλλως τι ἢ ὡς συνηνέχθη συγγράψαι ἀπῆν. [3] ἔστι δὲ ἂ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλων συγγεγραμμένα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἀξιοφήγῃ τε μοι ἔδοξε καὶ οὐ πάντῃ ἄπιστα, ὡς λεγόμενα μόνον ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέγραψα. ὅστις δὲ θαυμάσεται ἀνθ' ὅτου ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε συγγραφεῦσι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦλθεν ἥδε ἡ συγγραφή, τὰ τε ἐκείνων πάντα τις ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐντυχὼν οὕτω θαυμαζέτω.

Wherever Ptolemy son of Lagus and Aristobulus son of Aristobulus have agreed in their histories of Alexander son of Philip, I record their story as quite accurate; where they disagree I have chosen what I feel to be more likely and also better worth the narrating. Others have given various accounts of Alexander, in fact there is no one over whom historians have been more numerous and less harmonious. My own view is that Ptolemy and Aristobulus are more trustworthy narrators, for Aristobulus took the field with King Alexander; Ptolemy not only did the same, but, as he was a king himself, falsehood would have been more shameful to him than to anyone else. Besides, since Alexander was dead when they both wrote their histories, there lay on them neither any constraint nor any hope of gain in writing other than plain fact. Parts, however, of the records of others, such as appeared to me worthy of narration and not wholly untrustworthy, I have included as so much tradition about Alexander. Should anyone be surprised, when there is such abundance of writers, that it should have occurred to me also to compose this history, I beg him to reserve his surprise till he has first surveyed their work and made the acquaintance of mine.

[1] λέγεται δὴ Φίλιππος μὲν τελευτήσαι ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πυθοδήλου Ἀθήνησι: παραλαβόντα δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλέξανδρον, παῖδα ὄντα Φιλίππου, ἐς Πελοπόννησον παρελθεῖν: εἶναι δὲ τότε ἅμφι τὰ εἴκοσιν ἔτη Ἀλέξανδρον. [2] ἐνταῦθα ξυναγαγόντα τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὅσοι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου ἦσαν, αἰτεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας στρατιᾶς, ἥντινα Φιλίπῳ ἤδη ἔδοσαν: καὶ αἰτήσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐκάστων πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων: Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι μὴ εἶναι σφισι πάτριον ἀκολουθεῖν ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἄλλων ἐξηγεῖσθαι. νεωτερίσαι δὲ ἅττα καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν πόλιν. [3] ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίους γε τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπλαγέντας καὶ

πλείονα ἔτι τῶν Φιλίππῳ δοθέντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰς τιμὴν συγχωρῆσαι.
 ἐπανελθόντα δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι τοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν στόλου.
 [4] ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἤρῳ ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἐς Τριβαλλοὺς καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς, ὅτι τε
 νεωτερίζειν ἐτύθετο Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς, καὶ ἅμα ὁμόρους ὄντας
 οὐκ ἐδόκει ὑπολείπεσθαι ὅτι μὴ πάντῃ ταπεινωθέντας οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς
 οἰκείας στελλόμενον. [5] ὁρμηθέντα δὴ ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς Θράκην
 τὴν τῶν αὐτονόμων καλουμένων Θρακῶν, Φιλίππους πόλιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ
 ἔχοντα καὶ τὸν Ὀρβηλον τὸ ὄρος. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Νέστον ποταμὸν λέγουσιν,
 ὅτι δεκαταῖος ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Αἴμον. [6] καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀπὴντων αὐτῷ
 κατὰ τὰ στενὰ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν τε % ἐμπόρων πολλοὶ
 ὤπλισμένοι καὶ οἱ Θραῖκες οἱ αὐτόνομοι, παρεσκευασμένοι εἵργειν τοῦ πρόσω
 κατειληφότες τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ Αἴμου τὸν στόλον, παρ' ἣν ἦν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡ
 πάροδος. [7] ξυναγαγόντες δὲ ἀμάξας καὶ προβαλλόμενοι πρὸ σφῶν ἅμα μὲν
 χάρακι ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, εἰ βιάζοντο, ἅμα
 δὲ ἐν νῷ εἶχον ἐπαφίεναί ἀνιοῦσιν ἢ ἀποτομώτατον τοῦ ὄρους ἐπὶ τὴν
 φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων τὰς ἀμάξας. γνώμην δὲ πεποίητο ὅτι ὅσω
 πυκνότερα τῇ φάλαγγι καταφερόμεναι συμμίζουσιν αἱ ἅμαξαι, τοσῶδε
 μᾶλλον τι διασκεδάσουσιν αὐτὴν βία ἐμπεσοῦσαι. [8] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ βουλὴ
 γίγνεται ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ὑπερβαλεῖ τὸ ὄρος· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐδόκει
 διακινδυνευτέα, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἄλλη τὴν πάροδον, παραγ γέλλει τοῖς ὀπίταις,
 ὅποτε καταφέροντο κατὰ τοῦ ὀρθίου αἱ ἅμαξαι, ὅσοις μὲν ὁδὸς πλατεῖα οὖσα
 παρέχοι λῦσαι τὴν τάξιν, τούτους δὲ διαχωρῆσαι, ὥς δι' αὐτῶν ἐκπεσεῖν τὰς
 ἀμάξας· [9] ὅσοι δὲ περικαταλαμβάνοντο, ξυννεύσαντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πεσόντας
 ἐς γῆν, συγκλεῖσαι ἐς ἀκριβὲς τὰς ἀσπίδας, τοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν φερομένης τὰς
 ἀμάξας καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ὑπερπηδῶσας ἀβλαβῶς ἐπελθεῖν. καὶ οὕτω
 ξυνέβη ὅπως παρήνεσέ τε Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ εἴκασεν. [10] οἱ μὲν γὰρ διέσχον τὴν
 φάλαγγα, αἱ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἐπικυλισθεῖσαι ὀλίγα ἔβλαψαν· ἀπέθανε δὲ
 οὐδεὶς ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀμάξαις. ἐνθα δὴ οἱ Μακεδόνες θαρσέσαντες, ὅτι ἀβλαβεῖς
 αὐτοῖς, ἃς μάλιστα ἐδεδίδεσαν, αἱ ἅμαξαι ἐγένοντο, σὺν βοῇ ἐς τοὺς Θραῖκας
 ἐνέβαλον. [11] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τοξότας μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως πρὸ τῆς
 ἄλλης φάλαγγος, ὅτι ταῦτ' εὐπορώτερα ἦν, ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐκτοξεύειν ἐς
 τοὺς Θραῖκας ὅπῃ προσφέροντο· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ ἄγλημα καὶ τοὺς
 ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας κατὰ τὸ εὐάνθυμον ἦγεν. [12] ἐνθα δὴ οἱ τοξόται
 βάλλοντες τοὺς προεκθέοντας τῶν Θρακῶν ἀνέστελλον· καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ
 προσμίζασα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐξέωσεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀνθρώπους ψιλοὺς καὶ κακῶς
 ὤπλισμένους βαρβάρους, ὥστε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἐπάγοντα
 οὐκέτι ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ ῥίψαντες ὥς ἐκάστοις προὔχῳ τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ τοῦ
 ὄρους ἔφυγον. [13] καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους,
 ζῶντες δὲ ἄνδρες μὲν ὀλίγοι ἐλήφθησαν δι' ὠκύτητα καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐμπειρίαν,
 γυναῖκες δὲ ὅσαι ξυνείποντο αὐτοῖς ἐάλωσαν πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ παιδιάρια καὶ ἡ
 λεῖα πᾶσα ἐάλω.

I. The death of Philip is placed in the archonship of Pythodemus at Athens; Alexander, then about twenty, succeeded, being Philip's son, and came into the Peloponnesus; so runs the story. There he gathered together the

Peloponnesian Greeks and requested from them the leadership of the Persian expedition, which they had already granted to Philip. All agreed except the Lacedaemonians, who replied that their country's custom did not permit them to follow others; it was theirs to take the lead of others. The Athenians also made some show of violence; but they collapsed at Alexander's first approach and conceded to him a position even more honourable than had been given to Philip. Alexander then returned to Macedonia and began to get ready for the Asian expedition.

In the spring he went Thracewards, to the Triballi and Illyrians, since he learned that they were restless: moreover, as they marched with his borders, he did not think well to leave them behind him, when going on an expedition so far from home, unless they were thoroughly subdued. Starting from Amphipolis, he invaded Thrace, that is, the territory of the independent Thracians, with Philippi and Mount Orbelus on his left. Then — so the historians tell us — he crossed the river Nessus and in ten days reached Mount Haemus, where there met him in the defile of the approach to the mountain many of the merchants in arms and the independent Thracians; they had occupied the height of Haemus, and were all ready to bar the progress of the expedition, which must needs pass the height. Collecting carts, and throwing them in advance, they proposed to use the carts as a stockade from which to put up a defence, if they were pressed; but it was also part of their strategy to launch the carts at the Macedonian phalanx as the troops mounted the slope just where the mountain was most sheer. Their idea was that the closer the phalanx when the descending carts charged it, the more their violent descent would scatter it.

Alexander, however, consulted how he could most safely cross the ridge; and since he saw that the risk must be run, for there was no way round, he sent orders to his men-at-arms that at whatsoever time the carts swooped down the slope upon them, those who, being on level ground, could break formation, were to part to right and left, leaving an avenue for the carts; those who should be caught in the narrows were to form close together; and some actually falling to the ground were to link their shields closely together so that the carts coming at them and (as was to be hoped) bounding over them by their gathered impetus should pass through without doing harm. And thus it happened, according to Alexander's orders and anticipation. The one lot parted their phalanx, and the carts sliding over the shields of the others did little harm; not one man perished beneath the carts. The Macedonians now took heart of grace, finding that those most dreaded chariots proved harmless, and raising their cheer charged the Thracians. Alexander sent for the archers from the right wing to the front of the other phalanx — this being the more convenient side — to shoot thence at the Thracians whenever they attacked. He himself took the shock-troops, the Foot Guards, and the Agrianes, and led them to the left, where the archers by their volleys held up any advances of the Thracians, and the phalanx had no grave difficulty, coming to close

quarters, in driving from their position the lightly clad and ill-armed highlanders; who, in fact, did not await Alexander leading on his men from the left, but casting away their arms helter-skelter fled down the mountain-side. Fifteen hundred perished; few were captured alive, by reason of their speed and their local knowledge; the women, however, who had followed them were all taken, with the children, and all their impedimenta.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν μὲν λείαν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, Λυσανία καὶ Φιλῶτα παραδοὺς διατίθεσθαι: αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ἄκρον ὑπερβαλὼν προῆι διὰ τοῦ Αἵμου ἐς Τριβαλλοὺς, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν Λύγινον ποταμόν: ἀπέχει δὲ οὗτος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστρου ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Αἶμον ἰόντι σταθμοὺς τρεῖς. [2] Σύρμος δὲ ὁ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν βασιλεὺς, ἐκ πολλοῦ πυνθανόμενος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν στόλον, γυναῖκας μὲν καὶ παῖδας τῶν Τριβαλλῶν προὔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον διαβαίνειν κελεύσας τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς νησὶν τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰστρῳ: πεύκη ὄνομα τῇ νήσῳ ἐστίν. [3] ἐς ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον καὶ οἱ Θρᾶκες οἱ πρόσχωροι τοῖς Τριβαλλοῖς προσάγοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκ πολλοῦ συμπεφευγότες ἦσαν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σύρμος ἐς ταύτην ξυμπεφεύγει ξὺν τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτόν: τὸ δὲ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν Τριβαλλῶν ἔφυγεν ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ἐνθεν περ τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὠρμήθῃ Ἀλέξανδρος. [4] ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν αὐτῶν τὴν ὁρμήν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποστρέψας τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τριβαλλοὺς ἦγεν, καὶ καταλαμβάνει καταστρατοπεδεύοντας ἤδη. καὶ οἱ μὲν καταληφθέντες πρὸς τῇ νάπῃ τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν παρετάσσοντο: Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα ἐς βάθος ἐκτάζας ἐπῆγε, τοὺς τοξότας δὲ καὶ τοὺς σφενδονήτας προεκθέοντας ἐκέλευσεν ἐκτοξεύειν τε καὶ σφενδονᾶν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, εἴ πως προκαλέσαιο αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ ψιλὰ ἐκ τοῦ νάπου. [5] οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγένοντο, παιόμενοι ἐξέθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς τοξότας, ὅπως ἐς χεῖρας ξυμμίξειαν γυμνοῖς οὔσι τοῖς τοξόταις. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς νάπης ἔξω, Φιλῶταν μὲν ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν Μακεδονίας ἱππέας προσέταξεν ἐμβάλλειν κατὰ τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, ἥπερ μάλιστα προὔκεχωρήκεσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκδρομῇ: Ἡρακλείδην δὲ καὶ Σώπολιν τοὺς ἐκ Βοττιαίας τε καὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἱππέας κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἐπάγειν ἔταξε. [6] τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος παρατείνας κατὰ μέσους ἐπῆγε. καὶ ἔστε μὲν ἀκροβολισμὸς παρ' ἐκατέρων ἦν, οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ οὐ μείον εἶχον: ὡς δὲ ἦ τε φάλαγξ πυκνὴ ἐνέβαλλεν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐρρωμένως καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς οὐκ ἀκοντισμῷ ἔτι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἵπποις ὠθοῦντες ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη προσέπιπτον, τότε δὴ ἐτράπησαν διὰ τοῦ νάπου εἰς τὸν ποταμόν. [7] καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν τρισχίλιοι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, ζῶντες δὲ ὀλίγοι καὶ τούτων ἐλήφθησαν, ὅτι ὕλη τε δασεῖα πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἦν καὶ νύξ ἐπιγενομένη τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς διώξεως ἀφείλετο τοὺς Μακεδόνας. αὐτῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων τελευτῆσαι λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ἱππέας μὲν ἑνδεκα, πεζοὺς δὲ ἄμφι τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα.

II. Alexander sent the booty to the rear, to the cities on the coast, appointing Lysanias and Philotas to deal with it; then himself crossing the ridge he marched through Haemus to the Triballians, and so arrived at the River Lyginus; as you approach Haemus, it is three days' march from the

Ister. Syrmus, King of the Triballians, learning some time before of Alexander's march, sent on the women and children to the Ister, ordering them to cross to an island in the river called Peuce. To this island the Thracians who are neighbours to the Triballians had fled on Alexander's approach, and Syrmus and his suite also; but the mass of the Triballians fled back to the river whence Alexander had started out the day before.

Hearing of their move, Alexander turned back to attack the Triballians, and found them already encamping. They, caught as they were, formed line near the glen by the river; but Alexander in person, throwing his phalanx into deep formation, led it against them, ordering the bowmen and slingers to skirmish ahead and discharge their arrows and stones upon the tribesmen, to see if he could entice them into the open from the glen. They, when in range, receiving these volleys, rushed forward upon the bowmen to come to grips with them, being unarmed as bowmen are. But Alexander having brought them out of the glen ordered Philotas to take the cavalry of upper Macedonia and charge their right wing, where they had advanced farthest in their outward rush. Heracleides and Sopolis he ordered to lead the cavalry from Bottiaea and Amphipolis against the left wing. The foot phalanx, and the remaining cavalry, which he deployed in advance of the phalanx, he led against the centre. While the battle was still at long range, the Triballians held firm, but when the phalanx in close formation charged them stoutly and the cavalry, no longer shooting, but actually thrusting them with their horses, fell on them here, there and everywhere, the enemy turned and rushed through the glen to the river. Three thousand perished in the flight, but only a few were caught alive, owing to the density of the wood which lay in front of the river, and because nightfall prevented the Macedonians from any thorough pursuit. Of the Macedonians, according to Ptolemy, eleven cavalry-men and about forty foot-soldiers perished.

[1] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης τριταῖος ἀφικνεῖται Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἰστρον, ποταμῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην μέγιστον ὄντα καὶ πλείστην γῆν ἐπερχόμενον καὶ ἔθνη μαχιμώτατα ἀπείργοντα, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ Κελτικά, ὅθεν γε καὶ αἱ πηγαὶ αὐτῷ ἀνίσχουσιν, ὧν τελευταίους Κουάδους καὶ Μαρκομάνους: [2] ἐπὶ δὲ Σαυροματῶν μοῖραν, Ἰάζυγας: ἐπὶ δὲ Γέτας τοὺς ἀπαθανατίζοντας: ἐπὶ δὲ Σαυρομάτας τοὺς πολλοὺς: ἐπὶ δὲ Σκύθας ἔστε ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολάς, ἵνα ἐκδιδῷ κατὰ πέντε στόματα εἰς τὸν Εὐξεῖνον πόντον. [3] ἐνταῦθα καταλαμβάνει αὐτῷ ἠκούσας ναῦς μακρὰς ἐκ Βυζαντίου διὰ τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξεῖνου κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν. ταύτας ἐμπλήσας τοξοτῶν τε καὶ ὀπλιτῶν τῇ νήσῳ ἐπέπλει, ἵνα οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Θράκες ξυμπεφευγότες ἦσαν, καὶ ἐπειράτο βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἀπόβασιν. [4] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, ὅπῃ αἱ νῆες προσπίπτουσιν: αἱ δὲ ὀλίγαι τε ἦσαν καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ οὐ πολλή· ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς νήσου τὰ πολλὰ ἀπότομα εἰς προσβολήν, καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ παρ' αὐτήν, οἷα δὴ εἰς στενὸν συγκεκλεισμένον, ὅξυ καὶ ἄπορον προσφέρεισθαι. [5] ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπαγαγὼν τὰς ναῦς ἔγνω διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἰστρον ἐπὶ τοὺς Γέτας τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ὥκισμένους, ὅτι

τε συνειλεγμένους ἑώρα πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἰστρου, ὡς εἵρξοντα, εἰ διαβαῖνοι, — ἦσαν γὰρ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ πλείους τῶν μυρίων — καὶ ἅμα πόθος ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἰστρου ἔλθεῖν. [6] τῶν μὲν δὴ νεῶν ἐπέβη αὐτός: τὰς δὲ διφθέρας, ὑφ' αἷς ἐσκήνουν, τῆς κάρφης πληρώσας καὶ ὅσα μονόξυλα πλοῖα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ξυναγαγόν — ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτων εὐπορία πολλή, ὅτι τούτοις χρῶνται οἱ πρόσοικοι τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐφ' ἀλειεία τε τῇ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστρου καὶ εἶποτε παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν στέλλοιντο καὶ ληστεύοντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοί — ταῦτα ὡς πλεῖστα ξυναγαγόν διεβίβαζεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς ὅσους δυνατὸν ἦν ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. καὶ γίνονται οἱ διαβάντες ἅμα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους.

III. Three days after the battle Alexander reached the Ister, the greatest river of Europe, draining the greatest tract of country and acting as a barrier to very warlike tribes, Celts for the most part — its springs rising in Celtic territory; the farthest of these peoples are the Quadi and Marcomanni; then it passes the Iazuges, a branch of the Sauromatae; the Getae, who call themselves immortals; the bulk of the Sauromatae; and the Scythians as far as the outlets; where through five mouths it runs into the Black Sea. There Alexander finds at the mouth of the river warships come to join him from Byzantium through the Black Sea. These he manned with archers and men-at-arms and sailed against the island where the Triballians and Thracians had taken refuge, and endeavoured to force a landing. The tribesmen, however, kept swooping down to the river-side wherever the ships touched land; these were few in number, and carrying only a small body of troops; the island was for the most part steep for landing; and the current past the island, as was natural in the narrows, was swift and difficult to contend with.

Thereupon Alexander withdrew his troops and decided to cross the Ister to attack the Getae who were settled on the farther side, both because he saw a large force of them gathered on the bank, to repel him, should he cross — there were about four thousand mounted men, and more than ten thousand on foot — and also because he had been seized with a desire to land on the farther side. He himself embarked in the fleet; the leather tent covers he had filled with the hay, and gathering all the available boats, cut from single trees, from the countryside (there were plenty, for the river-side dwellers use them for fishing, for up-river expeditions among themselves, and even more for thieving), he ferried across on these as much of his force as was possible. About fifteen hundred cavalry and four thousand foot-soldiers crossed with him.

[1] διέβαλον δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἧ λήιον ἦν σίτου βαθύ: καὶ ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τι ἔλαθον προσχόντες τῇ ὄχθῃ. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἔω Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ τοῦ ληίου ἦγε, παραγγείλας τοῖς πεζοῖς πλαγίαις ταῖς σαρίσσαις ἐπικλίνοντας τὸν σῖτον οὕτω προάγειν ἐς τὰ οὐκ ἐργάσιμα. οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἔστε μὲν διὰ τοῦ ληίου προῆει ἢ φάλαγξ ἐφείποντο: [2] ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐργασίμων ἐξήλασαν, τὴν μὲν ἵππον ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος παρήγαγεν, τὴν φάλαγγα δὲ ἐν πλαισίῳ

Νικάνορα ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε. [3] καὶ οἱ Γέται οὐδὲ τὴν πρώτην ἐμβολὴν τῶν ἱππέων ἐδέξαντο: παράδοξος μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τόλμα ἐφάνη τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅτι εὐμαρῶς οὕτως τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ποταμῶν διεβέβηκει ἐν μιᾷ νυκτί τὸν Ἰστρον οὐ γεφυρώσας τὸν πόρον, φοβερὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ἡ ξύγκλεισις, βιαία δὲ ἡ τῶν ἱππέων ἐμβολή. [4] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς τὴν πόλιν καταφεύγουσιν, ἡ δὴ ἀπείχεν αὐτοῖς ὅσον παρασάγγην τοῦ Ἰστροῦ: ὥς δὲ ἐπάγοντα εἶδον σπουδῇ Ἀλέξανδρον τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, ὥς μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν πῃ οἱ πεζοὶ ἐνεδρευσάντων τῶν Γετῶν, τοὺς ἱππέας δὲ κατὰ μέτωπον, λείπουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Γέται κακῶς τετειχισμένην, ἀναλαβόντες τῶν παιδαρίων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὅσα φέρειν οἱ ἵπποι ἠδύναντο: [5] ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ ὁρμὴ ὥς πορρωτάτῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς τὰ ἔρημα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν λαμβάνει καὶ τὴν λείαν πᾶσαν ὅσῃν οἱ Γέται ὑπελίποντο. καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν Μελεάγρῳ καὶ Φιλίππῳ ἐπαναγαγεῖν δίδωσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατασκάψας τὴν πόλιν θύει τε ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἰστρῷ ὅτι οὐκ ἄπορος αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπανάγει αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σώους σύμπαντας ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. [6] ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκοντο πρέσβεις ὥς Ἀλέξανδρον παρὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα αὐτόνομα ἔθνη προσοικεῖ τῷ Ἰστρῷ καὶ παρὰ Σύρμου τοῦ Τριβαλλῶν βασιλέως: καὶ παρὰ Κελτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ὥκισμένων ἦκον: μεγάλοι οἱ Κελτοὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ μέγα ἐπὶ σφίσι φρονοῦντες: πάντες δὲ φιλίας τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφιέμενοι ἦκειν ἔφασαν. [7] καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδωκε πίστεις Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἔλαβε: τοὺς Κελτοὺς δὲ καὶ ἤρετο, ὅ τι μάλιστα δεδιੱττεται αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἐλπίσας ὅτι μέγα ὄνομα τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς Κελτοὺς καὶ ἔτι προσωτέρῳ ἦκει καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων δεδιੱνεῖν φήσουσι. [8] τῷ δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδα ξυνέβη τῶν Κελτῶν ἡ ἀπόκρισις: οἷα γὰρ πόρρῳ τε ὥκισμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ χωρία δύσπορα οἰκοῦντες καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς ἄλλα τὴν ὁρμὴν ὀρῶντες ἔφασαν δεδιੱνεῖν μήποτε ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι, Ἀλέξανδρόν τε ἀγασθέντες οὔτε δέει οὔτε κατ' ὠφέλειαν πρεσβεῦσαι παρ' αὐτόν. καὶ τούτους φίλους τε ὀνομάσας καὶ ξυμμάχους ποιησάμενος ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψε, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι ἀλαζόνες Κελτοὶ εἰσιν.

IV. The crossing was made at night where there was a deep cornfield, and this concealed them the more, as they kept close to the bank. About dawn, Alexander led the troops through the field, ordering the infantry to smooth down the corn with their spears, held obliquely, and so lead the way to untilled ground. As long as the phalanx was marching through the corn the cavalry followed; but when they emerged from the tilled land, Alexander in person took off the cavalry to the right wing, ordering Nicanor to lead off the phalanx in oblong formation. (On open ground the various units formed squares, and the whole phalanx, moved *κατὰ κέρας*, in rectangular shape, broader than it was deep.) The Getae did not sustain even the first charge of the cavalry; for Alexander's bold stroke came as a great shock to them, in that he so easily crossed the Ister, greatest of rivers, in one night without so much as bridging the stream; the solidity of the phalanx was terrifying, and the onslaught of the cavalry violent. First the enemy took refuge in the city, about

a parasang away from the Ister; then, seeing Alexander bring up his phalanx along the river, that the infantry might not be caught by any ambush of the Getae, with the cavalry on the front, the enemy deserted in turn their city, which was feebly fortified, taking up on their cruppers as many of the women and children as the horses could carry; and then marched as far as possible away from the river towards the desert. Alexander captured the city and whatever plunder the Getae had left behind. This plunder he ordered Meleager and Philip to take to the base; he razed the city and sacrificed on the bank of the Ister to Zeus the Preserver and Heracles and Ister himself, for permitting the passage. Then in daylight he took all his force safe and sound back to the camp.

At this juncture came commissioners to Alexander from the other self-governing tribes along the Ister and from Syrmus, King of the Triballi; others from the Celts settled on the Ionian gulf. The Celts were tall and haughty; but all professed desire for Alexander's friendship, and he gave to all, and received from all, proper assurances. Of the Celts he enquired what, of mortal things, they most dreaded, hoping that his own great name had reached as far as the Celts and farther, and that they would confess that they dreaded him beyond all else. Their answer, however, proved unexpected to him, for, living as they did in difficult country far from Alexander, and seeing that his invasion was really directed elsewhere, they said that their greatest dread was lest the sky should fall upon them. He declared them his friends, made alliance, and sent them home, casually remarking, "What braggarts these Celts are!"

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπ' Ἀγριάνων καὶ Παιόνων προὐχώρει. ἔνθα δὴ ἄγγελοι ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ Κλεῖτον τε τὸν Βαρδύλεω ἀφεστάναι ἀγγέλλοντες καὶ Γλαυκίαν προσκεχωρηκέναι αὐτῷ τὸν Ταυλαντίων βασιλέα: οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Αὐταριάτας ἐπιθήσεσθαι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐξήγγελλον: ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐδόκει ἀναζευγνύναι. [2] Λάγγαρος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀγριάνων βασιλεὺς ἦδη μὲν καὶ Φιλίππου ζῶντος ἀσπαζόμενος Ἀλέξανδρον δηλὸς ἦν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐπρέσβευσε παρ' αὐτόν, τότε δὲ παρῆν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, ὅσους τε καλλίστους καὶ εὐοπλοτάτους ἀμφ' αὐτόν εἶχε: [3] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Αὐταριατῶν πυνθανόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον, οἵτινές τε καὶ ὀπόσοι εἶεν, οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι ἐν λόγῳ τίθεσθαι Αὐταριάτας: εἶναι γὰρ ἀπολεμωτάτους τῶν ταύτη: καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀμφὶ τὰ σφέτερα μᾶλλον τι ἔχοιεν. καὶ κελεύσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἤγε καὶ ἔφερε τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. Αὐταριᾶται μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ τὰ αὐτῶν εἶχον: [4] Λάγγαρος δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐτιμήθη μεγάλως πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ δῶρα ἔλαβεν, ὅσα μέγιστα παρὰ βασιλεῖ τῷ Μακεδόνων νομίζεται: καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου Κύναν καὶ ταύτην ὠμολόγησε δώσειν αὐτῷ ἐς Πέλλαν ἀφικομένῳ Ἀλέξανδρος. [5] ἀλλὰ Λάγγαρος μὲν ἐπανελθὼν οἶκαδε νόσφ' ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἐριγόνα ποταμὸν πορευόμενος ἐς Πέλλιον πόλιν ἐστέλλετο. ταύτην γὰρ κατειλήφει ὁ Κλεῖτος ὡς ἐχυρωτάτην τῆς χώρας: καὶ πρὸ ταύτην ὡς ἤκεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καταστρατοπεδεύσας πρὸς

τῷ Ἑορδαϊκῷ ποταμῷ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐγνώκει προσβάλλειν τῷ τείχει. [6] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κλεῖτον τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως ὄρη ὑπερδὲξιά τε ὄντα καὶ δασέα κατεῖχον ὥς πάντοθεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Μακεδόσιν εἰ τῇ πόλει προσβάλλοιεν: Γλαυκίας δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Ταυλαντίων βασιλεὺς οὐπω παρῆν. [7] Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει προσῆγεν: οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι σφαγιασάμενοι παῖδας τρεῖς καὶ κόρας ἴσας τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ κριοὺς μέλανας τρεῖς, ὥρμητο μὲν ὥς δεξόμενοι ἐς χεῖρας τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὁμοῦ δὲ γενομένων ἐξέλιπον καίτοι καρτερὰ ὄντα τὰ κατελιμμένα πρὸς σφῶν χωρία, ὥστε καὶ τὰ σφάγια αὐτῶν κατελήφθη ἔτι κείμενα. [8] ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ δὴ ἡμέρᾳ κατακλείσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐγνώκει περιτειχισμῷ ἀποκλεῖσαι αὐτούς: τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ παρῆν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως Γλαυκίας ὁ τῶν Ταυλαντίων βασιλεὺς. ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀπέγνω εἶναι ἂν ζὺν τῇ παρουσίᾳ δυνάμει, πολλῶν μὲν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ μαχίμων ξυμπεφευγόντων, πολλῶν δὲ ἅμα τῷ Γλαυκίᾳ προσκεισομένων, εἰ αὐτὸς τῷ τείχει προσμάχοιτο. [9] Φιλώταν δὲ ἀναλαβόντα τῶν ἰππέων ὅσους ἐς προφυλακὴν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια τὰ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐς ἐπισιτισμὸν ἔπεμπε. καὶ ὁ Γλαυκίας μαθὼν τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ἀμφὶ Φιλώταν ἐξελαύνει ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὰ κύκλῳ ὄρη τοῦ πεδίου, ὅθεν οἱ ζὺν Φιλώτᾳ ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι ἔμελλον. [10] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπηγγέλθη αὐτῷ, ὅτι κινδυνεύουσιν οἱ τε ἰππεῖς καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἰ νῦν αὐτοὺς καταλήψεται, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ ἰππέας ἐς τετρακοσίους ἐβοήθει σπουδῇ: τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα πρὸς τῇ πόλει ἀπέλιπεν, ὥς μὴ ἀποχωρήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδραμόντες τοῖς ἀμφὶ Γλαυκίαν συμμίξειαν. [11] ἔνθα δὴ Γλαυκίας προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον αἰσθόμενος ἐκλείπει τὰ ὄρη: οἱ δὲ ζὺν Φιλώτᾳ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διεσώθησαν. ἐδόκουν δ' ἔτι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ ἀπειληφέναι οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κλεῖτον καὶ Γλαυκίαν: [12] τά τε γὰρ ὄρη τὰ ὑπερδὲξια κατεῖχον πολλοῖς μὲν ἰππεῦσι, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ σφενδονήταις καὶ ὀπλίταις δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγοις, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει κατελιμμένοι προσκείσεσθαι ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἤμελλον: τά τε χωρία δι' ὧν ἡ πάροδος ἦν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στενὰ καὶ ὑλώδη ἐφαίνετο, τῇ μὲν πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπειργόμενα, τῇ δὲ ὁρος ὑπερύψηλον ἦν καὶ κρημνοὶ πρὸς τοῦ ὄρους, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ἀσπίδων ἂν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡ πάροδος ἐγένετο. ἔνθα δὴ ἐκτάσσει τὸν στρατὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἕως

V. He then went towards the Agrianes and the Paeones. There a message reached him that Cleitus son of Bardylis was in revolt, and that Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, had joined him. The messengers also told him that the Autariates were going to attack him on his march. For these reasons it was thought well to move off as soon as possible. Langaros, king of the Agrianes, was known to have shown regard for Alexander even in Philip's lifetime; he had also been on an embassy to him personally; on the present occasion he was in attendance on Alexander with his bodyguard, the finest and best-armed troops he had; and when he learnt that Alexander was enquiring who and in what numbers these Autariates were, he told Alexander that he need not trouble about them, they were the least warlike of the tribesmen in those parts;

he would himself invade their country, so that they might rather be occupied with their own affairs. Alexander agreed, and he invaded them, devastating their country.

Thus the Autariates were busy with their own matters, Langaros receiving high honour from Alexander, and also what were considered at the court of Macedon the highest gifts. Alexander besides promised to wed his sister Cyna to him, when he came to Pella.

Langaros, however, after reaching home, sickened and died. Alexander, marching along the river Erigon, made for Pelium; this city Cleitus had taken, as being the strongest in the country. When Alexander reached it, he camped by the river Eordaicus and decided to assault next day. Cleitus' forces, however, held the heights surrounding the city, which were commanding and also thickly wooded, so that they could attack the Macedonians, if they made the assault, from all sides, Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, not yet being present. Alexander proceeded to the assault; on which the enemy sacrificed three boys and three girls and three black rams, and then made a rush to intercept the Macedonian right wing; but when the Greeks drew near, they deserted the strong positions they had occupied, and the newly sacrificed victims were found still lying there.

On this day Alexander shut them up in their city and camped by the wall, intending to hem them in by a circumvallation; but next day Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, appeared with a large force. Thereupon Alexander gave up the idea of taking the city with such forces as he had; a good many bold warriors had ensconced themselves therein, and Glaucias' strong force would fall upon him, should he assault the wall. He sent Philotas, therefore, with so many horsemen as he needed as a screen, and all the baggage animals from the camp, to forage. Glaucias getting wind of this move of Philotas swooped down on his troops, and captured the heights which encircled the plain whence Philotas' troops proposed to obtain their forage. Alexander, however, when it was reported to him that both the cavalry and the baggage animals were in grave danger, should night overtake them, took his bodyguard and archers and the Agrianes and four hundred horsemen and made at full speed to the rescue; the rest of the army he left near the city lest — if the whole force had withdrawn — the enemy in the city might have sallied out and joined forces with Glaucias. Glaucias, on seeing Alexander's approach, deserted the heights, and Philotas and his convoy got safe back to the camp. Even so Cleitus and Glaucias with their troops appeared to have caught Alexander in a disadvantageous position; for they held the commanding heights with a good many horsemen, javelin-men, and slingers, and a fair number of men-at-arms, and the city forces were ready to attack Alexander as he drew off, while the ground through which Alexander must pass seemed narrow and marshy, bounded on the one side by the river, and on the other side was a lofty mountain and hillcrests towards the mountain, so that the army could only pass through four abreast.

[1] ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος. ἐπὶ τὸ κέρασ δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν διακοσίους ἰππείας ἐπιτάξας παρήγγελλε σιγῇ ἔχειν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ὁξέως δεχομένους. [2] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐσήμηνεν ὀρθὰ ἀνατείνειν τὰ δόρατα τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἔπειτα ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος ἀποτείνει ἐς προβολήν, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τὸ δεξιὸν ἐγκλίνει τῶν δοράτων τὴν σύγκλεισιν, αὐθις δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά. καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐς τε τὸ πρόσω ὁξέως ἐκίνησε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα ἄλλοτε ἄλλη παρήγαγε. [3] καὶ οὕτω πολλὰς τάξεις τάξας τε καὶ μετακοσμήσας ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον οἷον ἔμβολον ποιήσας τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ πάλοι μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τὴν τε ὁξύτητα ὀρώντες καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν δρωμένων· τότε δὲ προσάγοντας ἤδη τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λείπουσιν τοὺς πρώτους λόφους. [4] ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐπαλαλάξαι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τοῖς δόρασι δουπῆσαι πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας· οἱ δὲ Ταυλάντιοι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπλαγέντες πρὸς τῆς βοῆς ὡς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανήγαγον σπουδῇ τὸν στρατόν. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ λόφον τινὰς κατέχοντας ἰδὼν οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων, παρ' ὃν αὐτῷ ἡ πάροδος ἐγίνετο, παρήγγειλε τοῖς σωματοφύλαξι καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐταίροις, ἀναλαβόντας τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸν γήλοφον· ἐκεῖσε δὲ ἐλθόντας, εἰ ὑπομένοιν οἱ κατειληφότες τὸ χωρίον, τοὺς ἡμίσεας καταπηδῆσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἀναμιχθέντας τοῖς ἵππευσι πεζοὺς μάχεσθαι. [6] οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι τὴν ὁρμὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἰδόντες λείπουσιν τὸν γήλοφον καὶ παρεκκλίνουσιν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῶν ὁρῶν. ἔνθα δὲ καταλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν γήλοφον σὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις τοὺς τε Ἀγριᾶνας μεταπέμπεται καὶ τοὺς τοξότας, ὄντας ἐς δισχιλίους· τοὺς δὲ ὑπασπιστὰς διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς τάξεις τῶν Μακεδόνων· ὅποτε δὲ διαβάντες τύχοιεν, ἐπ' ἀσπίδα ἐκτάσσεσθαι, ὡς πυκνὴν εὐθὺς διαβάντων φαίνεσθαι τὴν φάλαγγα· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν προφυλακῇ ὦν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου ἀφεώρα τῶν πολεμίων τὴν τὴν ὁρμὴν. [7] οἱ δέ, ὀρῶντες διαβαίνουσιν τὴν δύναμιν, κατὰ τὰ ὄρη ἀντεπῆσαν, ὡς τοῖς μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπιθησόμενοι τελευταίοις ἀποχωροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ πελαζόντων ἤδη αὐτὸς ἐκθεῖ σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν, καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὡς διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιούσα, ἐπηλάλαξεν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι πάντων ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλαυνόντων ἐγκλίναντες ἔφευγον· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπῆγεν Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς τε Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας δρόμῳ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν αὐτὸς φθάσας διαβαίνει· [8] τοῖς τελευταίοις δὲ ὡς εἶδεν ἐπικειμένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιστήσας ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξακοντίζειν ὡς πορρωτάτω ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ὅσα ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βέλη ἐξακοντίζεται, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας δὲ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκτοξεύειν, ἐπεσβάντας καὶ τούτους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Γλαυκίαν εἰσω βέλους παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπέρασαν τὸν ποταμόν, ὥστε οὐδεὶς ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει αὐτῶν. [9] τρίτῃ δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ καταμαθὼν Ἀλέξανδρος κακῶς αὐλιζομένους τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κλεῖτον καὶ Γλαυκίαν, καὶ οὔτε φυλακὰς ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτοῖς φυλαττομένας οὔτε χάρακα ἢ τάφρον προβεβλημένους, οἷα δὲ ξὺν φόβῳ ἀπηλλάχθαι οἰομένων Ἀλεξάνδρον, ἐς μῆκος τε οὐκ ὠφέλιμον ἀποτετα[γ]μένην αὐτοῖς τὴν τάξιν, ὑπὸ νύκτα ἔτι λαθὼν διαβαίνει τὸν ποταμόν, τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἅμα οἱ ἄγων καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς

τοξότας καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου καὶ Κοίνου τάξιν. [10] καὶ προστέτακτο μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν: ὥς δὲ καιρὸν εἶδεν εἰς ἐπίθεσιν, οὐ προσμείνας ὁμοῦ γενέσθαι πάντας ἐφῆκε τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας: οἱ δὲ ἀπροσδόκητοί τε ἐπιπεσόντες καὶ φάλαγγι κατὰ κέρας, ἥπερ ἀσθενεστάτοις αὐτοῖς καρτερωτάτῃ τῇ ἐμβολῇ προσμίζειν ἔμελλον, τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς κατέκτεινον, τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας εὐμαρῶς αἰροῦντες, ὥστε πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐγκατελήφθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει ἀτάκτως καὶ φοβερᾷ γενομένη: οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἐλήφθησαν. [11] ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ δίωξις τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μέχρι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη τῶν Ταυλαντίων: ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἀπέφυγον αὐτῶν, γυμνοὶ τῶν ὅπλων διεσώθησαν. Κλεῖτος δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὸ πρῶτον καταφυγὼν ἐμπρήσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπηλλάγη παρὰ Γλαυκίαν ἐς Ταυλαντίους.

VI. Alexander under the circumstances extended the front of his phalanx so as to give a depth of 120 files. On either wing he posted 200 horsemen, bidding them keep silent; a command they obeyed smartly; the men-at-arms he ordered first to raise their spears upright, and then, on the word, to lower them for a charge, inclining first to the right their serried points, then to the left; the phalanx itself he moved smartly forward, and then wheeled it here and there on either wing. Thus he displayed and manoeuvred various formations in a brief time, and then making a spearhead from his phalanx on the left he led it to the attack. The enemy, already bewildered both at the smartness and the discipline of these manoeuvres, did not await the approach of the Greeks, but deserted the first row of hills. Alexander bade the Macedonians raise their cheer and clang their spears upon their shields; and the Taulantians, even more astounded at the noise, hastily withdrew to the city.

Alexander saw some few of the enemy holding one of the hills, by which his passage lay, and ordered his bodyguards and his squires to take their shields, mount, and charge the hill; on reaching it, supposing those who held it should stand their ground, half were to dismount and, mingling with the cavalry, fight on foot. The enemy, observing this dash of Alexander's, deserted the hill and inclined towards either of the mountains. Alexander then captured the hill with his squires, sent for the Agrianes and the archers, to the number of two thousand; the guards he ordered to cross the river, and, following them, the columns of the Macedonian troops. As soon as they should be across they were to extend to the left, (Literally, shield-wards, that is, to the left hand, as "spear-wards" was to the right hand.) so that the phalanx might appear solid the moment they had crossed. He, with the advance guard, kept an eye from the hill on the enemy's movement. They, seeing the force crossing, charged down the hill with the idea of attacking Alexander's bodyguard as they withdrew last. He, as they now approached, makes a sally with his troops, and the phalanx coming to the attack through the river raised its battle-cry; under this combined onslaught they broke and fled, whereupon Alexander brought up the Agrianes and the archers at the

double in the direction of the river. He himself got over first, but seeing the enemy pressing on the hindmost, he set up his engines on the bank and ordered every kind of missile to be discharged from them at utmost range; what is more, he commanded the archers, in mid-river, to shoot volleys thence, they too having breasted the stream. Glaucias' troops did not venture within range; the Macedonians meanwhile crossed the river safely and lost not a man in the withdrawal.

Three days later Alexander learned that Cleitus and Glaucias' troops were carelessly bivouacked, no sentries set in due order, no palisade, no trench — for they thought that Alexander had retreated in panic — and their line unduly elongated; he crossed the river under cover of night with the guards, the Agrianes, the archers, and the troops of Perdiccas and Coenus. He had left orders for the rest of the army to follow, but seeing the time opportune for attack, he did not await the concentration, but sent on all the archers and the Agrianes; they made a surprise attack, and in column, a formation in which they were likely to make the strongest onslaught on the enemy just where he was weakest; they slew several as they slept, easily seized the fugitives, so that many were caught and killed there and then, and many also in their panic-stricken and headlong flight; a good number were taken alive. Alexander's company pursued to the mountains of the Taulantians; those who did escape, only escaped by jettison of their arms. Cleitus, who at first took to the city, set fire to it and fled to Glaucias among the Taulantians.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν φυγάδων τινὲς τῶν ἐκ Θηβῶν φευγόντων παρελθόντες νύκτωρ ἐς τὰς Θήβας, ἐπαγαγομένων τινῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Ἀμύνταν μὲν καὶ Τιμόλαον τῶν τὴν Καδμείαν ἔχόντων οὐδὲν ὑποτοπῆσαντας πολέμιον ἔξω τῆς Καδμείας ἀπέκτειναν ζυλλαβόντες· [2] ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρελθόντες ἐπῆραν τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐλευθερίαν τε προῖσχύμενοι, παλαιὰ καὶ καλὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἤδη ποτὲ ἀπαλλαγῆναι. πιθανώτεροι δὲ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐφαίνοντο τεθνηκέναι Ἀλέξανδρον ἰσχυρίζόμενοι ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς· [3] καὶ γὰρ καὶ πολὺς ὁ λόγος οὗτος καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν ἐφοῖτα, ὅτι τε χρόνον ἀπὴν οὐκ ὀλίγον καὶ ὅτι οὐδεμία ἀγγελία παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀφῆκτο, ὥστε, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὰ ὄντα τὰ μάλιστα καθ' ἡδονὴν σφισιν εἰκάζον. [4] πυθομένῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων οὐδαμῶς ἐδόκει ἀμελητέα εἶναι, τὴν τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν δι' ὑποψίας ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοντι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ τόλμημα οὐ φαῦλον ποιούμενῳ, εἰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε πάλαι ἤδη ταῖς γνώμαις ἀφεστηκότες καὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ Αἰτωλοῖ οὐ βέβαιοι ὄντες συνεπιλήγονται τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ τοῖς Θηβαίοις. [5] ἄγων δὴ παρὰ τὴν Ἑορδαίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἐλιμιῶτιν καὶ παρὰ τὰ τῆς Στυμφαίας καὶ Παραναίας ἄκρα ἐβδομαῖος ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Πέλιναν τῆς Θετταλίας. ἐνθεν δὲ ὁρμηθεὶς ἕκτη ἡμέρᾳ ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ὥστε οὐ πρόσθεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἔμαθον εἰσω Πυλῶν παρεληλυθότα αὐτὸν πρὶν ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ γενέσθαι ζῶν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ. [6] καὶ τότε δὲ οἱ πράξαντες τὴν ἀπόστασιν στράτευμα ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀντιπάτρου ἀφίχθαι ἔφασκον, αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τεθνάναι

ισχυρίζοντο, καὶ τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οὗτος αὐτὸς προσάγει Ἀλέξανδρος χαλεπῶς εἶχον: ἄλλον γάρ τινα ἦκειν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀερόπου. [7] ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξ Ὀγχηστοῦ ἄρας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσῆγε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Ιολαοῦ τέμενος: οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ἐνδιδούς ἔτι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τριβὴν, εἰ μεταγνόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς κακῶς ἐγνωσμένοις πρεσβεύσαιντο παρ' αὐτόν. [8] οἱ δὲ τοσοῦτου ἐδέησαν ἐνδόσιμόν τι παρασχεῖν ἐς ξύμβασιν, ὥστε ἐκθέοντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ τε ἵππεῖς καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ στρατοπέδον ἡκροβολίζοντο ἐς τὰς προφυλακάς, καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων. [9] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκπέμπει τῶν ψιλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀναστεῖλαι τὴν ἐκδρομὴν: καὶ οὗτοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνέστειλαν ἤδη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτῷ προσφερομένους. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν καὶ περιελθὼν κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς φερούσας ἐπ' Ἐλευθεράς τε καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐδὲ τότε προσέμιξε τοῖς τείχεσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐστρατοπέδευσεν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων τῆς Καδμείας, ὥστε ἐγγὺς εἶναι ὠφέλειαν τῶν Μακεδόνων τοῖς τὴν Καδμείαν ἔχουσιν. [10] οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι τὴν Καδμείαν διπλῷ χάρακι ἐφρούρουσαν ἀποτευχίσαντες, ὥς μήτε ἔξωθεν τινα τοῖς ἐγκατελιγμένοις δύνασθαι ἐπωφελεῖν, μήτε αὐτοὺς ἐκθέοντας βλάπτειν τι σφᾶς, ὁπότε τοῖς ἔξω πολεμίοις προσφέροντο. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ — ἔτι γὰρ τοῖς Θηβαίοις διὰ φιλίας ἐλθεῖν μᾶλλον τι ἢ διὰ κινδύνου ἤθελε — διέτριβε πρὸς τῇ Καδμείᾳ κατεστρατοπεδευκώς. [11] ἔνθα δὴ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν τὰ βέλτιστα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν γινώσκοντες ἐξελθεῖν ὥρμητο παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ εὐρέσθαι συγγνώμην τῷ πλήθει τῶν Θηβαίων τῆς ἀποστάσεως: οἱ φυγάδες δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς φυγάδας ἐπικεκλημένοι ἦσαν, οὐδενὸς φιланθρώπου τυχεῖν ἂν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀξιούντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ βοιωταρχοῦντες ἔστιν οἱ αὐτῶν, παντάπασιν ἐνήγον τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὐδ' ὥς τῇ πόλει προσέβαλλεν.

VII. Meanwhile some of the fugitives from Thebes slipped into Thebes by night — certain persons inviting them with a view to a rising — seized from the city Amyntas and Timolaus from among the force occupying the Cadmeia (having no suspicion of hostile movement outside) and slew them. Then appearing in the Assembly they incited the Thebans to rebel against Alexander, holding out the lures of freedom [and liberty of speech] — time-honoured and attractive titles — and the shaking off — at long last — of Macedon's heavy yoke. They won additional adherence from the populace by stoutly affirming that Alexander had died in Illyria: this was common talk, and from various sources; he had been long away and no word had come from him, so that, in ignorance of hard fact, they conjectured (as so often happens) what they most desired.

Alexander hearing of what occurred at Thebes took things seriously; for he had long had his suspicions about Athens, and was much concerned about the Theban attempt, should the infection of revolt spread to the Lacedaemonians (already rebels at heart) and other Peloponnesians, to say nothing of the Aetolians, themselves also unreliable. He marches, therefore, along Eordaea and Elimiotis, past the heights of Stymphaea and Paravaea, and on the seventh

day reaches Pelinna in Thessaly. Thence in six days he entered Boeotia, so that the Thebans did not learn of his passage of the Gates until his arrival, with all his force, at Onchestus. Thereupon those who had brought about the revolt said that a force of Antipater had come from Macedon, and confidently affirmed Alexander's death, getting annoyed at any who reported Alexander's actual presence at the head of his men: it was, said they, another Alexander, son of Aeropus.

Alexander leaving Onchestus next day reached Thebes, near the enclosure of Iolaus; there he encamped, giving the Thebans a period of grace, in case they should repent and send an embassy to him. They were far from showing any humility that might lead to an agreement; nay, the horsemen and several light troops sallied out towards the camp and discharged long-range volleys at the outposts, even killing a few of the Macedonians. Alexander sent out some of his light troops and archers to hold up their sally; they easily checked the Thebans, who by now were actually approaching the camp. Next day Alexander moved his whole force and came round to the gates leading to Eleutherae and Attica, and yet even then did not assault the walls, but pitched camp not far from the Cadmeia, so that support was close at hand for the Macedonians who held the Cadmeia. For the Thebans were investing the Cadmeia, having built a double stockade, so that no one from without could help those invested within, nor they sally out and harm the Thebans when in touch with their enemies without. But Alexander — for he still hoped to be friend, not foe, to Thebes — waited, encamped near the citadel. Then the more public-spirited citizens of Thebes were anxious to go forth to Alexander and win pardon for the Theban people as a whole for their revolt; but the exiles and those who had called them in would not condescend to receive any kindness from Alexander, especially as some of them were officers of the Confederacy of Boeotia; they therefore sought in all ways to urge their countrymen to war. Yet even so Alexander did not attack.

[1] ἀλλὰ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ὅτι Περδίκκας, προτεταγμένος τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου σὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τάξει καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν πολεμίων οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκώς, οὐ προσμείνας παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ ἐς τὴν μάχην ζύνθημα αὐτὸς πρῶτος προσέμειξε τῷ χάρακι καὶ διασπάσας αὐτὸν ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τῶν Θηβαίων τὴν προφυλακὴν. [2] τούτῳ δὲ ἐπόμενος Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀνδρομένους, ὅτι καὶ καὶ ξυντεταγμένος τῷ Περδίκκᾳ ἦν, ἐπήγαγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν, ὥς εἶδε τὸν Περδίκκαν προεληλυθότα εἰσὼ τοῦ χάρακος. ταῦτα δὲ ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὥς μὴ μόνοι ἀποληφθέντες πρὸς τῶν Θηβαίων κινδυνεύσειαν, ἐπήγε τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν. [3] καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας ἐκδραμεῖν ἐσήμηνεν εἰσὼ τοῦ χάρακος, τὸ δὲ ἄγημά τε καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς ἔτι ἔξω κατεῖχεν. ἔνθα δὲ Περδίκκας [μὲν] τοῦ δευτέρου χάρακος εἰσὼ παρελθεῖν βιαζόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν βληθεὶς πίπτει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποκομίζεται κακῶς ἔχων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ χαλεπῶς διεσώθη ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος: τοὺς μέντοι Θηβαίους ἐς τὴν κοίλην ὁδὸν τὴν κατὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον φέρουσιν οἱ ἅμα αὐτῷ εἰσπεσόντες ὁμοῦ τοῖς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοξόταις συνέκλεισαν.

[4] καὶ ἔστε μὲν πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἀναχωροῦσιν εἰποντο τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπιστρεψάντων αὐθις σὺν βοῇ τῶν Θηβαίων φυγὴ τῶν Μακεδόνων γίγνεται· καὶ Εὐρυβώτας τε ὁ Κρῆς πίπτει ὁ τοξάρχης καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατέφυγον πρὸς τὸ ἄγλημα τὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς τοὺς βασιλικούς. [5] κὰν τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ φεύγοντας κατιδὼν, τοὺς Θηβαίους δὲ λευκώτας ἐν τῇ διώξει τὴν τάξιν, ἐμβάλλει ἐς αὐτοὺς συντεταγμένη τῇ φάλαγγι· οἱ δὲ ὠθοῦσι τοὺς Θηβαίους εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν· καὶ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐς τοσόνδε ἡ φυγὴ φοβερὰ ἐγίνετο, ὥστε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ὠθοόμενοι ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔφθισαν συγκλείσαι τὰς πύλας. ἀλλὰ συνεσπίπτουσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἴσω τοῦ τείχους ὅσοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐγγὺς φευγόντων εἶχοντο, ἅτε καὶ τῶν τειχῶν διὰ προφυλακὰς τὰς πολλὰς ἐρήμων ὄντων. [6] καὶ παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν Καδμείαν οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον σὺν τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν Καδμείαν ἐξέβαινον ἐς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ τεῖχη, ἐχόμενα ἤδη πρὸς τῶν συνεισπεσόντων τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὑπερβάντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο. [7] καὶ ὀλίγον μὲν τινα χρόνον ἔμειναν οἱ τεταγμένοι τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον· ὥς δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἐπιφαινόμενος προσέκειντο, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τῶν Θηβαίων διεκπεσόντες διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐξέπιπτον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ ὥς ἐκάστοις προὐχώρει ἐσώζοντο. [8] ἔνθα δὴ ὀργῇ οὐχ οὕτως τι οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς τε καὶ Πλαταιεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Βοιωτοὶ οὐδὲ ἀμυνομένους τοὺς Θηβαίους ἔτι οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔκτεινον, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπεισπίπτοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐς ἀλκὴν τετραμμένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἰκετεύοντας, οὔτε γυναικῶν οὔτε παιδῶν φειδόμενοι.

VIII. Ptolemy son of Lagus, however, says that Perdiccas, who was officer in charge of the camp guard with his own detachment and lay not far from the enemy palisade, did not await Alexander's signal for battle, but himself first attacked the palisade and tearing it asunder broke in upon the Theban advance guard. Amyntas son of Andromenes followed, being brigaded with Perdiccas, and led on his detachment so soon as he saw Perdiccas advanced within the palisade. Then Alexander, seeing this, so that they might not be stranded and so at the mercy of the Thebans, brought up the rest of the army. The archers and the Agrianes he ordered to make a diversion inside the palisade; but he still retained his shock troops and his guard outside. Then Perdiccas, trying to force his way into the second palisade, was wounded and lay where he fell; he was borne off, in sorry plight, to the camp and only with difficulty was healed of his wound. His men, joining Alexander's archers, hemmed the Thebans in the sunken road leading down by the Heracleum; while the Thebans retreated towards the Heracleum, the Macedonians followed; but then the Thebans turned to bay with a shout, and the Macedonians to flight. There fell Eurybotas the Cretan, commander of the archers, and about seventy of his men; the rest took refuge with the Macedonian picked troops, and with the royal guards. In the meanwhile Alexander, seeing his troops fugitives, and the Thebans in loosened order in the pursuit, charged them with phalanx in battle

formation. The Thebans were pushed inside the gates, their flight became so far a panic that while being thrust through the gates into the city they could not shut the gates in time. So there actually passed in with them within the wall such of the Macedonians as were pressing on the fugitives; the walls being now undefended on account of the large number of advanced posts. Those from this side passed into the Cadmeia along the Amphium, with the holders of the Cadmeia, and passed into the city proper; those by the walls, already held by the troops that had poured in together with the fugitives, passed over the walls and rushed to the marketplace. For a while the Theban armed forces stood their ground by the Amphium, but as the Macedonians pressed upon them from all sides, and Alexander appeared, now here, now there, the Theban cavalry, pushing their way through the city, streamed out upon the plain; with the infantry it was *saue qui peut*. And then, in hot blood, it was not so much the Macedonians as Phocians and Plataeans and the other Boeotians who slaughtered broadcast the unresisting Thebans; some in their houses, breaking a way into them; some showing fight; others even suppliant in the temples — and sparing neither woman nor child.

[1] καὶ πάθος τοῦτο Ἑλληνικὸν μεγέθει τε τῆς ἀλούσης πόλεως καὶ ὀξύτητι τοὺς παθόντας καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας, οὐ μείον τι τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς μετασχόντας τοῦ ἔργου ἐξέπληξε. [2] τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀθηναίοις ξυνενεχθέντα, εἰ καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἀπολομένων οὐ μείονα τὴν ξυμφορὰν τῇ πόλει ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πόρρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας διαφθορῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατόν, καὶ τὸν πολὺν ξυμμαχικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκεῖον ὄντα, καὶ τῷ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς περιλειφθῆναι, ὥς καὶ ἐς ὕστερον ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀντισχεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καὶ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ πολεμοῦντας, οὔτε αὐτοῖς τοῖς παθοῦσιν ἴσην τὴν αἴσθησιν τῆς ξυμφορᾶς προσέθηκεν, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει ἔκπληξιν ὁμοίαν παρέσχε. [3] καὶ τὸ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς αὐθις Ἀθηναίων πταῖσμα ναυτικόν τε ἦν καὶ ἡ πόλις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν καθαιρέσει καὶ νεῶν τῶν πολλῶν παραδόσει καὶ στερήσει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς ταπεινότητα ἀφικομένη τό τε σχῆμα τὸ πάτριον ὅμως ἐφύλαξε καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τὴν πάλαι ἀνέλαβεν, ὥς τὰ τε μακρὰ τεῖχη ἐκτειχίσαι καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐθις ἐπικρατῆσαι καὶ, τοὺς τότε φοβεροὺς σφισι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθόντας ἀφανίσαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνων διασώσασθαι. [4] Λακεδαιμονίων τε αὖ τὸ κατὰ Λεῦκτρα καὶ ξυμφορᾶς ἢ τῷ πλήθει τῶν [τε] ἀπολομένων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξέπληξεν: ἢ τε ζὺν Ἑπαμεινώνδῃ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Ἀρκάδων γενομένη προσβολή πρὸς τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ αὐτὴ τῷ ἀήθει τῆς ὄψεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ τοῦ κινδύνου αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμετασχόντας αὐτοῖς τῶν τότε πραγμάτων ἐφόβησεν. [5] ἡ δὲ δὴ Πλαταιῶν ἄλωσις τῆς πόλεως τῇ σμικρότητι ... τῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντων, ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν διαπεφεύγεσαν πάλαι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, οὐ μέγα πάθημα ἐγένετο. καὶ ἡ Μήλου καὶ Σκιώνης ἄλωσις, νησιωτικά τι προσέβαλεν ἢ ἐς τὸ ζῦμπαν Ἑλληνικὸν μέγαν τὸν παράλογον παρέσχε. [6] Θηβαίοις δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ὀξέα καὶ ζὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ γενόμενα, καὶ ἡ

ἄλωσις δι' ὀλίγου τε καὶ οὐ ξὺν πόνῳ τῶν ἐλόντων ξυνενεχθεῖσα, καὶ ὁ φόνος ὁ πολὺς, οἷα δὴ ἐξ ὁμοφύλων τε καὶ παλαιᾶς ἀπεχθείας ἐπεξίοντων, καὶ ὁ τῆς πόλεως παντελὴς ἀνδραποδισμός, δυνάμει τε καὶ δόξῃ ἐς τὰ πολέμια τῶν τότε προεχούσης ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἐς μῆνιν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ἀνηνέχθη, [7] ὥς τῆς τε ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ προδοσίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ μακροῦ ταύτην δίκην ἐκτίσαντας Θηβαίους, καὶ τῆς Πλαταιῶν ἐν τε ταῖς σπονδαῖς καταλήψεως καὶ τοῦ παντελοῦς ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῆς τῶν παραδόντων σφᾶς Λακεδαιμονίους οὐχ Ἑλληνικῆς γενομένης διὰ Θηβαίους σφαγῆς, καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τῆς ἐρημόσεως, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Ἕλληνες παραταξάμενοι Μήδοις ἀπώσαντο τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν κίνδυνον, καὶ ὅτι Ἀθηναίους αὐτοὶ τῇ ψήφῳ ἀπώλλουν, ὅτε ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως γνώμη προὔτεθη ἐν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμάχοις. [8] ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς πολλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ἐπιστημῆναι ἐλέγετο, ἃ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα ἡμελήθη, ὕστερον δὲ ἡ μνήμη αὐτὰ ἐς λογισμὸν τοῦ ἐκ πάλαι ἐπὶ τοῖς ξυνενεχθεῖσιν προσημανθῆναι ἀνήνεγκεν. [9] τοῖς δὲ μετασχοῦσι τοῦ ἔργου ξυμμάχοις, οἷς δὴ καὶ ἐπέτρεπεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ κατὰ τὰς Θήβας διαθεῖναι, τὴν μὲν Καδμεῖαν φρουρὰ κατέχειν ἔδοξε, τὴν πόλιν δὲ κατασκάψαι ἐς ἔδαφος καὶ τὴν χώραν κατανεῖμαι τοῖς ξυμμάχοις, ὅση μὴ ἱερὰ αὐτῆς· παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ὅσοι ὑπελείποντο Θηβαίων, πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων τε καὶ ἱερειῶν καὶ ὅσοι ξένοι Φιλίππου ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ ὅσοι πρόξενοι Μακεδόνων ἐγένοντο, ἀνδραποδίσαι. [10] καὶ τὴν Πινδάρου δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοῦ Πινδάρου λέγουσιν ὅτι διεφύλαξεν Ἀλέξανδρος αἰδοῖ τῇ Πινδάρου. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὀρχόμενόν τε καὶ Πλαταιᾶς ἀναστῆσαι τε καὶ τειχίσαι οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἔγνωσαν.

IX. This disaster of Greeks, both by the size of the captured city, and by the sharpness of the action — and not least by the general unexpectedness of the event, both to victors and victims — caused as much horror to the other Greeks as to those who had a hand in it. The Sicilian disaster of the Athenians, if in number of the slain it brought a similar disaster upon the city, yet, since their army was destroyed far from home — and that, too, an army rather of allies than of citizens — and their city being left to them, so that they held out some time in the war against Sparta, their allies, and Persia — even this, I say, gave no such sense of calamity to the sufferers, and did not strike the Greeks generally with such horror and amazement at the catastrophe. Or, again, the Athenian defeat at Aegospotami was at sea, and the city reduced indeed to humility by the destruction of its long walls, the surrender of most of its ships, and loss of its sovereignty, yet retained its former shape, and soon recovered its former strength; built, in fact, once more its long walls, won again its sea-power, and actually saved in some measure from severe danger those very Lacedaemonians, then so terrible, who had come so near to destroying Athens. The defeat of the Lacedaemonians themselves at Leuctra and Mantinea came as a great shock to them rather by the unexpectedness of the disaster than by the number of the slain. The onslaught of Epameinondas with his Boeotians and Arcadians upon Sparta scared the Spartans and their

allies rather by the strangeness of such a sight than the gravity of the danger. The capture, again, of Plataea, was not a very serious affair because of the small number of those captured in the city — the greater number having fled long before to Athens. Finally, the capture of Melos and Scione, which were merely island fortresses, rather brought shame to the captors than any great shock to the Greeks in general.

With Thebes, on the other hand, the hastiness of the revolt, her want of reasoned policy, her sudden capture, with so little trouble to the victors, the massacre, such as arises from kindred tribes wreaking ancient vengeance, the complete enslavement of the city, then one of the first in Greece in power and military prestige, were quite naturally set down to divine wrath: Thebes, men said, had thus paid the price, at length, of her betrayal of the Greek cause in the Persian wars, of her seizure of Plataea during the truce, of her complete enslavement of the Plataeans, of the massacre — the work of Thebes, not of Greece — of men who had surrendered not to Thebes but to Sparta, of the devastation of the Plataean countryside, on which the Greeks, ranged shoulder to shoulder against Persia, had repelled the common danger of Greece; and last, of the vote cast for the destruction of Athens when the suggestion was put before the allies of Sparta that the Athenians should be sold into slavery. People said that the coming disaster cast its shadow before, in many divine warnings, neglected then, but the memory thereof later made people realize that there had long been prognostications, now confirmed by the event.

The allies who took part in the attack, to whom Alexander had entrusted the final settlement, decided to garrison the Cadmeia, but to raze the city even with the ground, and to apportion its territory among the allies, save the sacred spots, and to enslave women and children, and any Theban survivors, save any who had friendship with Philip or Alexander, or any who had been patrons of Macedonians. The house of Pindar, and any of his descendants, Alexander saved — so it is related — from reverence for Pindar. Besides this, the allies determined to rebuild and fortify Orchomenus and Plataea.

[1] ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ πάθος, Ἀρκάδες μὲν, ὅσοι βοηθήσαντες Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ὠρμήθησαν, θάνατον κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ἐπαράντων σφᾶς ἐς τὴν βοήθειαν: Ἡλεῖοι δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας σφῶν κατεδέξαντο, ὅτι ἐπιτήδειοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦσαν: [2] Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ πρεσβείας σφῶν κατὰ ἔθνη πέμπαντες ξυγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἐδέοντο, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ τι πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ἀπαγγελθέντα ἐνεωτέρισαν: Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, μυστηρίων τῶν μεγάλων ἀγομένων ὡς ἤκόν τινες τῶν Θηβαίων ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου, τὰ μὲν μυστήρια ἐκπλαγέντες ἐξέλιπον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσκευαγῶνουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. [3] ὁ δῆμος δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθὼν Δημάδου γράψαντος δέκα πρέσβεις ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἐπιλεξάμενος πέμπει παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, οὓστινας ἐπιτηδειοτάτους Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγίνωσκον, ὅτι τε σῶος ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Τριβαλλῶν ἐπανήλθε χαίρειν τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ ἀπαγγελοῦντας καὶ ὅτι Θηβαίους τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ ἐτιμωρήσατο. [4] ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φιланθρώπως πρὸς τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπιστολὴν δὲ

γράφας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐξήτει τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Λυκοῦργον: καὶ Ὑπερείδην δὲ ἐξήτει καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Χάρητα καὶ Χαρίδημον καὶ Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Διοτίμον καὶ Μοιροκλέα: [5] τούτους γὰρ αἰτίους εἶναι τῆς τε ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ξυμφορᾶς τῇ πόλει γενομένης καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῇ Φιλίππου τελευτῇ πλημμεληθέντων ἐξ τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐς Φιλίππον: καὶ Θηβαίοις δὲ τῆς [τε] ἀποστάσεως ἀπέφαιναν αἰτίους οὐ μείον ἢ τοὺς αὐτῶν Θηβαίων νεωτερίσαντας. [6] Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας οὐκ ἐξέδοσαν, πρεσβεύονται δὲ αὐθις παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀφεῖναι δεόμενοι τὴν ὀργὴν τοῖς ἐξαιτηθεῖσι: καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφῆκε, τυχὸν μὲν αἰδοῖ τῆς πόλεως, τυχὸν δὲ σπουδῇ τοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν στόλου, οὐκ ἐθέλων οὐδὲν ὑποπτον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὑπολείπεσθαι. Χαρίδημον μέντοι μόνον τῶν ἐξαιτηθέντων τε καὶ οὐ δοθέντων φεύγειν ἐκέλευσε: καὶ φεύγει Χαρίδημος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον.

X. When the fate of Thebes was notified to the Bather Greeks, the Arcadians who had left home to help Thebes condemned to death those who had persuaded them to take this step. The Eleans received their own fugitives, being on good terms with Alexander. The Aetolians sent embassies, tribe by tribe, and begged forgiveness, on the ground that they had revolted only because of the news brought from Thebes. The Athenians were celebrating their great mysteries when refugees came from Thebes, hot foot from the assault; in consternation they abandoned the mysteries and began to get in their stuff from the country into the city. The people came into assembly, and on the motion of Demades chose ten ambassadors from the whole body of citizens — men known to be on the most friendly terms with Alexander — and sent them to him bearing the city's rather unseasonable congratulations on his safe return from the Illyrians and Triballians, and on his punishment of the Theban revolt. Alexander replied for the most part in friendly tone to the embassy, but wrote a letter to the city demanding the adherents of Demosthenes and Lycurgus, as well as Hypereides, Polyeuctas, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus, and Moerocles: these he held responsible for the disaster of Chaeronea and wrongs later committed, at Philip's death, against himself and Philip. He also showed them to be guilty of the Theban rebellion not less than the Theban rebels themselves. The Athenians did not give up these men, but sent a second embassy to Alexander, begging him to relax his wrath towards those whom he had demanded. Alexander did so — whether from regard for Athens, or because he was anxious to get on with his Asian expedition and loath to leave anything behind in Greece which he could not trust. Charidemus alone, however, of those men whom he had demanded, but not received, he ordered to be exiled; and he took refuge in Asia at the court of King Dareius.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν: καὶ τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν ἀπ' Ἀρχελαίου ἔτι καθεστῶσαν ἔθυσσε καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐν Αἰγαῖς διέθηκε τὰ Ὀλύμπια: οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε. [2] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀγγέλλεται τὸ Ὀρφέως τοῦ Οἰάγρου τοῦ Θρακὸς ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν Πιερίδι ἰδρῶσαι ξυνεχῶς: καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα ἐπεθείαζον τῶν

μάντεων, Ἀρίστανδρος δέ, ἀνὴρ Τελμισσεύς, μάντις, θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν Ἀλέξανδρον: δηλοῦσθαι γάρ, ὅτι ποιηταῖς ἐπῶν τε καὶ μελῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἀμφὶ ᾠδὴν ἔχουσι πολὺς πόνος ἔσται ποιεῖν τε καὶ ἄδειν ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα. [3] ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐξελαύνει ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου τὰ μὲν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐπιτρέψας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων πεζοὺς μὲν σὺν ψιλοῖς τε καὶ τοξόταις οὐ πολλῷ πλείους τῶν τρισυριῶν, ἰππέας δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ στόλος παρὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Κερκινίτιν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ τὰς ἐκβολάς. [4] διαβάς δὲ τὸν Στρυμόνα παρήμειβε τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος τὴν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀβδηρα καὶ Μαρώνειαν, πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ ὥκισμένας. ἔνθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑβρον ποταμὸν ἀφικόμενος διαβαίνει καὶ τὸν Ἑβρον εὐπετῶς. [5] ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιτικῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μέλανα ποταμὸν ἔρχεται. διαβάς δὲ καὶ τὸν Μέλανα ἐς Σηστόν ἀφικνεῖται ἐν εἴκοσι ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκοθεν ἐξορμήσεως. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα θύει Πρωτεσιλάῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου, ὅτι καὶ Πρωτεσίλαος πρῶτος ἐδόκει ἐκβῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἅμα Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς Ἴλιον στρατευσάντων. καὶ ὁ νοὺς τῆς θυσίας ἦν ἐπιτυχεστέραν οἱ γενέσθαι ἢ Πρωτεσιλάῳ τὴν ἀπόβασιν. [6] Παρμενίων μὲν δὴ τῶν τε πεζῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὴν ἵππον διαβιβάσαι ἐτάχθη ἐκ Σηστοῦ ἐς Ἀβυδον: καὶ διέβησαν τριήρεσι μὲν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐξήκοντα, πλοίοις δὲ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς στρογγύλοις. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ἐς τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα κατὰραι ὁ πλείων λόγος κατέχει, καὶ αὐτόν τε κυβερνῶντα τὴν στρατηγίδα ναῦν διαβάλλειν καὶ, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἐγένετο, σφάζαντα ταῦρον τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Νηρησίᾳ σπένδειν ἐκ χρυσεῆς φιάλης ἐς τὸν πόντον. [7] λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς νεῶς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκβῆναι αὐτόν ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ βωμοὺς ἰδρύσασθαι ὅθεν τε ἐστάλη ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ ὅπου ἐξέβη τῆς Ἀσίας Διὸς ἀποβατηρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡρακλέους. ἀνελθόντα δὲ ἐς Ἴλιον τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ θῦσαι τῇ Ἰλιάδι, καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν νεῶν, καὶ καθελεῖν ἀντὶ ταύτης τῶν ἱερῶν τινα ὄπλων ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ ἔργου σωζόμενα. [8] καὶ ταῦτα λέγουσιν ὅτι οἱ ὑπασπισται ἔφερον πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰς μάχας. θῦσαι δὲ αὐτόν καὶ Πριάμῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐρκείου λόγος κατέχει, μῆνιν Πριάμου παραιτούμενον τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ γένει, ὃ δὴ ἐς αὐτόν καθῆκεν.

X. When all this had been set in order Alexander returned to Macedonia, where he sacrificed the traditional sacrifice (established by Archelaus) to Olympian Zeus and kept the Olympian games at Aegae: others add that he held games in honour of the Muses. Meanwhile, word comes that the statue of Orpheus, son of Oeagrus the Thracian, in Pieria, had sweated continuously; the seers interpreted this variously, but Aristandrus of Telmissae bade Alexander be of good cheer; it was signified, he said, that to makers of epics and choric songs and writers of odes there would be much toil to poetize and sing of Alexander and his exploits.

In early spring Alexander marches to the Hellespont, leaving Macedonian and Greek affairs in charge of Antipatros. He led off, of infantry, with light

troops and archers, not much above thirty thousand, of cavalry over five thousand. His route was past Lake Cercinitis in the direction of Amphipolis and the delta of the river Strymon. He crossed the Strymon and passed Mount Pangeon, working towards Abdera and Maroneia, Greek cities settled on the sea. Thence he reached the Hebrus and crossed it with ease; thence through Paetike he reached the Black River, crossed it, and reached Sestus after twenty days' marching in all from home. Arriving at Elaeon he sacrificed to Protesilaus at Protesilaus' tomb, since he was thought to be the first Greek of those who went with Agamemnon to Troy to disembark on Asian soil. The intention of the sacrifice was that the setting foot on Asian soil might be more prosperous to Alexander than to Protesilaus.

Parmenio was appointed to see to the ferrying over from Sestus to Abydos of the greater part of the infantry and the cavalry; they crossed in a hundred and sixty triremes and in a good number of cargo boats. Most authorities say that Alexander sailed from Elaeon to the Achaean harbour, and steered the admiral's ship himself, sacrificing, when in the midst of the strait, a bull to Poseidon, and pouring into the sea a drink offering from a golden bowl to the goddesses of the sea. Further, legend says that he disembarked first on Asian soil, armed cap-à-pie, and set up altars both where he started from Europe and where he landed in Asia to Zeus of Safe Landings, Athena, and Heracles. Then he ascended to Ilium, and sacrificed to Athena of Ilium, dedicated his full armour, laying it up in the temple, and took down in its place some of the dedicated arms yet remaining from the Trojan war; these, it is said, his bodyguard bore before him into battle. Then he sacrificed also to Priam at the altar of Zeus of Enclosures — so runs the legend — praying Priam not to be wroth with the race of Neoptolemus, of which he himself was a scion.

[1] ἀνιόντα δ' αὐτὸν ἐς Ἴλιον Μενοίτιός τε ὁ κυβερνήτης χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Χάρης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐκ Σιγείου ἐλθὼν καὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι:....οἱ δὲ, ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ἄρα τάφον ἐστεφάνωσεν: Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι τοῦ Πατρόκλου τὸν τάφον ἐστεφάνωσε: καὶ εὐδαιμόνισεν ἄρα, ὡς λόγος, Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀχιλλέα, ὅτι Ὀμήρου κήρυκος ἐς τὴν ἔπειτα μνήμην ἔτυχε. [2] καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐχ ἥκιστα τούτου ἔνεκα εὐδαιμονιστέος Ἀχιλλεύς, ὅτι αὐτῷ γε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιτυχίαν, τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐκλιπὲς ξυνέβη οὐδὲ ἐξηνέχθη ἐς ἀνθρώπους τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα ἐπαξίως, οὐτ' οὖν καταλογάδην, οὔτε τις ἐν μέτρῳ ἐποίησεν: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν μέλει ἦσθη Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν ᾧ τῷ Ἰέρωνι τε καὶ Γέλωνι καὶ Θήρωνι καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι οὐδέν τι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπειοικότες, ὥστε πολὺ μείον γινώσκεται τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ τὰ φανυλότατα τῶν πάλαι ἔργων: [3] ὁπότε καὶ ἡ τῶν μυριῶν ξὺν Κύρῳ ἄνοδος ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ἀρτοξέρην καὶ τὰ Κλεάρχου τε καὶ τῶν ἅμα αὐτῷ ἀλόντων παθήματα καὶ ἡ κατάβασις αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ἦν Ξενοφῶν αὐτοὺς κατήγαγε, πολὺ τι ἐπιφανέστερα ἐς ἀνθρώπους Ξενοφῶντος ἔνεκά ἐστιν ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρος τε καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα. [4] καίτοι Ἀλέξανδρος οὔτε ξὺν ἄλλῳ ἐστράτευσεν, οὔτε φεύγων μέγαν βασιλέα τοῦς τῇ καθόδῳ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐμποδῶν γιγνομένους ἐκράτησεν: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν

ὅστις ἄλλος εἷς ἀνὴρ τοσαῦτα ἢ τηλικαῦτα ἔργα κατὰ πλῆθος ἢ μέγεθος ἐν Ἑλληνισιν ἢ βαρβάροις ἀπεδείξατο. ἐνθεν καὶ αὐτὸς ὀρμηθῆναι φημι ἐς τήνδε τὴν ξυγγραφὴν, οὐκ ἀπαξιώσας ἔμαυτὸν φανερὰ καταστήσειν ἐς ἀνθρώπους τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα. [5] ὅστις δὲ ὦν ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἔμαυτοῦ γινώσκω, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα οὐδὲν δέομαι ἀναγράψαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄγνωστον ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἐστίν, οὐδὲ πατρίδα ἤτις μοί

XI. When Alexander reached Ilium Menoetius the navigator crowned him with a golden wreath and so did Chares, the Athenian, arriving from Segeium with others, Greeks or natives of the place; then Hephaestion, they say, placed a wreath on Patroclus' tomb; and Alexander likewise on Achilles' tomb; Alexander — as is related — accounting Achilles happy in that he had a Homer to be the herald of his after-fame. Alexander might well count Achilles happy on this score, since, fortunate as Alexander was in other ways, there was a great gap left here, and Alexander's exploits were never worthily bruited abroad; no one did so in narrative prose, no one sang of him in verse; nay, not even in choral lyric was Alexander chanted as were Hiero, Gelo, Thero, and many others, men not of Alexander's stature; whence Alexander's exploits are far less known than the minor deeds of past ages. Why, the Anabasis of the Ten Thousand with Cyrus against Artaxerxes, the sufferings of Clearchus and those captured with him, their descent to the sea, led by Xenophon, are, thanks to Xenophon, far better known to the world than Alexander and Alexander's exploits. Yet Alexander did not merely take the field with someone else; he did not run away from the Great King and only conquer those who tried to stop the seaward march; no one man gave proof of so many or such wondrous deeds, whether in number or greatness, among Greeks and Orientals alike. That, I declare, is why I have set forth to write this history, not judging myself unworthy to blazon before mankind the deeds of Alexander. This at least — whoever I am — I know in my favour; I need not write my name — it is not unknown among men — nor my country nor my family nor any office I may have held among my own folk; this I do set on paper, that this history is, and was from my boyhood, my country, family, and offices. That is why I do not shrink from setting myself alongside of the masters of Greek speech, since my subject was first among the masters of Greek warfare.

From Ilium Alexander came to Arisbe, where his whole force, after crossing the Hellespont, had encamped; next day to Percote; the next, he passed Lampsacus and camped by the river Practius, which flowing from Mount Ida runs into the sea that lies between the Hellespont and the Euxine Sea. Thence he came to Hermotos, passing by Colonae. He sent scouts ahead of the army; Amyntas, son of Arrabaeus, led them, with the territorial squadron from Apollonia, whose squadron-leader was Socrates son of Sathon, with four squadrons of the advanced scouts, as they were called. On his passage the city Priapus was surrendered to him by the citizens, and he sent a party to take it over under Paregorus son of Lycagorus, one of the territorials.

The Persian commanders were Arsames, Rheomithres, Petines, Niphates, and with them Spithridates the satrap of Lydia and Ionia and Arsites the governor of Hellespontine Phrygia. They had already encamped by the city of Zeleia with the Persian cavalry and the mercenary Greeks. When they held a council of war, Alexander's crossing having been reported, Memnon of Rhodes advised them to run no risk of war with the Macedonians, who were far their superiors in infantry, especially with Alexander actually on the spot, while Dareius was far away from them; they had far best advance, destroying the fodder, by trampling it with their cavalry, and burning the growing crops, not sparing even their cities. For Alexander would not then stay in the country for want of provisions. Arsites, however, is reported to have said in the Persian Council that he would not suffer one house belonging to his men to be burned: the Persians supported Arsites, having suspicions of Memnon, thinking that he was delaying warlike operations for the sake of the office he held from the king.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος προὔχῳρει ἐπὶ τὸν Γράνικον ποταμὸν συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατῷ, διπλὴν μὲν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τάξας, τοὺς δὲ ἰππέας κατὰ τὰ κέρατα ἄγων, τὰ σκευοφόρα δὲ κατόπιν ἐπιτάξας ἔπεσθαι: τοὺς δὲ προκατασκευομένους τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἦγεν αὐτῷ Ἥγελος, ἰππέας μὲν ἔχων τοὺς σαρισσοφόρους, τῶν δὲ ψιλῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους. [2] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός τε οὐ πολὺ ἀπέιχε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Γρανικοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν σπουδῇ ἐλαύνοντες ἀπήγγελλον ἐπὶ τῷ Γρανικῷ πέραν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐφεστάναι τεταγμένους ὡς ἐς μάχην. ἐνθα δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν συνέταττεν ὡς μαχομένους: Παρμενίων δὲ προσελθὼν λέγει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τάδε. [3] ‘ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, βασιλεῦ, ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταστρατοπεδεῦσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ ὄχθῃ ὡς ἔχομεν. τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους οὐ δοκῶ τολμήσειν πολὺ τῷ πεζῷ λειπομένους πλησίον ἡμῶν αὐλισθῆναι, καὶ ταύτῃ παρέξειν ἔωθεν εὐπετῶς τῷ στρατῷ διαβαλεῖν τὸν πόρον: ὑποφθάσομεν γὰρ αὐτοὶ περάσαντες πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐς τάξιν καθίστασθαι. [4] νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἀκινδύνως μοι δοκοῦμεν ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐν μετώπῳ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄγειν τὸν στρατόν. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὁράται βαθέα, αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὗται ὁρᾷς ὅτι ὑπερύψηλοι καὶ κρημνώδεις εἰσὶν αἱ αὐτῶν: [5] ἀτάκτως τε οὖν καὶ κατὰ κέρας, ἥπερ ἀσθενέστατον, ἐκβαίνουσιν ἐπικεῖσονται ἐς φάλαγγα ξυντεταγμένοι τῶν πολεμίων οἱ ἰππεῖς: καὶ τὸ πρῶτον σφάλμα ἔς τε τὰ παρόντα χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου κρίσιν σφαλερόν.’ [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ‘ταῦτα μὲν’, ἔφη, ‘ὦ Παρμενίων, γινώσκω: αἰσχύνομαι δέ, εἰ τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον διέβην εὐπετῶς, τοῦτο δέ, σμικρὸν ῥεῦμα, — οὕτω τῷ ὀνόματι τὸν Γράνικον ἐκφαύλίσας, — εἴρξει ἡμᾶς τὸ μὴ οὐ διαβῆναι ὡς ἔχομεν. [7] καὶ τοῦτο οὕτε πρὸς Μακεδόνων τῆς δόξης οὕτε πρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ὀξύτητος ποιοῦμαι: ἀναθαρρήσειν τε δοκῶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἀξιομάχους Μακεδόσιν ὄντας, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ σφῶν δέους ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἔπαθον.’

XII. Meanwhile, Alexander was advancing to the river Granicus with his force all ready for battle, having doubled his phalanx of the men-at-arms, with

the cavalry on the wings, and ordering the transport to follow behind the scouts and reconnoitring parties, which Hegelochus led, with the lancers, and five hundred light troops. Alexander was not far from the river Granicus, when the scouts, riding in at full speed, reported that the Persians were arrayed for battle on the farther side of the Granicus. Alexander then formed battle order; and Parmenio came forward and said:

“My view, sir, is that we should encamp at once on the river bank, as we are; the enemy, I believe, being outnumbered in infantry, will not dare to bivouac near us; and hence we can easily cross at dawn; and we shall be across before they get into order. As things are, I feel that we should run great risk in taking action, since we cannot take an army across a river on a wide front, for one can see that there are many deep parts of the river; its banks, as you see, are very high, sometimes like cliffs. As we emerge in disorder and in deployed order, the weakest of formations, the enemy cavalry in good solid order will charge: the first disaster would be grievous at the present, and most harmful for the general result of the war.”

Alexander, however, replied: “This I know, Parmenio, but I should feel ashamed if after our crossing so easily the Hellespont, this petty stream (so disrespectfully did he speak of the Granicus) shall hinder us from crossing, just as we are. This I consider unworthy either of the prestige of the Macedonians or of my own swift dealing with danger; I believe the Persians would pluck up courage, thinking themselves as good fighters as the Macedonians, since up to the present they have not experienced anything to cause them alarm.”

[1] ταῦτα εἰπὼν Παρμενίωνα μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρασ πέμπει ἡγησόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν παρήγε. προετάχθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ Φιλώτας ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἔχων τοὺς ἐταίρους τοὺς ἱππείας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς· Ἀμύντας δὲ ὁ Ἀρραβαίου τοὺς τε σαρισσοφόρους ἱππείας ἔχων Φιλῶτα ἐπετάχθη καὶ τοὺς Παίονας καὶ τὴν Ἴλην τὴν Σωκράτους. [2] ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων ἐτάχθησαν οἱ ὑπασπισται τῶν ἐταίρων, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἡ Περδίκκου τοῦ Ὀρόντου φάλαγξ· ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Κοῖνου τοῦ Πολεμοκράτους· [ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Κρατεροῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου·] ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Ἀνδρομέου· ἐπὶ δὲ ὧν Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου ἦρχε. [3] τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἱππεῖς ἐτάχθησαν, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Κάλας ὁ Ἀρπάλου· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἦρχε Φίλιππος ὁ Μενελάου· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ Θρᾶκες, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀγάθων· ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων πεζοὶ ἢ τε Κρατεροῦ φάλαγξ καὶ ἡ Μελεάγρου καὶ ἡ Φιλίππου ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς ξυμπάσης τάξεως. [4] Περσῶν δὲ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν ἐς δισμυρίους, ξένοι δὲ πεζοὶ μισθοφόροι ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες δισμυρίων· ἐτάχθησαν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἵππον παρατείναντες τῷ ποταμῷ κατὰ τὴν ὄχθην ἐπὶ φάλαγγα μακράν, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς κατόπιν τῶν ἱππέων· καὶ γὰρ ὑπερδέξια ἦν τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν ὄχθην χωρία. ἥ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν καθεώρων — δηλὸς γὰρ ἦν τῶν τε ὅπλων τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῶν ἁμφ’ αὐτὸν τῇ σὺν ἐκπλήξει θεραπείᾳ — κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον [μὲν] σφῶν ἐπέχοντα, ταύτῃ πυκνὰς ἐπέταξαν τῇ ὄχθῃ

τὰς Ἰλας τῶν ἱππέων. [5] χρόνον μὲν δὴ ἀμφοτέρω τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπ' ἄκρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐφ'esτῶτες ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ μέλλον ὀκνεῖν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον καὶ σιγῇ ἦν πολλὴ ἀφ' ἑκατέρων. οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι προσέμενον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὅποτε ἐσβήσονται ἐς τὸν πόρον, ὡς ἐπικεισόμενοι ἐκβαίνουσιν: [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος ἐπεσθαί τε καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν προδρόμους ἱππείας καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς Παίονας προεμβαλεῖν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔχοντα Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀρραβαίου ἔταξε καὶ τῶν πεζῶν μίαν τάξιν, καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὴν Σωκράτους Ἰλιν Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου ἄγοντα, ἣ δὴ καὶ ἐτύγχανε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ ἱππικοῦ παντὸς ἔχουσα[ν] ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ: [7] αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων τε καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀλαλάζοντας ἐμβαίνει ἐς τὸν πόρον, λοξὴν αἰεὶ παρατείνων τὴν τάξιν, ἣ παρεῖλκε τὸ ρεῦμα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἐκβαίνοντι αὐτῷ οἱ Πέρσαι κατὰ κέρας προσπίπτειεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἀνυστὸν τῇ φάλαγγι προσμίξῃ αὐτοῖς.

XIII. So spake Alexander; and at once sent off Parmenio to lead the left wing; he himself passed along to the right. As commander of the right he had already appointed Philotas son of Parmenio, with the territorial cavalry, the archers, and the Agrianes, javelin-men. To Philotas was attached Amyntas son of Arrabaeus, with the lancers, the Paeonians, and Socrates' squadron. Next to them were marshalled the territorial guards, led by Nicanor son of Parmenio; beside these was the phalanx of Perdiccas son of Orontes; also that of Coenus son of Polemocrates; and those of Craterus son of Alexander, Amyntas son of Andromenes, and the troops under Philip son of Amyntas. On the left wing came first the Thessalian cavalry, commanded by Cales son of Harpalus; next the allied cavalry, under Philip son of Menelaus, then the Thracians, under Agetho; on their right were the infantry, the phalanx of Craterus, of Meleager, of Philip, up to the centre of the whole force.

The Persians had about 20,000 cavalry, and little short of the same number of infantry, foreign mercenaries. Their disposition was, the cavalry drawn up parallel to the river, and thus making an extended phalanx; the infantry behind them; the land above the bank was high and commanding. Where they perceived Alexander himself — you could not mistake him, from the splendour of his equipment and the obsequious attendance of his suite — opposite their left wing, they massed here on the bank their cavalry squadrons.

For some time the two forces, on the river's brink, dreading to precipitate the event, remained at ease, and in deep silence. The Persians awaited the Macedonians, to fall on them emerging from the river, so soon as they should attempt the crossing; but Alexander flung himself on to his horse, and calling on his suite to follow and show themselves brave men and true, he advanced his first line of scouts and the Paeonians into the stream, under command of Amyntas son of Arrabaeus, and also one file of the infantry; before these he sends Socrates' squadron, Ptolemy son of Philip commanding; this was on the list as leading cavalry squadron for that day; then he himself leading the right wing — bugles sounding, and the battle cry going up to the God of Battles — boldly takes to the stream, inclining his troops obliquely to the current, so that

the Persians should not fall on him in extended front, but that he himself might attack them, as far as might be, in close order.

[1] οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, ἧ πρῶτοι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀμύνταν καὶ Σωκράτην προσέσχον τῇ ὄχθῃ, ταύτῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄνωθεν ἔβαλλον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσακοντίζοντες, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ χθαμαλώτερα αὐτῆς ἔστε ἱπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καταβαίνοντες. [2] καὶ ἦν τῶν τε ἱππέων ὠθισμός, τῶν μὲν ἐκβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῶν δ' εἶργειν τὴν ἑκβασιν, καὶ παλτῶν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν πολλὴ ἄφεςις, οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ζὺν τοῖς δόρασιν ἐμάχοντο. ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πλήθει πολὺ ἐλαττοῦμενοι οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐκακοπάθουν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξ οὐ βεβαίου τε καὶ ἅμα κάτωθεν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμυνόμενοι, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τῆς ὄχθης· ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου ταύτῃ ἐπετέτακτο, οἱ τε Μέμνωνος παῖδες καὶ αὐτὸς Μέμνων μετὰ τούτων ἐκινδύνευε. [3] καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ζυμμιζαντες τοῖς Πέρσαις κατεκόπησαν πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι ὅσοι γε μὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πελάζοντα ἀπέκλιναν ἐκλιναν αὐτῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἦδη πλησίον ἦν, ἅμα οἱ ἄγων τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, καὶ ἐμβάλλει ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας πρῶτος, ἵνα τὸ πᾶν στίφος τῆς ἵππου καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν· καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ζυνειστίκει μάχη καρτερά· [4] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἄλλαι ἐπ' ἄλλαις τῶν τάξεων τοῖς Μακεδόσι διέβαινον οὐ χαλεπῶς ἤδη. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἡ μάχη, πεζομαχία δὲ μᾶλλον τι ἐφέκει. ζυνεχόμενοι γὰρ ἵπποι τε ἵπποις καὶ ἄνδρες ἀνδράσιν ἡγωνίζοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐξῶσαι εἰς ἅπαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον βιάσασθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ Μακεδόνες, οἱ δὲ εἶρξαι τε αὐτῶν τὴν ἑκβασιν, οἱ Πέρσαι, καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν αὐθις ἀπόσασθαι. [5] καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπλεονέκτουν ἤδη οἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ρώμῃ καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ ὅτι ζυστοῖς κρανεῖνοις πρὸς παλτὰ ἐμάχοντο. [6] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ζυντρίβεται τὸ δόρυ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ· ὁ δὲ Ἀρέτην ἡτεὶ δόρυ ἕτερον, ἀναβολέα τῶν βασιλικῶν· τῷ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ πονουμένῳ συντετριμμένον τὸ δόρυ ἦν, ὁ δὲ τῷ ἡμίσει κεκλασμένου τοῦ δόρατος οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῦτο δεῖξας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄλλον αἰτεῖν ἐκέλευεν· Δημάρατος δέ, ἀνὴρ Κορίνθιος, τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐταίρων, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὸ αὐτοῦ δόρυ. [7] καὶ ὃς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ἰδὼν Μιθριδάτην τὸν Δαρείου γαμβρὸν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων προῖππεύοντα καὶ ἐπάγοντα ἅμα οἱ ὥσπερ ἔμβολον τῶν ἱππέων ἐξελαύνει καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ παίσας ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τῷ δόρατι καταβάλλει τὸν Μιθριδάτην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ροισάκης μὲν ἐπελαύνει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ παίει Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν κεφαλὴν τῇ κοπίδι· [8] καὶ τοῦ μὲν κράνους τι ἀπέθραυσε, τὴν πληγὴν δὲ ἔσχε τὸ κράνος. καὶ καταβάλλει καὶ τοῦτον Ἀλέξανδρος πείσας τῷ ζυστῷ διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στέρνον. Σπιθριδάτης δὲ ἀνετέτατο μὲν ἤδη ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὀπισθεν τὴν κοπίδα, ὑποφθάσας δὲ αὐτὸν Κλεῖτος ὁ Δρωπίδου παίει κατὰ τοῦ ὤμου καὶ ἀποκόπτει τὸν ὤμον τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου ζὺν τῇ κοπίδι· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπεκβαίνοντες αἱ τῶν ἱππέων ὅσοις προὐχώρει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεγίγνοντο τοῖς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον.

XIV. The Persians, at the point where their vanguard, under Amyntas and Socrates, held the river bank, shot their volleys from above, some hurling

their javelins from their commanding position a little removed from the bank, others on the more level ground, or even advancing down to the stream. There was a great scrimmage of the cavalry, the Greeks trying to land, the Persians to stop them; great showers of Persian javelins; much thrusting of Macedonian spears. But the Macedonians, much outnumbered, came off badly in the first onslaught; they were insecure, and below, the enemy on a strong position above; besides, the flower of the Persian cavalry was posted at the landing, Memnon's sons and Memnon himself bearing the brunt along with them. The first of the Macedonians came into conflict with the Persians and were cut down, after prodigies of valour, all to a man, save those who fell back on Alexander as he approached. For he was already near, leading on the right wing, and he charged the Persians, himself the first to attack, just where was the press of cavalry and where the Persian commanders were posted. A fierce fight raged about him; and meanwhile the Macedonians, line after line, kept crossing, a task now not so difficult. It was a cavalry struggle, though on infantry lines; horse pressed against horse, man against man, wrestling one with another, Greeks trying to push, once for all, the Persians from the bank and force them on to the level ground, the Persians trying to bar their landing and hurl them back into the river. Already, however, Alexander and his guards were getting the best of it, not only through their forcefulness and their discipline, but because they were fighting with stout cornel-wood lances against short javelins.

In the mellay Alexander's lance was broken; he called on Aretis, one of the royal aides, for another; but Aretis had also broken his lance, and was hard pressed, though putting up a brave fight with the half of his broken weapon. Showing this to Alexander he cried out to him to call upon another aide, but Demaratus, of Corinth, one of Alexander's squires, gave him his own lance. Alexander grasping it and seeing Mithridates, son-in-law of Dareius, riding far ahead of the line and leading on a body of horse, formed in wedge shape, charges forth in advance of his men, thrusts his lance into Mithridates' face and hurls him to the ground. But Rhoesaces rode at Alexander, and smote him on the head with his cleaver; he sheared off part of the helmet, but still the helmet parried the blow. Alexander hurled him also to the ground, piercing with his lance through the cuirass into his breast. Spithridates had already raised his scimitar to cut down Alexander, but Cleitus son of Dropides, smartly slipping in, drove at Spithridates' shoulder with his cleaver and shore it off; and now those of the cavalry who had made good their way on the river bank kept coming up and joining the little band round Alexander.

[1] καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι παιόμενοι τε πανταχόθεν ἦδη ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτοῖ τε καὶ ἵπποι τοῖς ξυστοῖς καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἱππέων ἐξωθούμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ψιλῶν ἀναμειγμένων τοῖς ἱππεῦσι βλαπτόμενοι ἐγκλίνουσι ταύτῃ πρῶτον, ἣ Ἀλέξανδρος προεκινδύνευεν. ὥς δὲ τὸ μέσον ἐνεδεδώκει αὐτοῖς, παρερρήνυτο δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἦν δὴ φυγὴ καρτερὰ. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἱππέων τῶν Περσῶν ἀπέθανον εἰς χιλίους. [2] οὐ γὰρ πολλὴ ἡ δίωξις ἐγένετο, ὅτι

ἐξετράπη Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους· ὦν τὸ στίφος, ἢ τὸ πρῶτον ἐτάχθη, ἐκπλήξει μᾶλλον τι τοῦ παραλόγου ἢ λογισμῷ βεβαίῳ ἔμμενεν· καὶ τούτοις τὴν τε φάλαγγα ἐπαγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας πάντη προσπεσεῖν κελεύσας ἐν μέσῳ δι' ὀλίγου κατακόπτει αὐτούς, ὥστε διέφυγε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ὅτι μὴ διέλαθέ τις ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς, ἐξωγρήθησαν δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους. [3] ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν Νιφάτης τε καὶ Πετίνης καὶ Σπιθριδάτης ὁ Λυδίας σατράπης καὶ ὁ τῶν Καππαδοκῶν ὑπαρχος Μιθροβουζάνης καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Δαρείου γαμβρὸς καὶ Ἀρβουπάλης ὁ Δαρείου τοῦ Ἀρτοξέρξου παῖς καὶ Φαρνάκης, ἀδελφὸς οὗτος τῆς Δαρείου γυναικός, καὶ ὁ τῶν ξένων ἡγεμὼν Ὡμάρης. Ἀρσίτης δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς μάχης φεύγει εἰς Φρυγίαν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀποθνήσκει αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὡς λόγος, ὅτι αἷτιος ἐδόκει Πέρσαις γενέσθαι τοῦ ἐν τῷ τότε πταίσματος. [4] Μακεδόνων δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐταίρων ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ ἀπέθανον· καὶ τούτων χαλκαὶ εἰκόνες ἐν Δίῳ ἐστᾶσιν, Ἀλεξάνδρου κελεύσαντος Λύσιππον ποιῆσαι, ὅσπερ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μόνος προκριθεὶς ἐποίει· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἱππέων ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐξήκοντα, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς τοὺς τριάκοντα. [5] καὶ τούτους τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔθαπεν Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τε καὶ ἄλλῳ κόσμῳ· γονεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκε καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι ἢ τῷ σώματι λειτουργίαι ἢ κατὰ τὰς κτήσεις ἐκάστων εἰσφοραί, καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων δὲ πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἔσχεν, ἐπελθὼν τε αὐτὸς ἐκάστους καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἰδὼν καὶ ὅπως τις ἐτρώθη ἐρόμενος καὶ ὃ τι πράττων εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι οἱ παρασχόν. [6] ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔθαπεν· ἔθαψε δὲ καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους Ἑλλήνας, οἳ ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις στρατεύοντες ἀπέθανον· ὅσους δὲ αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβε, τούτους δὲ δήσας ἐν πέδαις εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπέπεμψεν ἐργάζεσθαι, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ κοινῇ δόξαντα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν Ἑλλήνες ὄντες ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμάχοντο. [7] ἀποπέμπει δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀθήνας τριακοσίας πανοπλίας Περσικὰς ἀνάθημα εἶναι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν πόλει· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε τόδε· Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων.

XV. The Persians were now being roughly handled from all quarters; they and their horses being struck in the face with lances; they were driven in front of the cavalry, and were much inconvenienced by the light troops, who became confused with the cavalry; and so they began to give way, first at the very point where Alexander was bearing the brunt of the affray. But when their centre began to sag, then the cavalry wings also were pierced, and they turned to flight in earnest. Upwards of a thousand Persian horsemen perished; for there was not much pursuit, since Alexander turned against the foreign mercenary troops. The mass of these stood their ground, rather rooted to the spot by the unexpected catastrophe than from serious resolution. Bringing his phalanx to bear on them and bidding the cavalry fall on them from all quarters, he hemmed them in and soon, massacred them; not one escaped — unless perhaps a few slipped through among the dead — and some two thousand were taken prisoners. Of Persian commanders there fell Niphates,

Petines, Spithridates, satrap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes the Cappadocian commandant, Mithridates, son-in-law of Dareius, Arbupales son of Dareius, son of Artaxerxes, and Pharnaces, brother of Dareius' queen, and Omares, commander of the foreign troops. Arsites fled from the battle into Phrygia and there, it is said, died by his own hand, because the blame of the Persian failure seemed to lie at his door.

Of the Macedonians, among the territorial troops, about twenty-five fell in the first shock. Brazen statues of them have been set up at Dium; Alexander gave the order to Lysippus, who out of a crowd of competitors had cast the statue of Alexander himself. Of the rest of the cavalry more than sixty perished, and about thirty infantry. All these Alexander buried next day with their arms and other accoutrements; to their parents and children he gave remission of local taxes and of all other personal services and property taxes. He showed much concern about the wounded, visiting each, examining their wounds, asking how they were received, and encouraging each to recount, and even boast of, his exploits. He buried also the Persian commanders and the mercenary Greeks who fell in the ranks of the foe; such as he captured, he handcuffed and sent to Macedonia to hard labour, because they had violated Greek public opinion by fighting with Orientals against Greeks. He sent to Athens three hundred Persian panoplies as an offering to Athena of Athens; he had this inscription attached: Alexander son of Philip and the Greeks, save Lacedaemonians, these spoils from the Persians in Asia.

[1] καταστήσας δὲ Κάλαν σατραπεύειν ἥς Ἀρσίτης ἦρχε καὶ τοὺς φόρους τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποφέρειν τάξας, οὗσπερ Δαρεῖω ἔφερον, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων κατιόντες ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐνεχείριζον σφᾶς, τούτους μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκάστους ἐκέλευεν, [2] Ζελείτας δὲ ἀφῆκε τῆς αἰτίας, ὅτι πρὸς βίαν ἔγνω συστρατεῦσαι τοῖς βαρβάροις; Δασκύλιον δὲ παραληψόμενον Παρμενίωνα ἐκπέμπει· καὶ παραλαμβάνει Δασκύλιον Παρμενίων ἐκλιπόντων τῶν φρουρῶν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Σάρδεων προϋχῶρει· [3] καὶ ἀπέχοντος αὐτοῦ ὅσον ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίους Σάρδεων ἦκον παρ' αὐτὸν Μιθρήνης τε ὁ φρούραρχος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσι καὶ Σαρδιανῶν οἱ δυνατώτατοι, ἐνδιδόντες οἱ μὲν τὴν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ Μιθρήνης τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. [4] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἑρμῷ ποταμῷ· ἀπέχει δὲ ὁ Ἑρμὸς ἀπὸ Σάρδεων σταδίους ὅσον εἴκοσιν· Ἀμύνταν δὲ τὸν Ἀνδρομένους τὴν ἄκραν παραληψόμενον ἐκπέμπει ἐς Σάρδεις· καὶ Μιθρήνην μὲν ἐν τιμῇ ἅμα οἱ ἦγεν, Σαρδιανούς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λυδοὺς τοῖς νόμοις τε τοῖς πάλαι Λυδῶν χρησθαι ἔδωκεν καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἀφῆκεν. [5] ἀνῆλθε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν, ἵνα τὸ φρούριον ᾦν τῶν Περσῶν· καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὀχυρὸν τὸ χωρίον· ὑπερύψηλόν τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἀπότομον πάντι καὶ τριπλῷ τείχει πεφραγμένον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ναόν τε οἰκοδομῆσαι Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐπενόει καὶ βωμὸν ιδρύσασθαι. [6] σκοποῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἄκρας ὅπερ ἐπιτηδειότατον χωρίον ὥρα ἔτους ἐξαίφνης χειμῶν ἐπιγίγνεται καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πίπτει, οὗ τὰ τῶν Λυδῶν βασιλεία· Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἔδοξεν ἐκ θεοῦ σημανθῆναι, ἵνα χρή

οικοδομεῖσθαι τῷ Διὶ τὸν νεῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἐκέλευσε. [7] κατέλιπε δὲ τῆς μὲν ἄκρας τῆς Σάρδεων ἐπιμελητὴν Πausανίαν τῶν ἐταίρων, τῶν δὲ φόρων τῆς συντάξεώς τε καὶ ἀποφορᾶς Νικίαν, Ἀσανδρον δὲ τὸν Φιλῶτα Λυδίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς Σπιθριδάτου ἀρχῆς, δούς αὐτῷ ἱππέας τε καὶ ψιλοὺς ὅσοι ἱκανοὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐδόκουν. [8] Κάλαν δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀερόπου ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Μέμνονος ἐκπέμπει, ἄγοντας τοὺς τε Πελοποννησίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων τοὺς πολλοὺς πλὴν Ἀργείων: οὗτοι δὲ ἐν Σάρδεσι κατελείφθησαν τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττειν. [9] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ, ὡς τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἵππομαχίας ἐξηγγέλθη, οἱ τε τὴν Ἐφεσον φρουροῦντες μισθοφόροι ὄχοντο φεύγοντες, δύο τριῆρεις τῶν Ἐφεσίων λαβόντες, καὶ ζὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀντιόχου, ὃς ἔφυγεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀλέξανδρον, παθὼν μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου, δυσνοία δὲ τῇ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπαξιῶσας τι παθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι. [10] τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρα ἐς Ἐφεσον ἀφικόμενος τοὺς τε φυγάδας, ὅσοι δι' αὐτὸν ἐξέπεσον τῆς πόλεως, κατήγαγε καὶ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καταλύσας δημοκρατίαν κατέστησε: τοὺς δὲ φόρους, ὅσους τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέφερον, τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ξυντελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. [11] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἐφεσίων, ὡς ἀφηρέθη αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων φόβος, τοὺς τε Μέμνονα ἐπαγομένους καὶ τοὺς τὸ ἱερὸν συλίσαντας τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοὺς τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν Φιλίππου τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καταβαλόντας καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνορύξαντας τὸν Ἡροπύθου τοῦ ἐλευθερώσαντος τὴν πόλιν ὥρμησαν ἀποκτείνειν. [12] καὶ Σύρφακα μὲν καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Πελάγοντα καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Σύρφακος παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν: τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους διεκώλυσεν Ἀλέξανδρος προσωτέρω ἐπιζητεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, γνούς ὅτι ὁμοῦ τοῖς αἰτίοις καὶ οὐ ζὺν δίκη τινάς, τοὺς μὲν κατ' ἔχθραν, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ ἀρπαγὴν χρημάτων ἀποκτενεῖ, ξυγχωρηθὲν αὐτῷ, ὁ δῆμος. καὶ εἰ δὴ τῷ ἄλλῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἐφέσῳπραχθεῖσιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ τότε εὐδοκίμει.

XVI. Alexander then made Calas satrap of the satrapy which Arsites had held, ordering the inhabitants to pay the same taxes as they used to pay to Dareius; such of the natives as came down from the hills and gave themselves up he bade return to their homes. The city Zeleia he exempted from blame, knowing that they had been impressed to fight with the Persians. He sent Parmenio also to take over Dascyion, and this he duly did — the guards having evacuated the place.

Then Alexander marched towards Sardes; and when he was still about seventy stades away there came to him Mithrines, commander of the Acropolis guard, and with him the chief citizens of Sardes; these gave up the city, and Mithrines the fortress and the treasure. Alexander himself camped on the Hermus river; this river runs about twenty stades from Sardes; but he sent Amyntas, son of Andromenes, to Sardes to take over the fortress; Mithrines he took with him, with the honours of his rank; but the Sardians and the other Lydians he permitted to follow the old Lydian customs, and sent them away free. Alexander himself ascended to the fortress, where was the Persian garrison; he formed no mean opinion of the strength of the position, which was very high, sheer, and fortified all round with a triple wall. Alexander was

mind to build a temple on the height to Olympian Zeus, and to set up an altar near it. But as he was surveying the height for the best place, suddenly (it was summer-time) there brake a storm, with heavy crashes of thunder, and violent rain, just over the palace of the Lydian kings; from this Alexander supposed that here was a divine intimation where he must build the temple to Zeus, and so he gave orders accordingly. He left as commandant of the fortress Pausanias, a territorial officer; Nicias became overseer of the taxes, contributions, and tribute, and Asandrus, son of Philotas, governor of Lydia and the rest of Spithridates' district; and to him he gave cavalry and light troops sufficient for present needs. Calas and Alexander son of Aeropus he sent to Memnon's country, with the Peloponnesians and the greater part of the allies except the Argives; they were left in Sardes to garrison the fortress.

Meanwhile, when the news of the cavalry engagement came through, the mercenary troops garrisoning Ephesus fled, with two Ephesian triremes, and along with them Amyntas son of Antiochus who had run away from Macedon to avoid Alexander; not that Alexander had done him any harm, but from a general dislike towards Alexander and a disinclination to undergo any disagreeable discomfort at his hands. Alexander reached Ephesus on the fourth day, brought back any exiles who had been turned out of the city on his account, and breaking up the oligarchy restored the democracy; he also bade them contribute to the Temple of Artemis such taxes as they had been paying to the Persians. So the Ephesian people, being now relieved from fear of the oligarchs, promptly put to death all those who had called in Memnon, those who had ransacked the Temple of Artemis, and those who had thrown down the statue of Philip in the Temple and had dug up in the market-place the tomb of Heropythes the liberator of the city. Syrphax, his son Pelagon, and the children of the brothers of Syrphax they drew forth from the temple and stoned; but Alexander prevented further inquisition or punishment, knowing that once permission was given the people would put to death, together with the guilty, certain others, some from hatred, and some for plunder of their goods. Seldom did Alexander win greater popularity than he did by his treatment of Ephesus.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ Μαγνησίας τε καὶ Τράλλεων παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκον ἐνδιδόντες τὰς πόλεις· καὶ ὃς πέμπει Παρμενίωνα, δοὺς αὐτῷ δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους πεζοὺς τῶν ξένων καὶ Μακεδόνας παραπλησίους, ἱππέας δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων ἕς διακοσίους. Ἀλκίμαχον δὲ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰολίδας τε πόλεις ζῆν δυνάμει οὐκ ἐλάττονι ἐξέπεμψε καὶ ὅσαι Ἰωνικαὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔτι ἦσαν. [2] καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀλιγαρχίας πανταχοῦ καταλύειν ἐκέλευσεν, δημοκρατίας δὲ [τε] ἐγκαθιστάναι καὶ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς σφῶν ἐκάστοις ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀνεῖναι, ὅσους τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέφερον. αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπομείνας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θυσίαν τε ἔθυσσε τῇ Ἀρτέμειδι καὶ πομπὴν ἔπεμψε ζῆν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ὠπλισμένη τε καὶ ὥς ἐς μάχην ζυντεταγμένη. [3] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραῖα ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τε πεζῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς Θρᾶκας ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τήν τε βασιλικὴν ἵλην παῖ

πρὸς ταύτη τρεῖς ἄλλας ἐπὶ Μιλήτου ἐστέλλετο: καὶ τὴν μὲν ἑξω[δον] καλουμένην πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβεν ἐκλιπούσης τῆς φυλακῆς: ἐνταῦθα δὲ καταστρατοπεδεύσας ἔγνω ἀποτειχίζειν τὴν εἰσω πόλιν. [4] Ἥγησίστρατος γάρ, ὅτῳ ἢ φρουρὰ ἢ Μιλησίων ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπετέτραπτο, πρόσθεν γράμματα παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπεμπεν ἐνδιδοὺς τὴν Μίλητον: τότε δὲ ἀναθαρρήσας ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ οὐ μακρὰν ὄντι διασώζειν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐπενόει τὴν πόλιν. Νικάνωρ δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ναυτικὸν ἄγων ὑποφθάνει τοὺς Πέρσας τρισὶν ἡμέραις πρότερος καταπλεύσας ἢ τοὺς Πέρσας Μιλήτῳ προσχεῖν, καὶ ὁρμίζεται ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Λάδῃ: κεῖται δὲ αὕτη ἐπὶ τῇ Μιλήτῳ. [5] αἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν νῆες ὑστερήσασαι, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθον οἱ ναύαρχοι τῶν ἀμφὶ Νικάνορα τὴν ἐν τῇ Λάδῃ προκαταγωγὴν, πρὸς τῇ Μυκάλῃ τῷ ὄρει ὠρμίσθησαν. τὴν γὰρ Λάδην τὴν νῆσον προκατελιήφει Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐ τῶν νεῶν μόνον τῇ ἐγκαθορμίσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Θοῤᾰκας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων ἐς τετρακισχιλίους διαβιβάσας ἐς αὐτήν. ἦσαν δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων αἱ νῆες ἀμφὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας. [6] Παρμενίων μὲν δὴ καὶ ὥς παρήνει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ναυμαχεῖν, τὰ τε ἄλλα κρατήσιν τῷ ναυτικῷ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπελπίζων καὶ τι καὶ θεῖον ἀνέπειθεν αὐτόν, ὅτι ἀετὸς ὥφθη καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ κατὰ πρύμναν τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεῶν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ νικήσαντας μὲν μεγάλα ὠφεληθήσεσθαι ἐς τὰ ὅλα, νικηθεῖσι δὲ οὐ παρὰ μέγα ἔσεσθαι τὸ πταῖσμα: καὶ ὥς γὰρ θαλασσοκρατεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἔφη ἐπιβῆναι ἐθέλειν τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχειν. [7] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῇ τε γνώμῃ ἀμαρτάνειν ἔφη Παρμενίωνα καὶ τοῦ σημείου τῇ οὐ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ξυμβλήσει: ὀλίγαις τε γὰρ ναυσὶ πρὸς πολλῷ πλείους ξὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ ναυμαχήσιν καὶ οὐ μεμελετηκότι τῷ σφῶν ναυτικῷ πρὸς προησκημένον τὸ τῶν Κυπρίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων: [8] τὴν τε ἐμπειρίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἐν ἀβεβαίῳ χωρίῳ οὐκ ἐθέλειν παραδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις: καὶ ἡττηθεῖσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐ μικρὰν τὴν βλάβην ἔσεσθαι ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν πρώτην δόξαν, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας νεωτεριεῖν πρὸς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ πταίσματος τὴν ἐξαγγελίαν ἐπαρθέντας. [9] ταῦτα μὲν τῷ λογισμῷ ξυντιθεῖς οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ ἀπέφαινε ναυμαχεῖν: τὸ θεῖον δὲ αὐτὸς ἄλλη ἐξηγεῖσθαι: εἶναι μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀετὸν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ καθήμενος ἐφαίνετο, δοκεῖν οἱ μᾶλλον τι σημαίνειν, ὅτι ἐκ γῆς κρατήσει τοῦ Περσῶν ναυτικοῦ.

XVII. About this time came representatives of Magnesia and Tralles to Alexander to hand over their cities; so he sent Parmenio with 2500 allied infantry and as many Macedonians, and 200 territorial horse. He sent also Alkimachus son of Agathocles, with an equal force, to the Aeolian cities and to any Ionian towns still subject to Persia.

He ordered the oligarchies everywhere to be broken up, democracies to be established, each to have their own laws and to continue paying the same taxes as they had paid to the Persians. Alexander himself remained in Ephesus and sacrificed to Artemis and held a great procession with his troops armed cap-à-pie in full battle order.

Next day he took the remainder of the infantry and the archers and the Agrianes, with the Thracian horse, and the royal squadron of territorial

cavalry, and three squadrons besides, and marched against Miletus. He captured in his stride what they called the Outer City — for the garrison had retired — and camping there he decided to invest the Inner City. For Hegesistratus, commandant, under Dareius, of the Milesian garrison, had anticipated matters by sending a letter to Alexander surrendering the city; but then, taking heart again, because the Persian force was no distance away, schemed to save the city for Persia. Nicanor, however, bringing up the Greek fleet, reached Miletus three days ahead of the Persians, and anchored at the island of Lade with 160 ships. Lade is over against Miletus. The Persian fleet were too late, and when their commanders learnt of Nicanor's arrival already at Lade, they anchored under Mount Mycale. For Alexander had by seizing Lade forestalled them, not only by anchoring his fleet there, but also by transporting thither the Thracians and about 4000 of the other mercenaries. The Persian fleet was of about 400 sail.

Parmenio, notwithstanding, urged Alexander to attack, both because he expected the Greeks to win, and because of an omen; there had been seen an eagle perching on the shore astern of Alexander's vessels. If they won, he argued, it would be a great help to the expedition generally; a defeat would not be very serious; for even as things were the Persians held the supremacy at sea. He said that he was willing to embark himself and share all perils. Alexander, however, said that Parmenio's judgment was at fault; his interpretation of the omen not less so; it would be lunacy to fight a much greater fleet with an inferior one, and face the trained crews of the Cyprians and Phoenicians with his own, who had not yet completed their nautical exercises. He would not risk sacrificing the skill and courage of his Macedonians on so uncertain an element to the Persians; should they lose the engagement it would be a serious blow to their former warlike prestige, with the Greeks also ready to blaze into revolt at the first whisper of a naval defeat. Arguing thus he made clear that it was no time to fight; and declared that he interpreted the omen differently; for the eagle was indeed on his own side; but, since it was seen sitting on the land, it meant (he thought) that he would beat the Persian fleet from the land.

[1] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Γλαύκιππος, ἀνὴρ τῶν δοκίμων ἐν Μιλήτῳ, ἐκπεμφθεὶς παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τε καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, οἷς μᾶλλον τι ἐπετέτραπτο ἢ πόλις τὰ τε τεῖχη ἔφη ἐθέλειν τοὺς Μιλησίους καὶ τοὺς λιμένας παρέχειν κοινούς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Πέρσαις καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπὶ τούτοις λύειν ἡξίου. [2] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Γλαυκίππῳ μὲν προστάσσει ἀπαλλάττεσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ Μιλησίοις ἀπαγγέλλειν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μαχουμένους ἔωθεν. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιστήσας τῷ τείχει μηχανάς, καὶ τὰ μὲν καταβαλὼν δι' ὀλίγου τῶν τειχῶν, τὰ δὲ κατασεισας ἐπὶ πολὺ προσῆγε τὴν στρατιάν ὡς ἐπιβησομένους ἢ κατερήριπτο ἢ ἐσεσάλευτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἐφομαρτοῦντων καὶ μόνον οὐ θεωμένων τῶν Περσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Μυκάλης. πολιορκουμένους τοὺς φίλους σφῶν καὶ ξυμμάχους. [3] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄμφι Νικάνορα ἀπὸ τῆς Λάδης τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ

κατιδόντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἐπέπλεον τῶν Μιλησίων παρὰ γῆν τὴν εἰρεσίαν ποιούμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος, ἥπερ τὸ στενότατον ἦν, ἀντιπρώρους βύζην τὰς τριήρεις ὀρμίσαντες ἀποκεκλείεσαν τῷ μὲν Περσικῷ ναυτικῷ τὸν λιμένα, τοῖς Μιλησίοις δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν ὠφέλειαν. [4] ἔνθα οἱ Μιλήσιοί τε καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι πανταχόθεν ἤδη προσκειμένων σφίσι τῶν Μακεδόνων οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ῥιπτοῦντες σφᾶς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ὑπτίων ἐς νησιῖά τινα ἀνώνυμον τῇ πόλει ἐπικειμένην διενήχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς κελήτια ἐμβαίνοντες καὶ ἐπειγόμενοι ὑποφθάσαι τὰς τριήρεις τῶν Μακεδόνων τριήρων· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει ἀπώλοντο. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐχομένης ἤδη τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐς τὴν νῆσον καταπεφευγότας ἐπέπλει αὐτός, κλίμακας φέρειν ἐπὶ τὰς πύργους τῶν τριήρων κελεύσας, ὥς κατὰ τὰ ἀπότομα τῆς νήσου, καθάπερ πρὸς τεῖχος, ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἀπόβασιν ποιησόμενος. [6] ὥς δὲ διακινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἑώρα, οἶκτος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅτι γενναῖοί τε καὶ πιστοὶ αὐτῷ ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ σπένδεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε ὥς αὐτῷ ξυστρατεύειν· ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἐς τριακοσίους. αὐτοὺς δὲ Μιλησίους, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως ἔπεσον, ἀφῆκεν καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἔδωκεν. [7] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπὸ τῆς Μυκάλης ὀρμώμενοι τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐπέπλεον τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ ναυτικῷ, προκαλέσασθαι ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἐλπίζοντες· τὰς δὲ νύκτας πρὸς τῇ Μυκάλῃ οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ὀρμίζοντο, ὅτι ὑδρεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ τῶν ἐκβολῶν διὰ μακροῦ ἠναγκάζοντο. [8] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ τὸν λιμένα μένα ἐφύλαττε τῶν Μιλησίων, ὥς μὴ βιάσαιντο οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἔσπλουν, ἐκπέμπει δ' ἐς τὴν Μυκάλην Φιλώταν, ἄγοντα τοὺς τε ἱππέας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τάξεις τρεῖς, παραγγείλας εἶργειν τῆς ἀποβάσεως τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. οἱ δέ, ὕδατός τε σπάνει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ πολιορκούμενοι ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, ἐς Σάμον ἀπέπλευσαν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπισιτισάμενοι αὐθις ἐπέπλεον τῇ Μιλήτῳ· [9] καὶ τὰς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος ἐν μετεώρῳ παρέταξαν, εἴ πῃ ἐκκαλέσαιντο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος τοὺς Μακεδόνας, πέντε δὲ αὐτῶν εἰσέπλευσαν ἐς τὸν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Λάδης νήσου καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου λιμένα, ἐλπίσαντες κενὰς καταλήψεσθαι τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου ναῦς, ὅτι τοὺς ναύτας ἀποσκεδάννυσθαι τὸ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ φρυγανισμῷ, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ξυγκομιδῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς προνομὰς ταττομένους, πεπυσμένοι ἦσαν. [10] ἀλλὰ μέρος μὲν τι ἀπὴν τῶν ναυτῶν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρόντων συμπληρώσας Ἀλέξανδρος δέκα ναῦς, ὥς προσπλεύσας τὰς πέντε τῶν Περσῶν κατεΐδε, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτάς κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἐμβάλλειν ἀντιπρώρους κελεύσας. οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς πέντε ναυσὶ τῶν Περσῶν, ὥς παρ' ἐλπίδα ἀναγομένους τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶδον, ὑποστρέψαντες ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔφευγον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν. [11] καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰασσέων ναὺς ἀλίσκεται αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, οὐ ταχυναντοῦσα· αἱ δὲ τέσσαρες ἔφθασαν καταφυγεῖν ἐς τὰς οἰκείας τριήρεις. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλευσαν ἄπρακτοι ἐκ Μιλήτου οἱ Πέρσαι.

XVIII. Meanwhile, Glaucippus, one of the notables of Miletus, was sent to Alexander by the people and the mercenaries, to whose care the city was chiefly entrusted, and declared that the citizens were prepared to open their

walls and harbours to Alexander and the Persians in common; and he demanded on these stipulations that he should raise the siege. Alexander, however, bade Glaucippus to be gone with all speed to the city and tell the citizens to be ready to fight at dawn. He personally saw to engines being set against the walls, and, partly by bombarding the wall at close quarters, and partly by battering it over a great distance, he brought up his force to be ready to rush in wherever the wall was breached or shaken. The Persians from Mycale were close by, and almost beheld their friends and allies under siege.

But now Nicanor's fleet from Lade sighted Alexander's attack, and sailed into the harbour of Miletus, rowing along the coast, and, jamming their triremes, bows seaward, at the narrowest part of the entrance had bottled up the harbour against the Persian fleet, and cut off Persian help for Miletus. Thereon the Milesians and the mercenaries, hard pressed on all sides by the Macedonians, some threw themselves into the sea and using their shields as coracles paddled over to a little nameless island near the city, others got into pinnaces and hurrying to get in front of the Macedonian triremes were caught by them at the harbour entrance; but the greater number perished in the city itself.

Alexander, the city being now in hand, sailed off against those who had fled to the islet, ordering ladders to be brought to the bows of the triremes so as to disembark from the ships on the cliffs of the islands as if on a city wall. But seeing that those on the island were going to fight to the death, he felt compassion for them, as noble and loyal soldiers, and made terms with them that they should join his forces; there were about 300 of these Greek mercenaries. The Milesians themselves, save such as fell at the final assault, he dismissed with their freedom.

The Persians using Mycale as a base by daytime used to sail towards the Greek navy, hoping to provoke an engagement; but at night they did not ride in comfort at Mycale, because they were obliged to get water from the mouths of the Maeander, some way off. Alexander with his fleet guarded the harbour of Miletus, that the Persians might not force the entrance, but he sent Philotas to Mycale with the cavalry and three columns of infantry, bidding him hinder the Persians from disembarking. So they, from want of water and other things, were as good as besieged in their ships, and sailed off to Samos; provisioning there, they made for Miletus again. The mass of their vessels they drew up in line out at sea opposite the harbour, hoping to provoke the Macedonians to action in the open; but five ships slipped into the harbour between Lade and the camps hoping to capture Alexander's ships unmanned, having learned that the crews had for the most part scattered, some to fuel, some to convoy stores, and some detailed for foraging. There was indeed a certain number away from the ships; but Alexander manned ten ships with the available hands, and when he sighted the five Persian ships bearing down, sent these to meet them at full speed with orders to ram. The crews of the five Persian ships, seeing the Macedonians making for them (the last thing they expected), doubled back,

while still at safe distance, and joined the main fleet. One ship (manned by Iassians) was captured with its crew in the retreat, being a slow sailer; the other four got safe to their own triremes. Thus the Persians left Miletus with nothing done.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καταλῦσαι ἔγνω τὸ ναυτικὸν χρημάτων τε ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπορία καὶ ἅμα οὐκ ἀξιόμαχον ὄρων τὸ αὐτοῦ ναυτικὸν τῷ Περσικῷ, οὐκουν ἐθέλων οὐδὲ μέρει τινὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς κινδυνεύειν. ἄλλως τε ἐπενόει, κατέχων ἤδη τῷ πεζῷ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅτι οὔτε ναυτικοῦ ἔτι δέοιτο, τὰς τε παραλίους πόλεις λαβὼν καταλύσει τὸ Περσῶν ναυτικόν, οὔτε ὁπόθεν τὰς ὑπηρεσίας συμπληρώσουσιν οὔτε ὅποι τῆς Ἀσίας προσέξουσιν ἔχοντας. καὶ τὸν αἰτὸν ταῦτη: συνέβαλλεν, ὅτι ἐσήμηνεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς γῆς κρατήσιν τῶν νεῶν. [2] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ Καρίας ἐστέλλετο, ὅτι ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῷ συνεστηκέναι οὐ φαύλην δύναμιν τῶν τε βαρβάρων καὶ ξένων ἐξηγγέλλετο. ὅσαι δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πόλεις Μιλήτου τε καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ, ταύτας ἐξ ἐφόδου λαβὼν καταστρατοπεδεύει πρὸς Ἀλικαρνασσῷ, ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως ἐς πέντε μάλιστα σταδίους, ὡς ἐπὶ χρονίῳ πολιορκία. [3] ἥ τε γὰρ φύσις τοῦ χωρίου ὄχυρόν ἐποίει αὐτὸ καὶ ὅπῃ τι ἐνδεῖν ὡς πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐφαίνετο, ζύμπαντα ταῦτα Μέμνων τε αὐτὸς παρών, ἥδη ἀποδεδειγμένος πρὸς Δαρείου τῆς τε κάτω Ἀσίας καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμών, ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευάκει, καὶ στρατιῶται πολλοὶ μὲν ξένοι μισθοφόροι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγκατελείφθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Περσῶν αὐτῶν, αἱ τε τριήρεις ἐφόρμουν τῷ λιμένι, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν γίνεσθαι ἐς τὰ ἔργα. [4] τῇ μὲν δὴ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ προσάγοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ τείχει κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ Μύλασα φερούσας πύλας ἐκδρομὴ τε γίγνεται τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀκροβολισμός: καὶ τούτους οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνέστειλάν τε οἱ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀντεκδραμόντες καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατέκλεισαν. [5] οὐ πολλὰς δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐταίρων ἵππον καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου τε καὶ Περδίκκου καὶ Μελεάγρου τάξιν τὴν πεζικὴν καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας περιῆλθε τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὸ πρὸς Μύνδον μέρος, τό τε τείχος κατοψόμενος, εἰ ταύτῃ ἐπιμαχώτερον τυγχάνει ὃν ἐς τὴν προσβολὴν, καὶ ἅμα εἰ τὴν Μύνδον ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δύναίτο λαθὼν κατασχεῖν: ἔσεσθαι γὰρ οὐ σμικρὰν τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐς τὴν τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ πολιορκίαν τὴν Μύνδον οἰκείαν γενομένην: καὶ τι καὶ ἐνεδίδото αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν Μυνδίων, εἰ λάθοι νυκτὸς προσελθὼν. [6] αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας προσῆλθε τῷ τείχει: ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνεδίδото ἀπὸ τῶν ἑνδον, αἱ τε μηχαναὶ καὶ αἱ κλίμακες αὐτῷ οὐ παρήσαν, οἷα δὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολιορκίαν σταλέντα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ ἐνδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως, προσήγαγε καὶ ὡς τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν φάλαγγα, ὑπορύττειν κελεύσας τὸ τείχος. καὶ ἓνα γε πύργον κατέβαλον οἱ Μακεδόνες, οὐ μέντοι ἐγύμνωσέ γε τὸ τείχος πεσών: [7] καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἅμα εὐρώστως ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν πολλοὶ ἤδη παραβεβηθηκότες ἄπορον ἐποίησαν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν αὐτοσχεδιὸν τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κατάληψιν τῆς Μύνδου. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐπανέρχεται Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδὲν πράξας, ὧν ἕνεκα ὠρμήθη, καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ αὐθις προσεῖχε. [8] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν τάφρον, ἣ πρὸ τῆς

πόλεως ὁρώρυκτο αὐτοῖς, πλάτος μὲν τριάκοντα μάλιστα πηγῶν, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐχώννυε, τοῦ ῥαδῖαν εἶναι τὴν προσαγωγὴν τῶν τε πύργων, ἀφ' ὧν ἔμελλε τοὺς ἀκροβολισμοὺς ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους τοῦ τείχους ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηχανῶν, αἷς κατασεῖειν ἐπενόει τὸ τεῖχος. [9] καὶ ἡ τε τάφος αὐτῷ ἐχώσθη οὐ χαλεπῶς καὶ οἱ πύργοι προσήγοντο ἡδῆ. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ νυκτὸς ἐκδραμόντες, ὥς ἐμπρῆσαι τοὺς τε πύργους καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι μηχαναὶ προσηγμένοι ἢ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ προσάγεσθαι ἦσαν, ὑπὸ τῶν φυλακῶν τε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ ὅσοι ἐν αὐτῷ ἔργῳ ἐξεγερθέντες παρεβοήθησαν οὐ χαλεπῶς κατεκλείσθησαν ἐς τὰ τεῖχη αἰθῆς. [10] καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἄλλοι τε ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ Ἀρραβαίου, τοῦ Ἀμύντου ἀδελφός, τῶν παρὰ Δαρεῖον αὐτομολησάντων: τῶν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιωτῶν ἀπέθανον μὲν ἐς ἑκκαίδεκα, τραυματίαι δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐς τριακοσίους, ὅτι ἐν νυκτὶ γενομένης τῆς ἐκδρομῆς ἀφυλακτότεροι ἐς τὸ τιτρώσκεισθαι ἦσαν.

XIX. Alexander now decided to disband his navy, both from want of money at the time and also perceiving that his fleet could not face an action with the Persian navy; he had no intention to risk disaster with even a portion of his armament. Further, he reflected that as he now held Asia with his land troops, he no longer needed a navy, and that by capturing the Persian coast bases he would break up their fleet, since they would have nowhere to make up their crews from, and, in fact, no seaport in Asia. Thus he took the eagle to mean that he should conquer the ships from dry land.

When he had settled this he marched towards Caria, having had reports that a considerable force of Persians and mercenaries had assembled at Halicarnassus. Such cities as lie between Miletus and Halicarnassus he captured on the march, and then encamped against Halicarnassus, at five stades distance, settling down for a long siege. For the position of the place made it very strong, and if anything was needed to strengthen it, Memnon had personally seen to this long ago; from the moment he was marked out by Dareius for command of all lower Asia and of the whole fleet; a large force of mercenaries had been left in the city, with many Persians also; the triremes guarded the harbour, so that the sailors too lent much assistance.

On the first day it fell out that as Alexander was approaching the wall near the gates leading to Mylasa there was a sally from the city and volleys at safe distance; this attack Alexander's troops had no difficulty in driving back by a counter sally, and also safely shut up the attacking party in their walls again.

A few days later Alexander led off his guards, the territorial cavalry, and the infantry battalion of Amyntas, Perdikkas, and Meleager, with the archers and the Agrianes, and went round the city to the side that lay Myndus-ward; his idea was to reconnoitre the wall in case it should prove more open to an assault there, and also to see if perhaps he could capture Myndus by a sudden raid. The capture of Myndus, he thought, would be a great help to a siege of Halicarnassus. A proposal of surrender had been received from Myndus,

provided he could arrive there by night. He therefore approached Myndus about midnight, as agreed; but there was no sign of surrender; his engines and ladders he had left behind — naturally enough, since he had not come to besiege, but to receive a treacherous surrender of the city. None the less he brought up the Macedonian phalanx with orders to sap the wall. One tower they did throw down; yet in its fall it did not strip the wall; the defenders stoutly resisted, and numerous troops by this time had sailed up from Halicarnassus and prevented Alexander from rushing the capture of Myndus. So Alexander retreated with this project a failure, and he kept once more to the siege of Halicarnassus.

First he filled level the moat which they had dug before the city, about 30 cubits broad and 15 deep; this was to facilitate the approach of the towers, from which he intended to bombard by volleys of missiles the defenders of the wall, as also of the other engines intended to batter the walls. The ditch was filled up without difficulty and the towers soon were brought up. The Halicarnassians, however, made a night sally, to burn the towers and the other engines which had been brought up, or were in position shortly so to be. But the attackers were easily enclosed again in their city walls by the Macedonian guards and others who, waking up in the course of the action, rushed to their help. The city lost 170 men, including Neoptolemus son of Arrabaeus, brother of Amyntas, one of those who had deserted to Dareius: of Alexander's troops there fell about sixteen, but three hundred were wounded, since — the sally being at night — they were less protected against wounds.

[1] οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον δύο τῶν Μακεδόνων ὀπλῖται ἐκ τῆς [ὑστερον] Περδίκκου τάξεως ξυσκηνοῦντές τε καὶ ἅμα ξυμπίνοντες αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἐκάτερος ἐπὶ μέγα τῷ λόγῳ ἦγεν. ἐνθα δὴ φιλοτιμία τε ἐσπίπτει αὐτοῖς, καὶ τι καὶ ὁ οἶνος ὑπεθέρμαινεν, ὥστε ὀπλισάμενοι αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ σφῶν προσβάλλουσι τῷ τείχει κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν πρὸς Μύλασα μάλιστα τετραμμένην, ὡς ἐπιδείξιν τῆς σφῶν ρώμης μᾶλλον τι ἢ πρὸς πολεμίους μετὰ κινδύνου τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιησόμενοι. [2] καὶ τούτους κατιδόντες τινὲς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως δύο τε ὄντας καὶ οὐ ξὺν λογισμῷ προσφερομένους τῷ τείχει ἐπεκθέουσιν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐγγὺς πελάσαντας ἀπέκτειναν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας ἠκροβολίζοντο, πλεονεκτούμενοι τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τῇ χαλεπότητι, ὅτι ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡ ἐπιδρομή τε καὶ ὁ ἀκροβολισμὸς ἐγίνετο. [3] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀντεκθέουσί τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν τοῦ Περδίκκου στρατιωτῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ ἄλλοι καὶ ξυμπίπτει μάχη καρτερὰ πρὸς τῷ τείχει: καὶ κατακλείονται αὖθις πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν οἱ ἐπεκδραμόντες. παρ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἦλθε καὶ ἀλῶναι ἡ πόλις. [4] τὰ τε γὰρ τείχη ἐν τῷ τότε οὐκ ἐν ἀκριβεῖ φυλακῇ ἦν καὶ δύο πύργοι καὶ μεσοπύργιον ἐς ἔδαφος καταπεπτωκότα οὐ χαλεπὴν ἂν τῷ στρατεύματι, εἰ ἅπαν προσήψατο τοῦ ἔργου, τὴν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀράοδον παρέσχε, καὶ ὁ τρίτος πύργος κατασεσεισμένος οὐδὲ οὗτος χαλεπῶς ἂν ἠρίφθη ὑπορουσσόμενος: ἀλλὰ ἔφθησαν γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ πεπτωκότος τείχους ἔσωθεν πλίνθινον μηννοειδὲς ἀντοικοδομησάμενοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας. [5] καὶ τούτῳ ἐπῆγε τῇ

ὕστεραίᾳ τὰς μηχανὰς Ἀλέξανδρος· καὶ ἐκδρομὴ αὐθις γίγνεται τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμπρῆσαι τὰς μηχανάς. καὶ μέρος μὲν τι τῶν πλησίον τοῦ τείχους γέρρων καὶ ἐνὸς τῶν πύργων τῶν ξυλίνων κατεκαύθη, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα διεφύλαξαν οἱ περὶ Φιλώταν τε καὶ Ἑλλάνικον, οἷς ἡ φυλακὴ αὐτῶν ἐπετέτραπτο· ὥς δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεφάνη ἐν τῇ ἐκδρομῇ, τὰς τε δῆδας, ὅσας ἔχοντες ἐκβεβηθήκεσαν, ἀφέντες καὶ τὰ ὄπλα οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ῥίψαντες εἰσω τοῦ τείχους ἔφευγον. [6] καίτοι τὰ γε πρῶτα τῇ φύσει τε τοῦ χωρίου, ὑπερδεξίου ὄντος, ἐπεκράτουν καὶ οὐ κατὰ μέτωπον μόνον ἡκροβολίζοντο ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους τῶν μηχανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πύργων, οἳ δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἐρημιμένου τείχους αὐτοὶ ὑπολελειμμένοι ἐκ πλαγίου τε καὶ μόνον οὐ κατὰ νότου παρεῖχον ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἐς τοὺς τῷ ἀντωκοδομημένῳ τείχει προσάγοντας.

XXI. Not many days after, two Macedonian men-at-arms of Perdiccas' battalion, bivouacked together and drinking together, were each exalting his own prowess and deeds: rivalry arose, assisted by the heating fumes of wine; so they armed themselves and attacked the wall by the height which looks Mylasa way; their idea being to exhibit their strength rather than to force a perilous encounter with the enemy. Some in the city sighted the rash pair approaching the wall, and made a dash out upon them, slaying both these two men, who were close up, and showering volleys on the more distant troops, confident in their number and in the difficulty of the ground, since the Halicarnassians had the advantage of height for their charge and their volleys. On this more of Perdiccas' men hurried up, and others from the city too, and a stiff fight raged about the wall. Once more the Macedonians drove the sallying force back into the city, and indeed the City was not far from being captured. For the walls were not then carefully guarded, and as two towers and one intervening curtain had fallen, the approach to the wall had become easy for the army, had they all attacked together. The third tower, moreover, had been badly shaken, and if undermined would easily have been brought down, but the besieged had smartly built out opposite the breach from within a crescent-shaped brick wall, and as they had plenty of builders, they did so with ease.

Alexander next day brought up his engines against this wall; promptly a sally was made to burn them. Part of the fence of mantlets near the walls and one of the wooden towers were burnt; the rest was saved by Philotas and Hellanicus and their men, who were entrusted with the care of them. But when Alexander also appeared in the assault, they threw away the torches with which they had rushed out, and most cast away their arms and made within the wall. Yet at first, from the position, which was commanding, the besieged had the best of it, and did not only volley straight ahead along their line at the advance guard of the engines, but also from the towers left standing on either side of the breach, which enabled them to volley on the flanks, and almost at the rear, of those who approached the new-built wall.

[1] οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐπάγοντος αὐθις Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰς

μηχανὰς τῷ πλινθίνῳ τῷ ἐντὸς τείχει καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφেষτηκότος τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐκδρομὴ γίνεται πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἐρηριμμένον τείχος, ἣ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπετέτακτο, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸ Τρίπυλον, ἣ οὐδὲ πάνυ τι προσδεχομένοις τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἦν. [2] καὶ οἱ μὲν δαδὰς τε ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐνέβαλλον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τὸ ἐξάψαι τε φλόγα καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα προκαλέσασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῶν τε ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐρρωμένως καὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων λίθων τε μεγάλων ἀφιεμένων καὶ βελῶν ἐξακοντιζομένων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεστράφησάν τε καὶ ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. [3] καὶ φόνος ταύτῃ οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐγένετο, ὅσῳ πλείονές τε καὶ ζὺν μείζονι τῇ τόλμῃ ἐξέδραμον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ ἄμφι τῷ τείχει τῷ καταπεπτωκότι, στενωτέρας τε ἢ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν τῆς παρόδου οὔσης καὶ τῶν κατερηριμμένων τοῦ τείχους χαλεπὴν τὴν ὑπέρβασιν αὐτοῖς παρεχόντων. [4] τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ Τρίπυλον ἐκδραμοῦσιν ἀπὴντα Πτολεμαῖος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ ὁ βασιλικός, τὴν τε Ἀδαίου καὶ Τιμάνδρου ἅμα οἱ τάξιν ἄγων καὶ ἔστιν οὗς τῶν ψιλῶν: καὶ οὗτοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ χαλεπῶς ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. [5] ζυνέβη δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει κατὰ στενὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς τάφρου πεποιημένην φεύγουσι τὴν τε γέφυραν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ πλῆθους ζυντρίψαι καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμπεσόντας τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ σφῶν καταπατηθέντας διαφθαρῆναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων βαλλομένους. [6] ὁ πλεῖστος δὲ φόνος περὶ ταῖς πύλαις αὐταῖς ζυνέβη, ὅτι ἡ ζύγκλεισις τῶν πυλῶν φοβερά τε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ γενομένη, δεισάντων μὴ συνεισπέσειεν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐχόμενοι αὐτῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες, πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν φίλων τῆς εἰσόδου ἀπέκλεισεν, οὗς πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς τείχεσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες διέφθειραν. [7] καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἤκεν ἄλῶναι ἢ πόλιν, εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνεκαλέσατο τὸ στράτευμα, ἔτι διασῶσαι ἐθέλων τὴν Ἀλικαρνασσόν, εἴ τι φίλιον ἐνδοθεῖη ἐκ τῶν Ἀλικαρνασσέων. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐς χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ζὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄμφι τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ἐν τούτοις Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ σωματοφύλαξ καὶ Κλέαρχος ὁ τοξάρχης καὶ Ἀδαῖος ὁ χιλιάρχης, οὗτοι καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν οὐκ ἡμελημένων Μακεδόνων.

XXII. A few days afterwards Alexander again brought up his engines to the inner brick wall, taking charge of operations himself, and there was a sally in full force; some of the enemy attacked near the breach, where Alexander was, others at the triple gate, the last place the Macedonians looked for a sally. Some flung torches at the siege engines, and anything else which might light a flame and spread it to the utmost; but Alexander's immediate supports counter-attacked vigorously; large stones were hurled by the engines from the towers, bullets were showered in volleys, and the besieged were fairly easily repulsed and fled back to the city. They suffered a good deal of loss, proportionate to the number of the attackers and the boldness of their sally. Some fell in hand-to-hand fight with the Macedonians, others about the fallen wall, the passage being too narrow to admit such a number and the fallen parts of the wall making it difficult to pass over them.

As for those who sallied by the triple gate, Ptolemaeus, captain of the

bodyguard of Alexander, met them, bringing up the battalions of Addaeus and Timander, and some of the light troops; these too fairly easily drove back the sallying party. This also suffered in the retreat over a narrow bridge thrown over the moat; the bridge gave way under their numbers, many fell into the moat some were trampled by their comrades, some the Macedonians shot down from above. The greatest slaughter was round about the gates themselves; for the gates were shut prematurely in panic, the defenders fearing lest the Macedonians, pressing hard upon the fugitives, might enter also; thus many friends were shut out, to be destroyed by their foes close to the walls. The city indeed came near to capture, had not Alexander sounded the retreat, desirous even now of saving Halicarnassus if the citizens would surrender without further hostility. About a thousand of these perished, of Alexander's forces about forty; among these were Ptolemaeus, captain of the bodyguard, Clearchus, in charge of the archers, Addaeus, a captain of thousand, and other Macedonians of repute.

[1] ἔνθα δὴ ξυνελθόντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν, Ὅροντοβάτης τε καὶ Μένων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων γνόντες σφᾶς τε οὐ δυναμένους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχειν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τοῦ τείχους τὸ μὲν τι καταπεπτωκὸς ἤδη ὄρωντες, τὸ δὲ καὶ κατασεσισμένον, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς τοὺς μὲν διεφθαρμένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τετρώσθαι ἀπομάχους ὄντας, [2] ταῦτα ἐν νῶ λαβόντες ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς τὸν τε ξύλινον πύργον, ὃν αὐτοὶ ἀντωκοδόμησαν ταῖς μηχαναῖς τῶν πολεμίων, ἐμπιπρᾶσι καὶ τὰς στοάς, ἐν αἷς τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς ἀπέκειτο. ἐνέβαλον δὲ καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις πῦρ ταῖς πλησίον τοῦ τείχους; [3] τῶν δὲ καὶ προσήψατο ἡ φλόξ ἀπὸ τε τῶν στοῶν καὶ τοῦ πύργου πολλὴ ἀπενεχθεῖσα καὶ τι καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου ταύτῃ ἐπιφέροντος: αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλμακίδα, ἄκραν οὕτω καλουμένην. [4] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη ταῦτα πρὸς τινῶν αὐτομολησάντων ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὸ πῦρ πολὺ καθεώρα αὐτὸς, καίτοι ἀμφὶ μέσας πού νύκτας ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς Μακεδόνας τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐμπιπράντας τὴν πόλιν ἔκτεινεν, ὅσοι δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καταλαμβάνοιντο τῶν Ἀλικαρνασσεῶν, τούτους δὲ σώζειν παρήγγειλεν. ἤδη τε ἥως ὑπέφαινε καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς ἄκρας. [5] ἄς οἱ τε Πέρσαι καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι κατειλήφесαν, ταύτας μὲν ἀπέγνων πολιορκεῖν, τριβὴν τε ἐπινοῶν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἔσσεσθαι οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὰς τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων καὶ οὐ παρὰ μέγα εἶναι ἐξελόντι οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἤδη πᾶσαν. [6] θάψας δὲ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τὰς μὲν μηχανὰς ἐς Τράλλεις ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπ' αὐταῖς τεταγμένους, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐς ἔδαφος κατασκάψας αὐτῆς τε ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Καρίας φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπὼν ξένους μὲν πεζοὺς τρισχιλίους, ἵππείας δὲ ἐς διακοσίους καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐστέλλετο. [7] τῆς δὲ Καρίας ξυμπάσης σατραπεύειν ἔταξεν Ἄδαν, θυγατέρα μὲν Ἐκατόμνω, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἰδριέως, ὃς καὶ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῇ ὢν κατὰ νόμον τῶν Καρῶν ξυνώκει. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰδριεὺς τελευτῶν ταύτῃ ἐπέτρεψε τὰ πράγματα, νενομισμένον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔτι ἀπὸ Σεμιράμεως καὶ γυναῖκας ἄρχειν ἀνδρῶν. Πιζώδαρος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκβάλλει τῆς ἀρχῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ κατεῖχε τὰ πράγματα. [8]

τελευτήσαντος δὲ Πιξωδάρου Ὀροντοβάτης τὴν Καρῶν ἀρχὴν ἐκ βασιλέως πεμφθεὶς εἶχε, γαμβρὸς ὢν Πιξωδάρου. Ἄδα δὲ Ἄλινδα μόνον κατεῖχε, χωρίον τῆς Καρίας ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώτατον, καὶ ἐσβαλόντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς Καρίαν ἀπήντα, τὰ τε Ἄλινδα ἐνδιδοῦσα καὶ παῖδά οἱ τιθεμένα Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ τε Ἄλινδα αὐτῇ ἐπέτρεψε καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀλικαρνασσὸν τε ἐξεῖλε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Καρίας ἐπεκράτησεν, αὐτῇ ἄρχειν ἀπάσης ἔδωκε.

XXIII. On this the leaders of the Persians, Orontobates and Memnon, met and decided that as things were they could not long hold out against the siege, with part of the wall gone, as they saw, and part badly shaken, many soldiers lost in the sallies, many disabled by wounds. Reviewing all this, about the second watch of the night they burned the wooden tower which they had built to oppose the enemy engines, and also their armouries. They fired as well all houses near the walls, others caught fire from the armouries and the tower, where it burned furiously, the wind wafting it in this direction; as for themselves, part retreated to the citadel on the island, part into the height called Salmakis. As soon as this news was reported to Alexander from some who had deserted after the disaster, and as he himself saw the fire spreading, though it took place about midnight, none the less he called up his Macedonians and put to the sword any incendiaries caught in the act, while advising that any citizens found in the houses should be saved.

Dawn was breaking; and observing the heights which the Persians and the mercenaries had seized, he decided not to besiege these, considering that it would mean much delay round about them, owing to the nature of the ground, and no great advantage now he had captured the whole city. He buried, therefore, those who had fallen during the night, and ordered the troops detailed for the purpose to withdraw the siege engines to Tralles. Then he razed to the ground the city and left a garrison for the destroyed city and for all Caria, and he despatched three thousand mercenary foot, two hundred horse, under Ptolemaeus, to Phrygia. As satrap of entire Caria he appointed Ada, daughter of Hecatomnos, wife of Hidrieus who according to Carian custom was both brother and husband. Hidrieus on his death had handed over affairs to her; from Semiramis down, the Asians had been used to women rulers.

Pixodarus, however, turned her out of her position and assumed the throne himself. On his death Orontobates, as envoy from the king and brother-in-law of Pixodarus, took over. Ada meanwhile held Alinda only, a very strong fortress of Caria; and when Alexander entered Caria she went to meet him, surrendering Alinda and adopting Alexander as her son. Alexander gave Alinda back to her in charge, and did not reject the adoptive title, and on the capture of Halicarnassus and the rest of Caria, put her in command of the whole.

[1] τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ ἔστιν οἱ συνεστρατευμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦσαν νεωστὶ

πρὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς γεγαμηκότες· καὶ τούτων ἔγνω οὐκ ἀμελητέα εἶναι οἱ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλ' ἐκπέμπει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκ Καρίας διαχειμάσοντας ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἅμα ταῖς γυναῖξιν, ἐπιτάξας αὐτοῖς Πτολεμαῖον τε τὸν Σελεύκου, ἓνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν βασιλικῶν, καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Κοῖνόν τε τὸν Πολεμοκράτους καὶ Μελέαγρον τὸν Νεοπτολέμου, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν νεογάμων ἦσαν, [2] προστάξας, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοὶ τε ἐπανάωσι καὶ τοὺς μετὰ σφῶν ἐκπεμφθέντας ἐπαναγάγωσι, καταλέξαι ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅσους πλείστους. καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τῷδε, εἴπερ τινὶ ἄλλῳ, εὐδοκίμησε παρὰ Μακεδόσιν Ἀλέξανδρος. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Κλέανδρον τὸν Πολεμοκράτους ἐπὶ ξυλλογῇ στρατιωτῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον. [3] Παρμενίωνα δὲ πέμπει ἐπὶ Σάρδεων, δούς αὐτῷ τῶν τε ἐταίρων ἱπαρχίαν καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμμάχους καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἄγειν· καὶ κελεύει προῖεναι ἀπὸ Σάρδεων ἐπὶ Φρυγίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Λυκίας τε καὶ Παμφυλίας ἦει, ὥς τῆς παραλίου κρατήσας ἀχρεῖον καταστήσαι τοῖς πολέμοις τὸ ναυτικόν. [4] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν παρόδῳ Ὑπαρνα, χωρίον ὄχυρόν, φυλακὴν ἔχον ξένους μισθοφόρους, ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβεν· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ξένοι ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξῆλθον. ἔπειτα εἰσβαλὼν εἰς Λυκίαν Τελμισσέας μὲν ὁμολογία προσηγάγετο, περάσας δὲ τὸν Ξάνθον ποταμὸν Πίναρα καὶ Ξάνθον τὴν πόλιν καὶ Πάταρα ἐνδοθέντα ἔλαβε καὶ ἄλλα ἐλάττω πολίσματα ἐς τριάκοντα. [5] ταῦτα καταπράξας ἐν ἀκμῇ ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὴν Μιλυάδα καλουμένην χώραν ἐσβάλλει, ἣ ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας, ξυνετέλει δὲ ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν τότε, οὕτως ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου τεταγμένον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα Φασηλιτῶν πρέσβεις ἦκον περὶ φιλίας τε καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανῶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπικηρυκευόμενοι ἐπρέσβευον Λυκίων τῶν κάτω οἱ πολλοί. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Φασηλίτας τε καὶ Λυκίους παραδοῦναι τὰς πόλεις τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο στελλομένοις ἐκέλευσε· καὶ παρεδόθησαν ζύμπασαι. αὐτὸς δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Φασηλίδα παραγενόμενος συνεξαίρει αὐτοῖς φρούριον ὄχυρόν, ἐπιτετειχισμένον τῇ χώρᾳ πρὸς Πισιδῶν, ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι πολλὰ ἐβλαπτον τῶν Φασηλιτῶν τοὺς τὴν γῆν ἐργαζομένους.

XXIV. Some of the Macedonians serving under Alexander had been recently married before taking the field; Alexander thought he ought not to neglect these men, but sent them off from Caria to spend the winter with their wives in Macedonia, putting in charge of them Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, one of the royal bodyguard, and attaching to him, of the officers, Coenus son of Polemocrates and Meleager son of Neoptolemus, being themselves bridegrooms. He directed them, when they should return and bring back their convoy, to collect horse and foot from the country, as many as they could. Alexander gained as much popularity by this act among the Macedonians as by any other. He sent also Cleander son of Polemocrates to collect troops from the Peloponnese.

Parmenio he sent to Sardes, giving him a squadron of the territorial cavalry, the Thessalian cavalry, and the other allies and the chariots; he bade him proceed from Sardes to Phrygia; but he himself went towards Lycia and Pamphylia, so that, now he held the coast, he might render useless the

enemy's navy. First then on his route he took in his stride Hyparna, a strong place, with a mercenary garrison; but the mercenaries, receiving terms, marched out of the citadel. Then entering Lycia he took over, by surrender, the Telmisseans; crossing the Xanthus, he received Pinara and Xanthus city and Patara in submission, and thirty smaller strongholds.

When he had completed all this, in the height of winter, as it now was, he attacked the Milyan territory, as it is called; it belongs to Greater Phrygia, but was reckoned then as part of Lyeia, according to the king's orders. There envoys from Phaselis come to offer friendly relations and to crown Alexander with a gold crown; taking the lead from them the greater part of Lower Lycia also sent envoys. Alexander bade both the envoys of Phaselis and the Lycians to hand over their cities to those whom he despatched to take them over; and they were all duly handed over. He came soon after to Phaselis, and took, in conjunction with these, a strong outpost, built to threaten this district by Pisidians, and from which the natives often did much injury to those of Phaselis who were tilling the ground.

[1] ἔτι δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Φασηλίδαν ὄντι ἐξαγγέλλεται Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀερόπου ἐπιβουλεύειν, τὰ τε ἄλλα τῶν ἐταίρων ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε Θεσσαλῶν τῆς ἵππου ἄρχοντα. ἦν μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος ἀδελφὸς Ἡρομένους τε καὶ Ἀρραβαίου τῶν ξυνεπιλαβόντων τῆς σφαγῆς τῆς Φιλίππου: [2] καὶ τότε αἰτίαν σχόντα αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι ἐν πρώτοις τε ἀφίκετο τῶν φίλων παρ' αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ τὸν θώρακα συνενδὺς συνηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια: ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐν τιμῇ ἀμφ' αὐτόν εἶχε, στρατηγὸν τε ἐπὶ Θράκης στείλας καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κάλας ὁ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἵππαρχος ἐπὶ σατραπείᾳ ἐξεπέμφθη, αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξεν ἄρχην τῆς Θεσσαλικῆς ἵππου. τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐξηγγέλθη ὧδε. [3] Δαρείος, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμύντας αὐτομολήσας παρ' αὐτόν λόγους τέ τινας καὶ γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἐκόμισε, καταπέμπει ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Σισίνην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν πιστῶν, πρόφασιν μὲν παρὰ Ἀτίζυήν τὸν Φρυγίας σατράπην, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τούτῳ συνεσόμενον καὶ πίστει δάσοντα, εἰ ἀποκτείνει βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον, αὐτὸν βασιλέα καταστήσειν Μακεδονίας καὶ χρυσίου τάλαντα πρὸς τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐπιδώσειν χίλια. [4] ὁ δὲ Σισίνης ἀλοὺς πρὸς Παρμενίωνος λέγει πρὸς Παρμενίωνα ὦν ἕνεκα ἀπεστάλη: καὶ τοῦτον ἐν φυλακῇ πέμπει Παρμενίων παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ πυνθάνεται ταῦτα παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος. ξυναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς φίλους βουλὴν προϋτίθει ὅ τι χρὴ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου γνῶναι. [5] καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς ἐταίροις μήτε πάλαι εὖ βεβουλευσθαι τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἀνδρὶ οὐ πιστῷ ἐπιτρέψας, νῶν τε χρῆναι αὐτόν κατὰ τάχος ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι, πρὶν καὶ ἐπιτηδειότερον γενόμενον τοῖς Θετταλοῖς ξὺν αὐτοῖς τι νεωτερίσαι. καὶ τι καὶ θεῖον ἐφόβει αὐτούς. [6] ἔτι γὰρ πολιορκούντος αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀλικαρνασσὸν ἀναπαύεσθαι μὲν ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ, χελιδόνα δὲ περιπέτεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρύζουσαν μεγάλα καὶ τῆς εὐνῆς ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἐπικαθίζειν, θορυβώδεστερον ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἄδουσαν: [7] τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐγερθῆναι μὲν ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου, ἐνοχλούμενον δὲ πρὸς τῆς φωνῆς τῇ χειρὶ οὐ βαρέως

ἀποσοβῆσαι τὴν χελιδόνα: τὴν δὲ τοσούτου ἄρα δεῖσαι ἀποφυγεῖν πληγεῖσαν, ὥστε ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καθημένην μὴ πρόσθεν ἀνεῖναι πρὶν παντελῶς ἐξεγερθῆναι Ἀλέξανδρον. [8] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ φαῦλον ποιησάμενος τὸ τῆς χελιδόνος ἀνεκοίνωσεν Ἀριστάνδρῳ τῷ Τελμισσεῖ, μάντει: Ἀρίστανδρον δὲ ἐπιβουλήν μὲν ἔκ του τῶν φίλων σημαίνεσθαι αὐτῷ εἶπεῖν, σημαίνεσθαι δὲ καί, ὅτι καταφανὴς ἔσται. τὴν γὰρ χελιδόνα σύντροφόν τε εἶναι ὄρνιθα καὶ εὖνουν ἀνθρώποις καὶ λάλον μᾶλλον ἢ ἄλλην ὄρνιθα. [9] ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πέρσου ξυνθεῖς πέμπει ὡς Παρμενίωνα Ἀμφοτερὸν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν παῖδα, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Κρατεροῦ. καὶ ξυμπέμπει αὐτῷ τῶν Περγαίων τινὰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγησομένους. καὶ ὁ Ἀμφοτερός στολὴν ἐνδὺς ἐπιχώριον, [καί] ὡς μὴ γνώριμος εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, λανθάνει ἐφικόμενος παρὰ Παρμενίωνα: [10] καὶ γράμματα μὲν οὐ κομίζει παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου: οὐ γὰρ ἔδοξε γράφειν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς τοιούτου ἐς τὸ ἐμφανές: τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ γλώσσης οἱ ἐντεταλμένα ἐξήγγειλεν, καὶ οὕτω ξυλλαμβάνεται ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἦν.

XXV. While Alexander was still busied about Phaselis, he received news that his namesake, son of Aeropus, was meditating treachery — one of the “Companions,” and at the moment commanding the Thracian cavalry. This Alexander was brother to Heromenes and Arrabaeus, who had a part in the murder of Philip. Though he had incurred blame Alexander let him off for the nonce, since he had been among the first of his friends to rally to him on Philip’s death, and had put on his cuirass and accompanied Alexander into the palace; later Alexander had even held him in a post of honour near his person, and had sent him to command in Thrace, and when Calas, commander of the Thracian cavalry, had been transferred to a satrapy, Alexander appointed him commander of the Thracian horse. The story of the plot was reported as follows.

Dareius, when Amyntas deserted to him bringing overtures and a letter from this lesser Alexander, sent Sisines, a trusty Persian from his suite, to the coast. The pretext was that he was to visit Atizues, satrap of Phrygia, but in fact he was to meet this Alexander and give him certain assurances, if he would assassinate Alexander the King, that the Persian king would give him the throne of Macedonia and a thousand gold talents to boot. Sisines fell into Parmenio’s hands, and revealed to him the cause of his mission; and Parmenio sent him under escort to Alexander, who heard from him the same story. So he called together his friends, and held a council to see what should be decided about the traitor. The Companions held that Alexander had originally done unwisely in giving over the best of the cavalry to an untrustworthy officer, and that he should now get rid of him as soon as possible, before he got too familiar with the Thracians and headed some revolt. They also were troubled by an omen; for while Alexander was still besieging Halicarnassus and was taking his midday rest, a swallow circled over his head chattering noisily, and perched here and there on his bed; its note showed more alarm than the usual swallows’ twittering. Alexander, from weariness, could not be awakened, but

troubled by the twittering he gently brushed away the swallow; but the bird would not fly off when touched, rather it perched on Alexander's very head and kept on till Alexander fully awoke. Alexander, taking the incident seriously, reported it to Aristander of Telmissus, the seer; he replied that it meant treachery of some friend; but also the meaning was that this should come to light. For the swallow is a domestic bird, friendly to man, and a greater chatterer than any other bird.

Putting this together with the Persian's story, he sent to Parmenio Amphoterus son of Alexander, brother of Craterus, and at the same time some Pergaeon guides. Amphoterus wore a native dress, so as not to be recognized on the journey; and so came safe to Parmenio. He brought no letter from King Alexander; it was thought unwise to commit anything to writing in a matter of this sort; but he gave a verbal message as directed. Thus Alexander was arrested and kept under guard.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Φασηλίδος μέρος μὲν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς διὰ τῶν ἄρῶν πέμπει ἐπὶ Πέργης, ἣ ὁδοποιήκεσαν αὐτῷ οἱ Θρᾶκες χαλεπὴν ἄλλως καὶ μακρὰν οὖσαν τὴν πάροδον: αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἦγε τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτόν. ἔστι δὲ ταύτη ἡ ὁδὸς οὐκ ἄλλως ὅτι μὴ τῶν ἀπ' ἄρκτου ἀνέμων πνεόντων: εἰ δὲ νότοι κατέχοιεν, ἀπόρως ἔχει διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ὁδοιπορεῖν. [2] τῷ δὲ ἐκ νότων σκληροὶ βορραὶ ἐπιπνεύσαντες, οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥς αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτόν ἐξηγοῦντο, εὐμαρῇ καὶ ταχεῖαν τὴν πάροδον παρέσχον. ἐκ Πέργης δὲ ὥς προΐει, ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρέσβεις Ἀσπενδίων αὐτοκράτορες, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντες, φρουρὰν δὲ μὴ εἰσάγειν δεόμενοι. [3] καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς φρουρᾶς πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον, ὅσα ἠξίου: πεντήκοντα δὲ τάλαντα κελεύει τῇ στρατιᾷ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἐς μισθὸν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, οὓς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ ἔτρεφον. οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοὺς ἵππους παραδώσειν ξυνθέμενοι ἀπῆλθον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ Σίδης ἦει. [4] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σιδῆται Κυμαῖοι ἐκ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος: καὶ οὗτοι λέγουσιν ὑπὲρ σφῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ὅτι, ὥς κατῆράν τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην οἱ πρῶτοι ἐκ Κύμης σταλέντες καὶ ἐπὶ οἰκισμῷ ἐξέβησαν, αὐτίκα τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐξελάθοντο, εὐθὺς δὲ βάρβαρον φωνὴν ἴεσαν, οὐδὲ τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων, ἀλλὰ ἰδίαν σφῶν οὐπὼ πρόσθεν οὖσαν τὴν φωνήν: καὶ ἔκτοτε οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους προσχώρους Σιδῆται ἐβαρβαρίζον. [5] καταλιπὼν δὲ φρουρὰν ἐν Σίδῃ προΐει ἐπὶ Σύλλιον, χωρίον ὀχυρὸν καὶ φρουρὰν ἔχον ξένων μισθοφόρων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων βαρβάρων. ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ Σύλλιον ἐξ ἐφόδου αὐτοσχεδίου ἠδυνήθη λαβεῖν, ἐπεὶ τ' ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τοὺς Ἀσπενδίους ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ξυγκειμένων πρᾶξαι ἐθέλοιν, οὔτε τοὺς ἵππους παραδοῦναι τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν οὔτε ἀπαριθμῆσαι τὰ χρήματα, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅτι ἀνασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὴν πόλιν τάς τε πύλας ἀποκεκλείκασιν τοῖς παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὰ τεῖχη, ὅπῃ πεπονηκότα ἦν, ἐπισκευάζουσι, ταῦτα πυθόμενος ἐπὶ Ἀσπένδου ἀνεξεύγνυνεν.

XXVI. Leaving Phaselis, Alexander sent part of his force through the mountain passes towards Perga, where the Thracians had made him a road, the round journey being difficult and long. He himself led his immediate

followers along the coast, a route practicable only with north winds blowing; south winds make the passage along the shore impossible. There had been heavy southerlies, but a north wind had set in — this by divine interposition, as Alexander and his staff interpreted it — and made the passage easy and swift. As he went on from Perga there met him on the way plenipotentiaries from Aspendus surrendering the city, but begging it might not be garrisoned. This point they won; but Alexander exacted from them fifty talents for the army as pay and all such horses as they bred as tribute to the King of Persia. They agreed to hand over both, and so departed.

Alexander now went towards Side, whose inhabitants are Cymaeans from Aeolian Cyme; they give this account of themselves, that as soon as they reached that land, the first to leave Cyme, sailing thither to colonize, they forgot their native tongue and talked a foreign language straight away, and that not the Persian of the natives there, but their own idiom, in fact, a new dialect; henceforward the citizens of Side had been so many foreigners, contrary to the ways of their neighbours. Alexander left a guard at Side and went on to Syllium, a fortified place with a garrison of mercenaries and also of the natives of those parts. But he could not take Syllium in his stride, and, besides, it was reported on his march that the Aspendians were not minded to fulfil their obligations — neither to hand over the horses to the party sent to fetch them, nor to pay the money; nay, they had got their stuff in from the fields, had shut their gates upon Alexander's envoys, and were repairing weak places in their walls. Learning this, Alexander marched towards Aspendus.

[1] Ὀικισται δὲ τῆς Ἀσπένδου τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἄκρα ὄχυρᾳ καὶ ἀποτόμῳ καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν ὁ Εὐρυμέδων ποταμὸς ῥεῖ: ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ οὐκ ὀλίγαι οἰκῆσεις καὶ τεῖχος περιεβέβλητο αὐταῖς οὐ μέγα. [2] τὸ μὲν δὴ τεῖχος εὐθύς, ὡς προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἔγνωσαν, ἐκλείπουσιν ὅσοι ἐπώκουν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας, ὅσας ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ ὤκισμένας οὐκ ἐδόκουν διαφυλάττειν ἂν δύνασθαι: αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ξυμφεύγουσιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει, εἴσω τοῦ ἐρήμου τεύχους παρελθὼν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς καταλελειμμέναις. πρὸς τῶν Ἀσπενδίων. [3] οἱ δὲ Ἀσπένδιοι ὡς εἶδον αὐτόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον παρ' ἐλπίδα ἦκοντα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν κύκλῳ σφῶν πάντη, πέμψαντες πρέσβεις ἐδέοντο ἐφ' οἷσπερ τὸ πρότερον ξυμβῆναι. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τό τε χωρίον ἰσχυρὸν ἰδὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ χρόνιον πολιορκίαν παρεσκευασμένος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὲν οὐδὲ ὡς ξυνέβη πρὸς αὐτούς: [4] ὁμήρους δὲ δοῦναι σφῶν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, οὓς πρόσθεν ὠμολόγησαν, καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἀντὶ τῶν πεντήκοντα, καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ σατράπῃ τῷ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ταχθέντι καὶ φόρους ἀποφέρειν ὅσα ἔτη Μακεδόσι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας διακριθῆναι, ἣν τῶν προσχώρων οὐσαν βία κατέχειν ἐν αἰτία ἦσαν. ὡς δὲ πάντα οἱ ἐπεχώρησαν, ἀνέξευξεν ἐς Πέργην, κάκειθεν ἐς Φρυγίαν ὥρμητο: [5] ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ πορεία παρὰ Τελμισσὸν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν γένος Πισίδαι εἰσὶ βάρβαροι, χωρίον δὲ οἰκοῦσιν ὑπερύψηλον καὶ πάντη ἀπότομον, καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς παρὰ τὴν

πόλιν χαλεπή. [6] καθήκει γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀποπαύεται, ἀντίπορον δὲ αὐτῷ ἄλλο ὄρος ἔστιν οὐ μείον ἀπότομον, καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὄρη ὥσπερ πύλας ποιεῖ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, καὶ ἔστιν ὀλίγη φυλακὴ κατέχοντας τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα ἄπορον ποιεῖν τὴν ἀράροdon. καὶ τότε οἱ Τελμισσεῖς πανδημεῖ ἐκβεβηθηκότες ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ὄρη κατεῖχον. [7] ταῦτα δὴ ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος στρατοπεδεύεσθαι αὐτοῦ, ὅπως εἶχον, ἐκέλευε τοὺς Μακεδόνας, γνοὺς, ὅτι οὐ μενοῦσι πανδημεῖ οἱ Τελμισσεῖς αὐλιζομένους σφᾶς ἰδόντες, ἀλλ' ἀποχωρήσουσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν πλησίον σίου οὗσαν οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσον φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι. καὶ ξυνέβη, ὅπως εἵκαζεν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπῆλθον, αἱ φυλακαὶ δὲ ἐγκατέμειναν. [8] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους εὐθὺς ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε τοξότας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν τάξεις καὶ τῶν ὀπιτῶν ὅσοι κουφότεροι ἐπήγαγεν. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔμειναν βαλλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἔλιπον τὸ χωρίον: καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ στενὰ πρὸς τῇ πόλει κατεστρατοπέδευσε.

XXVII. This city is built, for the most part, on a strong height, sheer, looking over the River Eurymedon. Round this height, on the flat, they had a number of dwellings and a small wall built round these. This wall, so soon as they were aware of Alexander's approach, the inhabitants deserted, and also the houses built on the level such as they thought it not possible to safeguard; they all took refuge on the height. Alexander, arriving with full force; entered within the deserted wall and camped in the empty houses. But the citizens as soon as they saw Alexander himself arrived — just what they had not looked for — and his army all round them, sent envoys and begged to be allowed to surrender on the old terms. Alexander, seeing that the position was strong, and being himself not ready for a long siege, yet refused the original terms. He demanded their most influential men as hostages, and that they should hand over the horses they had previously promised and a hundred talents in place of fifty; that they should give obedience to the satrap appointed by him, and pay yearly tribute to Macedon; an enquiry to be held, moreover, about the territory of their neighbours which they were accused of having taken by violence and now retaining.

All now satisfactorily arranged, Alexander moved to Perga and thence began his march to Phrygia, which led past Telmissus. The Telmissians are Pisidians in origin, uncivilized, and inhabit a very lofty position, precipitous all round), the road past the city is an awkward one. A height runs from the city up to the road, and there ends; but opposite is a height equally abrupt. These heights make natural gates on the road, and a small guard can cut off all approach by holding them. The Telmissians on this occasion came out in full force and occupied both heights. Alexander, seeing this, bade the Macedonians camp where they were, knowing that the Telmissians, seeing them bivouacking, would not wait there in force, but would, for the most part, drift away to the city close by, leaving on the heights only a guard. His guess proved right; most of them moved off, the guards remained. At once bringing up against them the archers, the javelin battalions, and the lighter-clad men-at-

arms, he led them against the enemy, who at the first volleys gave ground, leaving the position, on which Alexander passed the narrow passage and encamped near the city.

[1] καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' αὐτὸν Σελγέων πρέσβεις. οἱ δὲ εἰσι καὶ αὐτοὶ Πισίδαι βάρβαροι καὶ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ μάχιμοί εἰσιν: ὅτι δὲ πολέμιοι τοῖς Τελμισσεῦσιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανον, ὑπὲρ φιλίας πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πεπρεσβευμένοι ἦσαν. καὶ πρὸς τούτους σπένδεται Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ἐκ τούτου πιστοῖς ἐς ἅπαντα ἐχρήσατο. [2] τὴν Τελμισσὸν δὲ ἀπέγνων εἰλεῖν ἂν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Σαγαλασσοῦ ἐστέλλετο. ἦν δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ μικρὰ πόλις: Πισίδαι καὶ ταύτην ὥκουν, καὶ ἐδόκουν πάντων Πισιδῶν μαχίμων ὄντων αὐτοὶ εἶναι [οἱ] μαχιμώτατοι: καὶ τότε τὸν λόφον τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος οὐ μείον τοῦ τείχους ὀχυρὸς ἐς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι ἦν, κατειληφότες προσέμενον. [3] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων τάττει ὥδε: ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπετέτακτο, τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς εἶχεν, ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς πεζεταίρους ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον παρατείνας, ὡς ἐκάστοις τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡ ἡγεμονία τῆς τάξεως ἐν τῇ τότε ἡμέρᾳ ἦν. [4] ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ ἐπέταξεν ἡγεμόνα Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀρραβαίου. προετάχθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρως οἱ τε τοξόται καὶ οἱ Ἀγριᾶνες, τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Θρᾶκες, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σιτάλκης: οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς αὐτῷ οὐκ ὠφέλιμοι ἐν τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ ἦσαν. τοῖς Πισίδαϊς δὲ καὶ Τελμισσεῖς προσβεβοηθηκότες ξυνετάζαντο. [5] ἤδη τε οἱ ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον προσβεβληκότες τῷ ὄρει, ὅπερ κατεῖχον οἱ Πισίδαι, κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀποτομώτατον τῆς ἀνόδου ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι λόχοις κατὰ κέρας ἐκάτερον, ἢ σφίσι μὲν εὐπροσοδώτατον ἦν, τοῖς πολεμίοις δὲ χαλεπωτάτῃ ἢ πρόσβασις. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοξότας, οἷα δὴ οὔτε ἀκριβῶς ὤπλισμένους καὶ πρώτους πελάσαντας, ἐτρέψαντο, οἱ δὲ Ἀγριᾶνες ἔμειναν. [6] ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν Μακεδόνων προσῆγε καὶ πρὸ αὐτῆς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφαίνετο. ὡς δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, γυμνοὶ τε οἱ βάρβαροι ὄντες ὀπλίταις προσεφέροντο καὶ πάντῃ κατατιτρωσκόμενοι ἐπιπτον [δὲ], ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγκλίνουσιν: [7] καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους,... κοῦφοι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἔμπειροι τῶν χωρίων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεχώρουν: καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες διὰ βαρύτητα τῶν ὅπλων καὶ ἀπειρίαν τῶν ὁδῶν οὐ θαρραλεοὶ ἐς τὸ διώκειν ἦσαν. [8] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐχόμενος τῶν φευγόντων τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν αἰρεῖ κατὰ κράτος. τῶν δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ Κλέανδρός τε ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν τοξοτῶν ἀποθνήσκει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πισίδας ἦγε: καὶ τὰ μὲν τινα τῶν φρουρίων βία ἐξεῖλε, τὰ δὲ ὁμολογία προσηγάγετο.

XXVIII. At this point arrived envoys from the Selgians, who are also native Pisidians with a large city, a warlike people; they had been for some time at enmity with the Telmissians and so had sent an embassy to Alexander to ask for his friendship. Alexander granted their wish, and found them wholly trustworthy allies. He concluded that a siege of Telmissus would be a long one, and so moved on to Sagalassus, also a fairly large city, inhabited by Pisidians, the most warlike of this warlike tribe; they then occupied the hill in

front of the city which was as strong for defensive operations as the wall itself, and held their ground. Alexander therefore thus deployed the Macedonian phalanx; on the right wing, his own post, he had the bodyguard, and in touch with them the territorial foot, right up to the left wing, all under the battalion officers in the order of precedence for the day. On the left he placed Amyntas son of Arrabaeus in command. Then in advance on the right wing were posted the archers and the Agrianes, on the left the Thracian javelin-men, under Sitalces; for the cavalry were of no use to him in this narrow space. Along with the Pisidians were ranged Telmissians who had come to help.

Already Alexander's immediate troops had thrown themselves on the height held by the Pisidians, and were now at the most steep part of the ascent; whereon the Pisidians attacked in ambushes on either wing, where they could best approach, and the Macedonians were most hampered. They drove back the archers, being lightly armed and in the advanced line; but the Agrianes held firm. For the Macedonian phalanx was coming up, and Alexander himself was visible at its head. The battle becoming hand-to-hand, the unarmed natives charging hoplites were wounded, and falling on all sides, at length gave way. Some five hundred perished. Being light and knowing the country they got away easily; the Macedonians, from weight of armour and want of local knowledge had little heart for the pursuit. Alexander, however, kept on the heels of the fugitives and stormed the city, losing Cleandrus, the commander of the archers, and some twenty others. Then he attacked the remaining Pisidians, capturing many of their forts and receiving the surrender of others.

[1] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦι ἐπὶ Φρυγίας παρὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἣ ὄνομα Ἀσκανία, ἐν ἣ ἄλεις πηγνυνται αὐτόματοι, καὶ τούτοις χρῶνται οἱ ἐπιχώριοι οὐδὲ θαλάσσης τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ δέονται· καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Κελαιναὺς πεμπτὰς. ἐν δὲ ταῖς Κελαιναῖς ἄκρα ἦν πάντῃ ἀπότομος, καὶ ταύτην φυλακὴ κατεῖχεν ἐκ τοῦ σατράπου τῆς Φρυγίας Κᾶρες μὲν χίλιοι, Ἕλληνες δὲ μισθοφόροι ἑκατόν. [2] καὶ οὗτοι πρεσβεύονται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτό σφισι βοήθεια ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ξυνέκειτο, φράσαντες τὴν ἡμέραν, ὅτι παραδώσουσι τὸ χωρίον. καὶ ἔδοξε ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὠφελιμώτερα ἢ πολιορκεῖν ἄπορον πάντῃ προσφέρεσθαι τὴν ἄκραν. [3] πρὸς μὲν δὴ ταῖς Κελαιναῖς φυλακὴν καταλείπει στρατιώτας ἐς χίλιους καὶ πεντακοσίους. μέινας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ σατράπην ἀποδείξας Φρυγίας Ἀντίγονον τὸν Φιλίππου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀντ' ἐκείνου στρατηγὸν Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου ἐπιτάξας, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Γόρδιου ἐστέλλετο. καὶ Παρμενίῳ ἐπέστειλεν, ἄγοντα ἅμα οἷ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκεῖσε ἀπαντᾶν· καὶ ἀπήντα ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει Παρμενίων. [4] καὶ οἱ νεόγαμοι δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας σταλέντες εἰς Γόρδιον ἦκον καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἄλλη στρατιὰ καταλεχθεῖσα, ἣν ἤγε Πτολεμαῖος τε ὁ Σελεύκου καὶ Κοῖνος ὁ Πολεμοκράτους καὶ Μελέαγρος ὁ Νεοπτολέμου, πεζοὶ μὲν Μακεδόνες τρισχίλιοι, ἵππεῖς δὲ ἐς τριακοσίους καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἵππεῖς διακόσιοι, Ἑλλείων δὲ ἑκατόν καὶ πεντήκοντα, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀλκίας Ἑλλεῖος. [5] τὸ δὲ Γόρδιον ἔστι

μὲν τῆς Φρυγίας τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου, κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ: τοῦ δὲ Σαγγαρίου αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐκ Φρυγίας εἰσὶν, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρακῶν τῶν Βιθυνῶν χώρας ἐξίστην ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεία παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφίκετο, δεόμενοι Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεῖναι σφισι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οἱ ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ ποταμῷ ἐλήφθησαν Ἀθηναίων ξυστρατευόμενοι τοῖς Πέρσiais καὶ τότε ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς δισχιλίοις δεδεμένοι ἦσαν: [6] καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἄπρακτοι ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπῆλθον. οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔτι ξυνεστῶτος τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πέρσιν πολέμου ἀνεῖναι τι τοῦ φόβου τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ὅσοι ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι στρατεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐκ ἀπηξίωσαν: ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνεται, ἐπειδὴν τὰ παρόντα καλῶς γένηται, τότε ἥκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβευομένους.

XXIX. Thence he passed into Phrygia by Lake Ascania, where salt gathers naturally, and is used by the inhabitants, who thus need no sea salt; in five days he reached Celaenae, where is a steep acropolis, held by a garrison under the satrap of Phrygia, a thousand Carians and a hundred Greek mercenaries. They sent envoys to Alexander, offering — in case help did not come to them on a day previously appointed — this date they specified — to surrender the position. Thus Alexander thought better than a siege of this unassailable position. So he left 1500 troops as a guard over Celaenae. Then he waited there ten days and appointed Antigonos son of Philip satrap, and in his place as commander of the allies Balacrus son of Amyntas: then he set out towards Gordium, ordering Parmenio to meet him there with his force, and so he did. The recently married Macedonians who had gone to Macedonia also made their rendezvous at Gordium, and with them a freshly levied army, led by Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, Coenus son of Polemocrates and Meleager son of Neoptolemus; there were 3000 Macedonian foot, 300 horse, 200 Thessalian horse, 150 Eleians under Alcias the Elean.

Gordium, you must know, is in Hellespontine Phrygia, on the river Sangarius, the springs of which are in Phrygia; it runs through Bithynian Thrace into the Euxine. There also an embassy arrived from Athens begging Alexander to release to them Athenian prisoners captured on the Granicus fighting on the Persian side and now under arrest in Macedonia with the 2000 captives. Their request was not, however, granted, and so they departed. Alexander did not think it wise, with the Persian war still in progress, to relax any terrors for the Greeks who had actually fought with foreigners against Greece; but he answered that when things proved satisfactory they were to approach him again on the same subject.

BOOK II.

[1] ἐκ δὲ τούτου Μέμνων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμὼν ἐκ βασιλέως Δαρείου καθεστηκὼς καὶ τῆς παραλίου ξυμπάσης, ὡς ἐς Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀποστρέψων τὸν πόλεμον, Χίον μὲν λαμβάνει προδοσίᾳ ἐνδοθεῖσαν, ἔνθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Λέσβου πλεύσας, ὡς οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι, τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τῆς Λέσβου προσηγάγετο. [2] ταύτας δὲ παραστησάμενος καὶ προσχὼν τῇ Μιτυλήνῃ τὴν μὲν πόλιν χάρακι διπλῷ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν ἀπειτείχισε, στρατόπεδα δὲ πέντε ἐποικοδομησάμενος τῆς γῆς ἐκράτει οὐ χαλεπῶς. καὶ μέρος μὲν τι τῶν νεῶν τὸν λιμένα αὐτῶν ἐφύλασσε, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Λέσβου τὸ Σίγριον, ἵνα ἢ προσβολὴ μάλιστα ἐστὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τε Χίου καὶ ἀπὸ Γεραιστοῦ καὶ Μαλέας ὀκλάσιν, ἀποστείλας τὸν παράπλουν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν, ὡς μή τινα ὠφέλειαν κατὰ θάλασσαν γίγνεσθαι τοῖς Μιτυληναῖοις. [3] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ αὐτὸς μὲν νόσῳ τελευτᾷ, καὶ εἶπερ τι ἄλλο καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ τότε ἔβλαψε τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα. Αὐτοφραδάτης δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος ὁ Ἀρταβάζου, ὅτῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε τελευτῶν ὁ Μέμνων τὴν ἀδελφιδῇ αὐτοῦ ὄντι, οὗτοι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ οὐκ ἄρρῳστος προσέκειντο. [4] καὶ οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι τῆς τε γῆς εἰργόμενοι καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐφορμούσαις φρουρούμενοι πέμπσαντες παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ὁμολογίας ἐποίησαντο, τοὺς μὲν ξένους τοὺς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου σφίσι κατὰ συμμαχίαν ἦκοντας ἀπελθεῖν, Μιτυληναῖους δὲ καθελεῖν μὲν τὰς πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρον σφισι γενομένας στήλας, ξυμμάχους δὲ εἶναι Δαρείου κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου γενομένην πρὸς βασιλέα Δαρεῖον, τοὺς φυγάδας δὲ αὐτῶν κατιέναι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν τότε ὄντων, ὅτε ἔφευγον. [5] ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἡ ξύμβασις τοῖς Μιτυληναῖοις πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας ξυνέβη. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Αὐτοφραδάτης, ὡς παρῆλθον ἅπας εἰσω τῆς πόλεως, φρουρὰν τε ἐς αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγον καὶ φρουράρχον ἐπ' αὐτῇ Λυκομήδην Ῥόδιον, καὶ τύραννον ἐγκατέστησαν τῇ πόλει Διογένην, ἓνα τῶν φυγάδων, χρήματά τε εἰσέπραξαν τοὺς Μιτυληναῖους τὰ μὲν βία ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιβαλόντες.

I. IT was after the above events that Memnon, appointed by Dareius commander-in-chief of the navy and of all the coast-line, with the idea of diverting the war into Macedonia and Greece, captured Chios, delivered over by treachery; thence he sailed to Lesbos, and though Mitylene did not come over to him, he became master of the remaining cities of Lesbos. Disposing of these, he put in at Mitylene, and fenced off the city by a double stockade from sea to sea; then he built five strategic camps and had no trouble in holding the country. Part of his fleet guarded the Mitylenean harbour; other ships he despatched to the promontory of Lesbos, Sigrium, where cargo vessels from Chios and Geraistus and Malea usually put in, and so he patrolled the coast, to prevent help from coming to Mitylene by sea. While thus engaged he fell ill and died; the severest blow during this period to the hopes of Persia. Autophradates, however, and Pharnabazus son of Artabazus, to whom, being

his nephew, with his dying breath Memnon handed over his command, till Dareius should take further measures, carried on the blockade vigorously. Mitylene thus barred from the landward side and watched on the seaward side by a flotilla of blockading ships sent to Pharnabazus, and undertook that the mercenaries whom Alexander had despatched to fight for them should be sent about their business, that the Mityleneans should remove the pillars on which were inscribed their agreement with Alexander, and become allies of Dareius on the basis of the peace of Antalcidas with King Dareius, and that the exiles should return into possession of half the property held at the time of their exile. Such were the terms of the Mitylenean agreement with the Persians. Pharnabazus, however, and Autophradates, once within the city, brought in a garrison and set Lycomedes of Rhodes in command of it, and made Diogenes, one of the exiles, tyrant over the city: they also exacted a fine from Mitylene, taking part from the rich citizens by force, and the rest by a general tax.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραζάμενοι Φαρνάβαζος μὲν ἔπλει ἐπὶ Λυκίας ἄγων τοὺς ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους, Αὐτοφραδάτης δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καταπέμπει Δαρεῖος Θυμώνδαν τὸν Μέντορος, αὐτὸν μὲν τοὺς ξένους παρὰ Φαρναβάζου παραληψόμενον καὶ ἀνάξοντα παρὰ βασιλέα, Φαρναβάζῳ δὲ ἐροῦντα ἄρχειν ὅσων Μέμων ἦρχεν: [2] καὶ παραδοὺς τούτῳ τοὺς ξένους Φαρνάβαζος ἔπλει παρ' Αὐτοφραδάτην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. ὥς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, δέκα μὲν ναῦς στέλλουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους Δατάμην ἄνδρα Πέρσην ἄγοντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Τενέδου ἔπλευσαν: κατακομισθέντες δὲ τῆς Τενέδου εἰς τὸν Βόρειον καλούμενον λιμένα πέμπουσι παρὰ τοὺς Τενεδίους καὶ κελεύουσι τὰς στήλας τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας γενομένας σφίσι, ταύτας μὲν καθελεῖν, πρὸς Δαρεῖον δὲ ἄγειν τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν ἐπὶ Ἀνταλκίδου Δαρεῖῳ συνέθεντο. [3] Τενεδίοις δὲ τὰ μὲν τῆς εὐνοίας ἐς Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐποίει μᾶλλον, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι ἄπορον ἄλλως ἐδόκει ὅτι μὴ προσχωρήσαντας τοῖς Πέρσαις σώζεσθαι: ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ Ἥγελόῳ, ὅτῳ προσετέτακτο ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτῷ ξυναγαγεῖν δύναμιν ναυτικὴν, τοσαύτη ξυνηγμένη ἦν ὥς δι' ὀλίγου προσδοκᾶν ἔσεσθαι ἂν σφισι παρ' αὐτοῦ τινα ὠφέλειαν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ ἀμφὶ Φαρνάβαζον τοὺς Τενεδίους φόβῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐθελοντὰς παρεστήσαντο. [4] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐτύγγανε μὲν ξυναγαγὼν ἐξ Εὐβοίας τε καὶ Πελοποννήσου ναῦς μακρὰς ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τεταγμένος, ὥς εἶναι τινα ταῖς τε νήσοις φυλακὴν καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, εἰ, καθάπερ ἐξηγγέλλετο, ἐπιπλέοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι: πυθόμενος δὲ Δατάμην περὶ Σίφνον ὁρμεῖν δέκα ναυσὶν, αὐτὸς ἔχων πεντεκαίδεκα νυκτὸς ἀνάγεται ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐρίπῳ: [5] καὶ προσχὼν ἔωθεν Κύθῳ τῇ νήσῳ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ αὐλίζεται, ὥς σαφέστερόν τε διαπυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ τῶν δέκα νεῶν καὶ ἅμα ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερώτερον προσπεσεῖν τοῖς Φοίνιξιν: ὥς δὲ ἔμαθε σαφῶς τὸν Δατάμην ξὺν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐν Σίφνῳ ὁρμοῦντα, ἐπιπλεύσας ἔτι νυκτὸς ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἔω καὶ ἀπροσδοκίῳς ἐπιπεσὼν ὁκτὼ μὲν ναῦς αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔλαβε, Δατάμης δὲ μετὰ δυοῖν τριήροιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσμίζει τῶν ἅμα Πρωτέα νεῶν ὑπεκφυγῶν ἀπεσώθη πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν.

II. When they had made these dispositions, Pharnabazus sailed towards Lycia with the mercenaries, Autophradates to the other islands. At this time Dareius sent Thymondas son of Mentor to take over the mercenaries from Pharnabazus and lead them to Dareius, and to instruct Pharnabazus to take over Memnon's command. Pharnabazus duly handed over the mercenaries to Thymondas, and sailed to join the fleet and Autophradates. On rejoining they sent ten ships to the Cyclades under Datames, a Persian, while they proceeded with a hundred sail to Tenedos. They reached the "north harbour" of Tenedos and sent to the city and ordered the destruction of the inscribed pillars of the agreement made by Tenedos with Alexander and the Greeks, and the observance of the Peace of Antalcidas made with Dareius. The whole inclination of Tenedos was towards Alexander and the Greeks; but at the moment there seemed no other hope of safety save in accepting the Persian terms, since Hegelochus, who had orders from Alexander again to assemble a fleet, had not raised a sufficient force to expect from him any speedy help. It was in this way rather by terrorism than by their will that Pharnabazus received the surrender of the island of Tenedos.

Meanwhile Proteas son of Andronicus had collected from Euboea and the Peloponnese certain ships of the line, as ordered by Antipatros, so as to be a naval guard to the islands and the mainland of Greece, supposing — as reports suggested — that the Persians should descend upon it. But learning that Datames was anchored near Siphnos with ten ships he put to sea with fifteen sail by night towards Chalcis on the Euripus. Then at dawn putting in at the island of Cythnus, he lay there during the day-time, to get surer intelligence about the ten ships, and also to swoop down on the Phoenicians at night, which would scare them the more. Finding for certain that Datames was anchored at Siphnos, he sailed to the attack, night though it was, attacking just at dawn when the enemy expected nothing, and capturing eight ships with their crews; Datames with two triremes fled unobserved at the first charge of Proteas' ships and safely joined the rest of the fleet.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐς Γόρδιον παρῆλθε, πόθος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἀνελθόντα ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ βασιλεία ἦν τὰ Γορδίου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Μίδου, τὴν ἄμαξαν ἰδεῖν τὴν Γορδίου καὶ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τῆς ἀμάξης τὸν δεσμὸν. [2] λόγος δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐκείνης παρὰ τοῖς προσχώροις πολὺς κατεῖχε, Γόρδιον εἶναι τῶν πάλαι Φρυγῶν ἄνδρα πένητα καὶ ὀλίγην εἶναι αὐτῷ γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ζεύγη βοῶν δύο: καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄροτριᾶν, τῷ δὲ ἀμαξεύειν τὸν Γόρδιον. [3] καὶ ποτε ἀροῦντος αὐτοῦ ἐπιστῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ζυγὸν ἅετον καὶ ἐπιμεῖναι ἔστε ἐπὶ βουλευτὸν καθημέμον: τὸν δὲ ἐκπλαγέντα τῇ ὄψει ἰέναι κοινώσοντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τοὺς Τελμισσέας τοὺς μάντις: εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς Τελμισσέας σοφοὺς τὰ θεῖα ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ σφισιν ἀπὸ γένους δεδόσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ γυναῖξιν καὶ παισὶ τὴν μαντείαν. [4] προσάγοντα δὲ κώμη τινὶ τῶν Τελμισσέων ἐντυχεῖν παρθένῳ ὕδρευομένη καὶ πρὸς ταύτην εἰπεῖν ὅπως οἱ τὸ τοῦ ἀετοῦ ἔσχε: τὴν δέ, εἶναι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τοῦ μαντικοῦ γένους, θύειν κελεῦσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐπανελθόντα ἐς τὸν τόπον αὐτόν. καί,

δεθῆναι γὰρ αὐτῆς Γόρδιον τὴν θυσίαν ξυνεπισπομένην οἱ αὐτὴν ἐξηγήσασθαι, θῦσαι τε ὅπως ἐκείνη ὑπετίθετο τὸν Γόρδιον καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι ἐπὶ γάμῳ τῇ παιδί καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτοῖν παῖδα Μίδα, ὄνομα. [5] ἤδη τε ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν Μίδα, καλὸν καὶ γενναῖον καὶ ἐν τούτῳ στάσει πύξασθαι ἐν σφίσι τοὺς Φρύγας, καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς χρησμὸν, ὅτι ἅμαξα ἄξει αὐτοῖς βασιλέα καὶ ὅτι οὗτος αὐτοῖς καταπαύσει τὴν στάσιν. ἔτι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων βουλευομένοις ἐλθεῖν τὸν Μίδα, ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἐπιστῆναι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτῇ ἁμάξῃ. [6] τοὺς δὲ ξυμβάλλοντας τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦτον ἐκείνον γινῶναι ὄντα, ὄντινα ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔφραζεν, ὅτι ἄξει ἡ ἅμαξα: καὶ καταστῆσαι μὲν αὐτοὺς βασιλέα τὸν Μίδα, Μίδα, δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν στάσιν καταπαῦσαι, καὶ τὴν ἅμαξαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἀναθεῖναι χαριστήρια τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀετοῦ τῇ πομπῇ. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις καὶ τότε περὶ τῆς ἁμάξης ἐμυθεύετο, ὅστις λύσειε τοῦ ζυγοῦ τῆς ἁμάξης τὸν δεσμόν, τοῦτον χρῆναι ἄρξαι τῆς Ἀσίας. [7] ἦν δὲ ὁ δεσμός ἐκ φλοιοῦ κρανίας καὶ τούτου οὔτε τέλος οὔτε ἀρχὴ ἐφαίνετο. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχεν ἐξευρεῖν λύσιν τοῦ δεσμοῦ, ἄλυστον δὲ περιδεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλε, μὴ τίνα καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς κίνησιν ἐργάσῃται, οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν, ὅτι παίσας τῷ ξίφει διέκοψε τὸν δεσμόν καὶ λελύσθαι ἔφη: Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ λέγει ἐξελόντα τὸν ἔστορα τοῦ ῥυμοῦ, ὃς ἦν τύλος διαβεβλημένος διὰ τοῦ ῥυμοῦ διαμπάζ, ξυνέχων τὸν δεσμόν, ἐξελκύσαι ἔξω τοῦ ῥυμοῦ τὸν ζυγόν. [8] ὅπως μὲν δὴ ἐπράχθη τὰ ἄμφι τῷ δεσμῷ τούτῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐκ ἔχω ἰσχυρίσασθαι. ἀπῆλλάγῃ δ' οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμάξης αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ὡς τοῦ λογίου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ λύσει τοῦ δεσμοῦ ξυμβεβηκότος. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης βρονταί τε καὶ σέλας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπεσήμηναν: καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔθυε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς τὰ τε σημεῖα καὶ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὴν λύσιν.

III. Alexander, then, reached Gordium, and was seized with an ardent desire to ascend to the acropolis, where was the palace of Gordius and his son Midas, and to look at Gordius' wagon and the knot of the chariot's yoke. There was a widespread tradition about this chariot around the countryside; Gordius, they said, was a poor man of the Phrygians of old, who tilled a scanty parcel of earth and had but two yoke of oxen: with one he ploughed, with the other he drove his wagon. Once, as he was ploughing, an eagle settled on the yoke and stayed, perched there, till it was time to loose the oxen; Gordius was astonished at the portent, and went off to consult the Telmessian prophets, who were skilled in the interpretation of prodigies, inheriting — women and children too — the prophetic gift. Approaching a Telmessian village, he met a girl drawing water and told her the story of the eagle; she, being also of the prophetic line, bade him return to the spot and sacrifice to Zeus the King. So then Gordius begged her to come along with him and assist in the sacrifice; and at the spot duly sacrificed as she directed, married the girl, and had a son called Midas. Midas was already a grown man, handsome and noble, when the Phrygians were in trouble with civil war; they received an oracle that a chariot would bring them a king and he would stop the war. True enough, while they were discussing this, there arrived Midas,

with his parents, and drove, chariot and all, into the assembly. The Phrygians, interpreting the oracle, decided that he was the man whom the gods had told them would come in a chariot; they thereupon made him king, and he put an end to the civil war. The chariot of his father he set up in the acropolis as a thank-offering to Zeus the King for sending the eagle. Over and above this there was a story about the wagon, that anyone who should untie the knot of the yoke should be lord of Asia. This knot was of cornel bark, and you could see neither beginning nor end of it. Alexander, unable to find how to untie the knot, and not brooking to leave it tied, lest this might cause some disturbance in the vulgar, smote it with his sword, cut the knot, and exclaimed, "I have loosed it!" — so at least say some, but Aristobulus puts it that he took out the pole pin, a dowel driven right through the pole, holding the knot together, and so removed the yoke from the pole. I do not attempt to be precise how Alexander actually dealt with this knot. Anyway, he and his suite left the wagon with the impression that the oracle about the loosed knot had been duly fulfilled. It is certain that there were that night thunderings and lightnings, which indicated this; so Alexander in thanksgiving offered sacrifice next day to whatever gods had sent the signs and certified the undoing of the knot.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπ' Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατικῆς ἐστέλλετο: κάκεϊ αὐτῷ πρεσβεία ἀφικνεῖται Παφλαγόνων, τὸ τε ἔθνος ἐνδιδόντων καὶ ἐς ὁμολογίαν ξυμβαίνόντων: ἐς δὲ τὴν χώραν ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει μὴ ἐσβαλεῖν ἐδέοντο. [2] τοῦτοις μὲν δὴ προστάσσει Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπακούειν Κάλα τῷ σατράπῃ τῷ Φρυγίας. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Καππαδοκίας ἐλάσας ξύμπασαν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλως ποταμοῦ προσηγάγετο καὶ ἐτι ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἄλυν πολλήν: καταστήσας δὲ Καππαδοκῶν Σαβίκταν σατράπην αὐτὸς προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τὰς Κιλικίας. [3] καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρου τοῦ ξὺν Ξενοφῶντι στρατόπεδον, ὡς κατεχομένας τὰς πύλας φυλακαῖς ἰσχυραῖς εἶδε, Παρμενίωνα μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλείπει σὺν ταῖς τάξεσι τῶν πεζῶν, ὅσοι βαρύτερον ὥπλισμένοι ἦσαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀμφὶ πρώτην φυλακὴν ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας προῆγε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ὡς οὐ προσδεχομένοις τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐπιπυσεῖν. [4] καὶ προσάγων μὲν οὐκ ἔλαθεν, ἐς ἴσον δὲ αὐτῷ κατέστη ἡ τόλμα. οἱ γὰρ φύλακες αἰσθόμενοι Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν προσάγοντα λιπόντες τὴν φυλακὴν ὥχοντο φεύγοντες. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἑφ' ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰς πύλας κατέβαιναν ἐς τὴν Κιλικίαν. [5] καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ Ἀρσάμης ὅτι πρόσθεν μὲν ἐπενόει διασώζειν Πέρσας τὴν Ταρσόν, ὡς δὲ ὑπερβεβληκότα ἤδη τὰς πύλας ἐπύθετο Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκλιπεῖν ἐν νῷ ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν: δεδιέναι οὖν τοὺς Ταρσεάς μὴ ἐφ' ἄρπαγὴν τραπεῖς οὕτω τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῇ Ταρσοῦ ποιήσεται. [6] ταῦτα ἀκούσας δρόμῳ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ταρσόν τοὺς τε ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν ὅσοι κουφότατοι, ὥστε ὁ Ἀρσάμης μαθὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν σπουδῇ φεύγει ἐκ τῆς Ταρσοῦ παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον οὐδὲν βλάβας τὴν πόλιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς μὲν Ἀριστοβούλῳ λέλεκται, ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐνόσησεν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Κύδνον [τὸν] ποταμὸν λέγουσι ῥίψαντα νήξασθαι, ἐπιθυμήσαντα τοῦ ὕδατος, ἰδρῶντα καὶ καύματι ἐχόμενον. ὁ δὲ Κύδνος ῥέει διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως: οἶα δὲ ἐκ τοῦ

Ταύρου ὄρους τῶν πηγῶν οἱ ἀνισχουσῶν καὶ διὰ χώρου καθαροῦ ῥέων, ψυχρός τέ ἐστι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρός: [8] σπασμῷ τε οὖν ἔχεσθαι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ θέρμαις ἰσχυραῖς καὶ ἀγρυπνία ξυνεχεῖ: καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἰατροὺς οὐκ οἶεσθαι εἶναι βιώσιμον, Φίλιππον δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνα, ἱατρόν, ξυνόντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τὰ τε ἀμφὶ ἱατρικὴν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πιστευόμενον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀδόκιμον ἐν τῷ στρατῷ ὄντα, καθῆραι ἐθέλειν Ἀλέξανδρον φαρμάκῳ: καὶ τὸν κελεύειν καθῆραι. [9] τὸν μὲν δὴ παρασκευάζειν τὴν κύλικα, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοθῆναι ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ Παρμενίωνος φυλάξασθαι Φίλιππον: ἀκούειν γὰρ διεφθάρθαι ὑπὸ Δαρείου χρήμασιν ὥστε φαρμάκῳ ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον. τὸν δὲ ἀναγνόντα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἔτι μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα αὐτὸν μὲν λαβεῖν τὴν κύλικα ἐν ἧ ἦν τὸ φάρμακον, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δὲ τῷ Φιλίππῳ δοῦναι ἀναγνῶναι. [10] καὶ ὁμοῦ τὸν τε Ἀλέξανδρον πίνειν καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος. Φίλιππον δὲ εὐθὺς ἐνδηλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι καλῶς οἱ ἔχει τὰ τοῦ φαρμάκου: οὐ γὰρ ἐκπλαγῆναι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μόνον παρακαλέσαι Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα οἱ πείθεσθαι ὅσα ἐπαγγέλλοιτο: σωθήσεσθαι γὰρ πειθόμενον. [11] καὶ τὸν μὲν καθαρθῆναι τε καὶ ραῖσαι αὐτῷ τὸ νόσημα, Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὅτι πιστός ἐστιν αὐτῷ φίλος, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, ὅτι αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς φίλοις βέβαιος εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον τυγχάνει ὦν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ἐρωμένος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Παρμενίωνα μὲν πέμπει ἐπὶ τὰς

IV. Next day Alexander set forward towards Ancyra of Galatia; there an embassy of Paphlagonians met him, giving submission of their tribe and agreeing to terms; they begged him not to enter their country in force. Alexander instructed them to take orders from Calas, satrap of Phrygia. He himself marched to Cappadocia, received surrender of all this country this side of the River Halys and a good deal of the far side. He made Sabiktas satrap of Cappadocia and pushed on to the Cilician gates. When he reached the camp of Cyrus, who had been with Xenophon, and saw the Gates strongly held, he left Parmenio there with heavier-armed foot battalions, while he himself, about the first watch, took the bodyguard, archers and Agrianes, and marched by night to the Gates, meaning to take the guards unawares. But his march was observed; none the less, the enterprise succeeded; for the guards, finding that he was leading in person, left their posts and fled. Next day at dawn he passed the Gates with his full force and descended into Cilicia. There it was reported to him that Arsames, who had all along been anxious to save Tarsus for the Persians, learning that he had passed the Gates, was minded to desert the city; so the Tarsians were afraid he would plunder the city before deserting it. Learning this, Alexander brought up at full speed the cavalry and the lighter mobile troops, so that Arsames learning of his onrush fled to King Dareius without harming the city.

Here Alexander fell ill from fatigue; so at least Aristobulus says; others relate that he dived into the River Cydnus and had a swim, anxious for the bathe since he was forworn with sweat and heat. The Cydnus runs right through the city, and as its springs are in Mount Taurus, and it runs through

open country, it is cold and clear. Alexander therefore caught a cramp, and suffered from violent fever and insomnia. All his physicians gave him up save Philip, an Acarnanian doctor, who attended him, very much trusted in medical matters, and, moreover, a brave man in the field; he proposed a strong purge; and Alexander bade him administer it. He made up the draught therefore; at the moment a note was given Alexander from Parmenio, "Beware Philip! I learn that Dareius has bribed him to murder you." Alexander read the letter, held it in his hand, took the glass with the draught, and gave the note to Philip to read. At one and the same moment Alexander drank the dose and Philip read Parmenio's note. At once Philip made clear that all was well with his prescription; he showed no guilty conscience at the letter, but bade Alexander follow out his remaining instructions; obedience would mean recovery. The purge worked and eased the illness; and Alexander gave proof to Philip that he was his firm friend, as also to his suite generally that he trusted and did not suspect his friends; and he showed also his bravery in face of death.

[1] ἄλλας πύλας, αἱ δὴ ὀρίζουσι τὴν Κιλικίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων χώραν, προκαταλαβεῖν καὶ φυλάσσειν τὴν πάροδον, δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς Θρᾶκας, ὧν Σιτάλκης ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δὲ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ ὕστερος ἄρας ἐκ Ταρσοῦ τῇ μὲν πρώτη ἐς Ἀγχιάλον πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται. ταύτην δὲ Σαρδανάπαλον κτίσαι τὸν Ἀσσύριον λόγος· καὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεμελίοις τῶν τειχῶν δῆλη ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε πόλις κτισθεῖσα καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐλθοῦσα δυνάμεως. [3] καὶ τὸ μνημα τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλου ἐγγὺς ἦν τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Ἀγχιάλου· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφειστήκει ἐπ' αὐτῷ Σαρδανάπαλος συμβεβληκῶς τὰς χεῖρας ἀλλήλαις ὥς μάλιστα ἐς κρότον συμβάλλονται, καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπεγέγραπτο αὐτῷ Ἀσσύρια γράμματα· [4] οἱ μὲν Ἀσσύριοι καὶ μέτρον ἔφασκον ἐπεῖναι τῷ ἐπιγράμματι, ὃ δὲ νοὺς ἦν αὐτῷ ὃν ἔφραζε τὰ ἔπη, ὅτι Σαρδανάπαλος ὁ Ἀνακυνδαράξου παῖς Ἀγχιάλον καὶ Ταρσὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐδείματο. σὺν δέ, ὃ ξένε, ἔσθι καὶ πῖνε καὶ παῖζε, ὥς τᾶλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα οὐκ ὄντα τούτου ἄξια· τὸν ψόφον αἰνισσόμενος, ὃνπερ αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ τῷ κρότῳ ποιοῦσι· καὶ τὸ παῖζε ῥαδιουργότερον ἐγγεγράφθαι ἔφασαν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ὀνόματι. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀγχιάλου ἐς Σόλους ἀφίκετο· [5] καὶ φρουρὰν ἐσήγαγεν ἐς Σόλους καὶ ἐπέβαλεν αὐτοῖς τάλαντα διακόσια ἀργυρίου ζημίαν, ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας μᾶλλον τι τὸν νοῦν εἶχον. [6] ἔνθεν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων τρεῖς τάξεις, τοὺς τοξότας δὲ πάντας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἐξελαύνει ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ ὄρη κατέχοντας Κίλικας. καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις τοὺς μὲν βίᾳ ἐξελών, τοὺς δὲ ὁμολογία παραστησάμενος ἐπανῆκεν ἐς τοὺς Σόλους. [7] καὶ ἐνταῦθα μανθάνει Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Ἀσανδρον ὅτι ἐκράτησαν Ὀροντοβάτου τοῦ Πέρσου, ὃς τὴν τε ἄκραν τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ ἐφύλασσε καὶ Μύνδον καὶ Καῦνον καὶ Θήραν καὶ Καλλιπόλιν κατεῖχε· προσῆκτο δὲ καὶ Κῶ καὶ Τριόπιον. τοῦτον ἡττησθαι ἔγραφον μάχῃ μεγάλῃ· καὶ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πεζοὺς ἐς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς πεντήκοντα, ἄλῳναι δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν χιλίων. [8] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν Σόλοις θύσας τε τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ πομπεύσας αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα καὶ

λαμπάδα ἐπιτελέσας καὶ ἀγῶνα διαθείς γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικὸν Σολεῦσι μὲν δημοκρατεῖσθαι ἔδωκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναζεύξας ἐς Ταρσὸν τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας ἀπέστειλεν Φιλότα δούς ἄγειν διὰ τοῦ Ἀλη[ν]ίου πεδίου ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πύραμον, [9] αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς πεζοῖς καὶ τῇ ἴλῃ τῇ βασιλικῇ ἐς Μάγαρσον ἦκεν καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Μαγαρσίδι ἔθυσεν. ἐνθεν δὲ ἐς Μαλλὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ Ἀμφιλόχῳ ὅσα ἥρωι ἐνήγισε· καὶ στασιάζοντας καταλαβὼν τὴν στάσιν αὐτοῖς κατέπαυσε· καὶ τοὺς φόρους, οὓς βασιλεῖ Δαρεῖω ἀπέφερον, ἀνῆκεν, ὅτι Ἀργείων μὲν Μαλλῶται ἄποικοι ἦσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπ' Ἄργους τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν εἶναι ἡξίου.

V. Next he sent Parmenio to the other Gates which divide the Gilician and Assyrian territories, to seize and occupy the pass, giving him the allied infantry, the Greek mercenaries, and the Thracians under Sitalces, with the Thessalian horse. Later on, he left Tarsus, and in one day reached Anchialus, founded, as legend says, by Sardanapalus the Assyrian. The circumference and the foundations of the walls show that the city was, when founded, a large one, and grew to great power. Sardanapalus' tomb was near the walls of Anchialus; over it stood Sardanapalus himself, his hands joined as if to clap, and an epitaph was inscribed in the Assyrian script; the Assyrians said that it was in verse. In any case the general meaning was: "Sardanapalus son of Anakyndaraxes built Anchialus and Tarsus in one day; do thou, stranger, eat and drink and be merry, since other human things are not worth *this*" — the idea being the hand-clap; and (it was said) the word "be merry" had a less delicate original in the Assyrian.

From Anchialus he reached Soli; he took a guard into Soli, and fined them two hundred silver talents, because they were still inclined towards Persia. Thence he took three battalions of the Macedonian infantry, all the archers, and the Agrianes, and marched upon the Cilicians who held the heights. In seven days — no more — he partly drove them out, partly received surrenders, and returned to Soli. There he learnt that Ptolemaeus and Asandros had conquered Orontobates the Persian, who was guarding the citadel of Halicarnassus and held Myndus, Cannus, Thera, and Callipolis, and had won over also Cos and Triopium. The message was that they had beaten him in a pitched battle with a loss of 700 of his foot and 50 cavalry, and at least 1000 prisoners. At Soli Alexander sacrificed to Asclepius, and held a review of his whole army, with a torch relay race and athletic and literary competitions. Soli he allowed to continue democratic. He then proceeded to Tarsus and sent the cavalry to Philotas, to take them to the River Pyramus through the Aleian plain. Then he, with the infantry and the royal squadron, went to Magarsus and sacrificed to Athena of Magarsus. Thence he came to Mallus and made due offerings to Amphilocho, as a hero; he found the Mallians in civil commotion and put a stop to it; he remitted the tribute paid to Dareius, since Mallus was a colony of Argos, and he himself claimed descent from the Argive Heracleidae.

[1] ἔτι δὲ ἐν Μαλλῷ ὄντι αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται Δαρεῖον ἐν Σώχοις ξὺν τῇ πάσῃ

δυνάμει στρατοπεδεύειν. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτός ἐστι μὲν τῆς Ἀσσυρίας γῆς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐς δύο μάλιστα σταθμούς. ἔνθα δὴ ξυναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐταίρους φράζει αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐξηγγελμένα ὑπὲρ Δαρείου τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς Δαρείου. οἱ δὲ αὐτόθεν ὡς εἶχεν ἄγειν ἐκέλευον. [2] ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς διέλυσε τὸν ξύλλογον, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ προ[σ]ῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον τε καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. δευτεραῖος δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰς πύλας ἐστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς Μυριάνδρῳ πόλει· καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς χειμῶν ἐπιγίγνεται σκληρὸς καὶ ὕδωρ τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πνεῦμα βίαιον· τοῦτο κατέσχευεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Ἀλέξανδρον. [3] Δαρεῖος δὲ τέως μὲν ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ διέτριβεν, ἐπιλεξάμενος τῆς Ἀσσυρίας γῆς πεδῖον πάντῃ ἀναπεπταμένον καὶ τῷ τε πλήθει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιτήδειον καὶ ἐνυπιάσασθαι τῇ ἵππῳ ξύμφορον. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ξυνεβούλευεν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπολείπειν Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀντιόχου, ὁ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτόμολος· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν πρὸς τοῦ πλήθους τε καὶ τῆςσκευῆς τῶν Περσῶν. καὶ ἔμενε Δαρεῖος. [4] ὡς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλῇ μὲν [ἦ] ἐν Ταρσῷ τριβῇ ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ ἐγίνετο, οὐκ ὀλίγῃ δὲ ἐν Σόλοις, ἵνα ἐθυέ τε καὶ ἐπόμπευε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς Κίλικας διέτριψεν ἐξελάσας, τοῦτο ἔσφηλεν Δαρεῖον τῆς γνώμης· καὶ αὐτός τε, ὃ τί περ ἡδιστον ἦν δοξασθέν, ἐς τοῦτο οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπήχθη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' ἡδονὴν ζυνόντων τε καὶ ζυνεσομένων ἐπὶ κακῷ τοῖς ἀεὶ βασιλεύουσιν ἐπαιρόμενος ἔγνω μηκέτι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐθέλειν προϊέναι τοῦ πρόσω, ἀλλ' ὀκνεῖν γὰρ πυνθανόμενον ὅτι αὐτὸς προσάγοι· [5] καταπατήσιν τε τῇ ἵππῳ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν στρατιάν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν αὐτῷ ἐπαίροντες ἔλεγον· [6] καίτοι γε Ἀμύντας ἤξειν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἰσχυρίζετο, ὅπου ἂν πύθηται Δαρεῖον ὄντα, καὶ αὐτοῦ προσμένειν ἐκέλευεν. ἀλλὰ τὰ χεῖρω μᾶλλον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραντίκῳ ἡδῶ ἀκοῦσαι ἦν, ἐπειθε· καὶ τι καὶ δαιμόνιον τυχὸν ἦγεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χώρον, οὗ μήτε ἐκ τῆς ἵππου πολλὴ ὠφέλεια αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, μήτε ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτοῦ τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἀκοντίων τε καὶ τοξευμάτων, μηδὲ τὴν λαμπρότητα αὐτὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιδεῖξαι ἡδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν εὐμαρῶς τὴν νίκην παρέδωκεν. [7] ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἡδὴ καὶ Πέρσας πρὸς Μακεδόνων ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς Περσῶν ἀφηρεθήσαν, πρὸς Μήδων δὲ ἔτι ἔμπροσθεν Ἀσσύριοι.

VI. Alexander was still at Mallus when a report came that Dareius with his full force was encamped at Sochi, a place in Assyrian territory, two marching days from the Assyrian Gates. Alexander therefore assembled his staff and told them the news of Dareius and his march, on which they urged him to lead straight on. He thereupon thanked them and dismissed the Council; and next day he marched as if to attack Dareius and the Persians. In two days he passed the Gates and camped near Myriandrus, and in the night there came a severe storm, heavy rain, and violent gale, which kept Alexander in his camp.

Dareius meanwhile dallied with his army, since he had selected a plain in the Assyrian land as being open all round, convenient for the multitude of his host, and suitable for the manoeuvres of his horsemen. Amyntas son of Antiochus, a deserter from Alexander, advised him not to leave this country; there was, he said, elbow-room favourable for the numbers and the equipment

of the Persians. Dareius then abode where he was. But Alexander having spent much time in Tarsus on account of his illness, and a good deal at Soli, where he sacrificed and held the review, and again spent some days in his raid on the Cilician hillmen, all this delay made Dareius waver in his decisions. Moreover, Dareius' wishes generally coloured his thoughts, and he liked the pleasanter thoughts; and false courtiers, such as will always haunt kings, led him on to decide that Alexander had no wish to proceed further. In fact, they said, he was hesitating on hearing of Dareius' own approach. On all sides they egged him on, telling him that he would trample underfoot the Madeconian force with his cavalry. Amyntas, however, persisted that Alexander would come wherever he found Dareius to be, and bade him remain where he was. But it was the pleasanter, and so the worse, counsels which prevailed; moreover, some evil genius led Dareius into the very position where his cavalry did not much help him, nor indeed his numbers, his store of javelins, and of archery; where he could make no display of the splendour of his army, but made a mere gift of the victory to Alexander and his force. Fate indeed had resolved that Persia should forfeit the sovereignty of Asia to Macedon, as Media had lost it to Persia, and Assyria, even earlier, to Media.

[1] ὑπερβαλὼν δὴ τὸ ὄρος Δαρεῖος τὸ κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς Ἀμανικὰς καλουμένας ὡς ἐπὶ Ἴσσον προῆγε· καὶ ἐγένετο κατόπιν Ἀλεξάνδρου λαθὼν. τὴν δὲ Ἴσσον κατασχὼν, ὅσους διὰ νόσον ὑπολελειμμένους αὐτοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατέλαβε, τούτους χαλεπῶς αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν προῦχώρει ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πίναρον. [2] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἤκουσεν ἐν τῷ ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ ὄντα Δαρεῖον, ἐπεὶ οὐ πιστὸς αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος ἐφαίνετο, ἀναβιβάσας εἰς τριακόντορον τῶν ἐταίρων τινὰς ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω ἐπὶ Ἴσσον, κατασκευομένους εἰ τὰ ὄντα ἐξαγγέλλεται. οἱ δὲ ἀναπλευσάντες τῇ τριακοντόρῳ, ὅτι κολπώδης ἦν ἡ ταύτῃ θάλασσα, μᾶλλον τι εὐπετῶς κατέμαθον αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι Δαρεῖον. [3] ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας στρατηγοὺς τε καὶ ἱλάρχας καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἥδη σφίσι καλῶς κεκινδυνευμένων καὶ ὅτι πρὸς νενικημένους ὁ ἀγὼν νενικηκόσιν αὐτοῖς ἔσται καὶ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὑπὲρ σφῶν στρατηγεῖ ἄμεινον, ἐπὶ νοῦν Δαρεῖω ἀγαγὼν καθεῖρξαι τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς εὐρυχωρίας ἐς τὰ στενόπορα, ἵνα σφίσι μὲν ξύμμετρον τὸ χωρίον ἀναπτύξαι τὴν φάλαγγα, τοῖς δὲ ἀχρεῖον τὸ πλῆθος [ὅτι] ἔσται τῇ μάχῃ, οὔτε τὰ σώματα οὔτε τὰς γνώμας παραπλησίσις. [4] Μακεδόνας τε γὰρ Πέρσας καὶ Μήδοις, ἐκ πάνυ πολλοῦ τρυφῶσιν, αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς πόνοις τοῖς πολεμικοῖς πάλαι ἥδη μετὰ κινδύνων ἀσκουμένους, ἄλλως τε καὶ δούλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐλευθέρους, εἰς χεῖρας ἤξειν· ὅσοι τε Ἑλλήνες Ἑλλήσιν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν μαχεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ξὺν Δαρεῖῳ ἐπὶ μισθῷ καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ πολλῷ κινδυνεύοντας, τοὺς δὲ ξὺν σφίσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐκόντας ἀμυνομένους· [5] βαρβάρων τε αὖ Θρᾷκας καὶ Παίονας καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας τοὺς εὐρωστοτάτους τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ μαχιμωτάτους πρὸς τὰ ἀπονώτατά τε καὶ μαλακώτατα τῆς Ἀσίας γένη ἀντιτάξεσθαι· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντιστρατηγεῖν Δαρεῖῳ. [6] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐς

πλεονεξίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐπέζηει. τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ὅτι μεγάλα ἔσται σφίσι τοῦ κινδύνου ἐπεδείκνυνεν. οὐ γὰρ τοὺς σατράπας τοὺς Δαρείου ἐν τῷ τότε κρατήσιν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ ταχθεῖσαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς δισμυρίους ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους, ἀλλὰ Περσῶν τε ὃ τι περ ὄφελος καὶ Μήδων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη Πέρσαις καὶ Μήδοις ὑπήκοα ἐποιεῖ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ αὐτὸν μέγαν βασιλέα παρόντα, καὶ ὥς οὐδὲν ὑπολειφθήσεται σφισιν ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ ἀγῶνι ὅτι μὴ κρατεῖν τῆς Ἀσίας ξυμπάσης καὶ πέρας τοῖς πολλοῖς πόνοις ἐπιθεῖναι. [7] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ τῶν τε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ξὺν λαμπρότητι ἤδη πεπραγμένων ὑπεμίμησεν καὶ εἰ δὴ τῷ ἰδίᾳ τι διαπρεπὲς ἐς κάλλος τετολμημένον, ὀνομαστὶ ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἀνακαλῶν. καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὥς ἀνεπαχθέστατα ἐπέζηει. [8] λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ τῶν ἅμα Ξενοφῶντι μυρίων ἐς μνήμην ἔλθεῖν, ὥς οὐδὲν τι οὔτε κατὰ πλῆθος οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἀξίωσιν σφίσιν ἐπεικότες, οὐδὲ ἱππέων αὐτοῖς παρόντων Θεσσαλῶν, οὐδὲ Βοιωτῶν ἢ Πελοποννησίων, οὐδὲ Μακεδόνων ἢ Θρακῶν, οὐδὲ ὅση ἄλλη σφίσιν ἵππος ξυντέτακται, οὐδὲ τοξοτῶν ἢ σφενδονητῶν, ὅτι μὴ Κρητῶν ἢ Ῥοδίων ὀλίγων, καὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶντος αὐτοσχεδιασθέντων, [9] οἱ δὲ βασιλέα τε ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι αὐτῇ ἐτρέψαντο καὶ ἔθνη ὅσα κατιόντων ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον καθ' ὁδὸν σφισιν ἐπεγένετο νικῶντες ἐπῆλθον: ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ἐς παράκλησιν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ ἡγεμόνος παραινέσθαι εἰκός. οἱ δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν δεξιούμενοί τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπαίροντες ἄγειν ἤδη ἐκέλευον.

VII. Dareius, then, crossed the height by the Amanian Gates and marched towards Issus; and he slipped in unperceived behind Alexander. Seizing Issus he grievously mutilated and slew all the invalid Macedonians left behind there whom he captured. Next day he advanced to the River Pinarus. Alexander, hearing that Dareius was in his rear, but not crediting the report, embarked some of the territorials in a thirty-oared ship and sent them back to Issus, to verify the report. Those who sailed in this vessel discovered the more easily the Persians encamping there, since the coast takes the form of a bay, and they reported to Alexander that Dareius was at hand.

He, summoning commanders, squadron leaders, and allied officers, bade them be of good cheer in view of dangers successfully surmounted in the past; besides, the coming battle was to be between themselves, already proved victors, and the Persians, already once vanquished; more than that, heaven itself was a better strategist on their own side, having put it into Dareius' mind to hem his force into the narrow pass, leaving to them the open country behind, so that they had a space of just the size for the deployment of their phalanx, while the Persians would have no benefit from their numbers, since their men and their resolution were no match for those of the Greeks. "We Macedonians," he continued, "are to fight Medes and Persians, nations long steeped in luxury, while we have long been hardened by warlike toils and dangers; and above all it will be a fight of free men against slaves.

And so far as Greek will meet Greek, we shall not be fighting for like

causes; those with Dareius will risk their lives for pay, and poor pay too; our troops will fight as volunteers for Greece. As for our foreign troops, Thracians, Paeonians, Illyrians, Agrianes, the stoutest in Europe, and the most warlike, will be ranged against the feeblest and softest hordes of Asia: nay, further, you have an Alexander engaging in a duel of strategy against a Dareius." Thus he drew out their superiority in the coming struggle; he showed that the stakes of their hazard were great too. It was not Dareius' satraps of whom they were to be masters now, nor the cavalry that lined the Granicus, nor the twenty thousand foreign troops, but the flower of Medes and Persians and their subject nations in Asia; the Great King was there himself; nothing remained after this final struggle but to lord it over all Asia and set an end to their many heroic labours. Besides, he reminded them of all they had already achieved with brilliant success for their common cause; any noble individual act of bravery he cited, both the deed and the man; with some delicacy he mentioned his own personal risks in previous battles. He alluded, we are told, to Xenophon and his Ten Thousand, far below themselves in number or in repute, with no cavalry, neither Boeotian nor Peloponnesian, neither Macedonian nor Thracian, nor such other horse as they now had; no archers nor slingers, save a few Cretans and Rhodians, and those hastily scraped together by Xenophon when in sore straits. Yet the Ten Thousand turned to flight the Great King himself at the very gates of Babylon, and marched victoriously against the various tribes which barred their way as they descended to the Euxine Sea; of all this he told them, and whatever else, at such a time, in face of dangers, a brave general would by way of encouragement tell brave men. They crowded round and clasped their king's hand, and cheering him to the echo bade him lead on.

[1] ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν δειπνοποιεῖσθαι παραγγέλλει, προπέμπει δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τῶν τε ἱππέων ὀλίγους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν προκατασκευασμένους τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ὀπίσω [ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας]: καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιάν πᾶσαν ἦει, ὡς κατασχεῖν αὐτῆς τὰς πύλας. [2] ὡς δὲ ἄμφι μέσας νύκτας ἐκράτησεν αὐτῆς τῶν παρόδων, ἀνέπαυε τὴν στρατιάν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πετρῶν, προφυλακὰς ἀκριβεῖς καταστησάμενος. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἔω κατῆι ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν: καὶ ἕως μὲν πάντῃ στενόπορα ἦν τὰ χωρία, ἐπὶ κέρως ἦγεν, ὡς δὲ διεχώρει ἐς πλάτος, ἀνέπτυσσεν αἰὲ τὸ κέρας ἐς φάλαγγα, ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τάξιν παράγων, τῇ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. [3] οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς αὐτῷ τέως μὲν κατόπιν τῶν πεζῶν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν προῆσαν, συνέτασσαν ἤδη τὴν στρατιάν ὡς ἐς μάχην, πρῶτους μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῶν πεζῶν τό τε ἄγλημα καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἐχομένην δὲ τούτων τὴν Κοίνου τάξιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὴν Περδίκκου. οὗτοι μὲν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἀρξάμενοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. [4] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου πρώτη μὲν ἡ Ἀμύντου τάξις ἦν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Πτολεμαίου, ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ἡ Μελεάγρου. τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου τοῖς πεζοῖς μὲν Κρατερὸς ἐπετέτακτο ἄρχειν, τοῦ δὲ ξύμπαντος

εὐώνυμου Παρμενίων ἡγεῖτο· καὶ παρήγγελτο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπολείπειν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὥς μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅτι πάντη ὑπερφαλαγγήσειν αὐτῶν διὰ πλῆθος ἤμελλον. [5] Δαρεῖος δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐξηγγέλθη αὐτῷ προσάγων ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος ὥς ἐς μάχην, τῶν μὲν ἱππέων διαβιβάζει πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Πινάρου ἐς τρισυρίους μάλιστα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ μετὰ τούτων τῶν ψιλῶν ἐς δισυρίους, ὅπως τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν καθ' ἡσυχίαν συντάξει. [6] καὶ πρῶτους μὲν τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἔταξεν ἐς τρισυρίους κατὰ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τῶν Καρδάκ[κ]ων καλουμένων ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐς ἐξακισυρίους· ὀπλῖται δὲ ἦσαν καὶ οὗτοι. τοσοῦτους γὰρ ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἀπλῆς ἐδέχετο τὸ χωρίον, ἵνα ἐτάσσοντο. [7] ἐπέταξε δὲ καὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σφῶν κατὰ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου δεξιὸν ἐς δισυρίους· καὶ τούτων ἔστιν οἱ κατὰ νότου ἐγένοντο τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιᾶς. τὸ γὰρ ὄρος ἵνα ἐπετάχθησαν πῇ μὲν διεχώρει ἐς βάθος καὶ κολπῶδές τι αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάσῃ ἐγίγνετο, ἔπειτα ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν προῖόν τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τεταγμένους κατόπιν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρων τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐποίει. [8] τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος αὐτοῦ ψιλῶν τε καὶ ὀπλιτῶν, κατὰ ἔθνη συντεταγμένον ἐς βάθος οὐκ ὠφέλιμον, ὀπισθεν ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μισθοφόρων καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ φάλαγγος τεταγμένου βαρβαρικοῦ ἐλέγετο γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα ξὺν Δαρείῳ στρατιὰ μάλιστα ἐς ἐξήκοντα μυριάδας μαχίμους εἶναι. [9] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὥς αὐτῷ πρόσω ἰόντι τὸ χωρίον διέσχεν ὀλίγον ἐς πλάτος, παρήγαγε τοὺς ἱππέας, τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καλουμένους καὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα ἅμα οἱ ἔταξε, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον πέμπει ὥς Παρμενίωνα. [10] Δαρεῖος δέ, ὥς συντεταγμένη ἤδη ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ, τοὺς ἱππέας, οὐστίνας πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τῷδε προτετάχει ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς αὐτῷ ἡ ἔκταξις τῆς στρατιᾶς γένοιτο, ἀνεκάλεσεν ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι πρὸς τὴν θαλάσσην κατὰ Παρμενίωνα ἔταξεν, ὅτι ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τι ἱππάσιμα ἦν, μέρος δέ τι αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον πρὸς τὰ ὄρη παρήγαγεν. [11] ὥς δὲ ἀχρεῖοι ἐνταῦθα διὰ στενότητα τῶν χωρίων ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ τούτων τοὺς πολλοὺς παριππεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρασ φῶν ἐκέλευσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ Δαρεῖος τὸ μέσον τῆς πάσης τάξεως ἐπεῖχεν, καθάπερ νόμος τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι τετάχθαι· καὶ τὸν νοῦν τῆς τάξεως ταύτης Ξενοφῶν ὁ τοῦ Γρύλου ἀναγέγραφεν.

VIII. For the moment, however, Alexander bade his troops take their meal, but he sent on towards the Gates a few horsemen and archers to reconnoitre the road that lay behind them; then he himself at nightfall with his whole force marched off to seize the Gates again. When, about midnight, he held the passes once more, he halted his army for the rest of the night on the crags, having carefully set outposts. Just upon dawn he descended from the Gates along the road; and as long as the narrows lasted he led in column; but when it grew broader he deployed his column into phalanx, bringing up battalion after battalion of men-at-arms, on the right, up to the ridge, on the left, to the sea. The cavalry so far had been ranged behind the infantry; but when they got into open ground, at once he drew up his army in battle order; first on the right

wing towards the mountain ridge, in front, he placed the picked infantry troops and his bodyguard, under Nicanor son of Parmenio, next to them Coenus' battalion, and then that of Perdiccas. These, right to left, stretched to the centre of the men-at-arms. On the left, first came Amyntas' battalion, then Ptolemaeus', and next Meleager's. Craterus was put in command of the infantry on the left, but Parmenio of the entire left wing, under orders not to edge away from the sea, lest the Persians should surround them, since from their great numbers they were likely to overlap the Greeks in extended line.

Dareius for his part, when the approach of Alexander in battle order was reported to him, sent about 30,000 of his cavalry over the River Pinarus and 20,000 light infantry with them, that he might at his leisure deploy the rest. Foremost of his heavier troops he placed the Greek mercenaries, 30,000 of them, facing the Macedonian phalanx; next, on either side, 60,000 of the Kardakes, who were also heavy-armed troops; this was the number which the ground where they stood allowed to be posted in line. He stationed also about 20,000 by the ridge on his left to face Alexander's right; some of these actually got to the rear of Alexander's force, since the mountain ridge where they were posted opened here and there to some depth and had, in fact, bays like the sea; then trending outwards again it brought those posted on the heights to the rear of Alexander's right wing. The general mass of their light and heavy troops arranged by their territories and to an unserviceable depth was behind the Greek mercenaries and the Persian phalanx. Historians put Dareius' fighting force at some 600,000.

Alexander, however, finding the ground opening somewhat as he went forward, brought on his cavalry and the so-called "Comrades," the Thessalians, and the Macedonians. These all he posted with himself on the right wing; any Peloponnesians and other allies he sent to Parmenio on the left.

Dareius, his phalanx once in due order, recalled by signal such cavalry as he had thrown in front of the river to cover his deployment. Most of these he posted over against Parmenio on the right wing, by the sea, because it was rather better ground for cavalry; part, however, he sent to the left, near the hills. But as they proved useless there from want of space he ordered the greater number of them also to ride round to his right wing. Dareius himself held the centre of his whole host, the regular position for Persian kings; Xenophon son of Gryllus has accurately described the general idea of this arrangement.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος κατιδὼν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ἵππον μετακεχωρηκυῖαν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὡς πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, αὐτῷ δὲ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους μόνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν ξυμμάχων ἱππέας ταύτη τεταγμένους, πέμπει κατὰ τάχος τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἱππέας ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον, κελεύσας μὴ πρὸ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς πάσης τάξεως παριππεῦσαι, τοῦ μὴ καταφανεῖς τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι μεταχωροῦντας, ἀλλὰ κατόπιν τῆς

φάλαγγος ἀφανῶς διελθεῖν. [2] προέταξε δὲ τῶν μὲν ἱππέων κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τοὺς προδρόμους, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Πρωτόμαχος, καὶ τοὺς Παίονας, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀρίστων, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τοὺς τοξότας, ὧν ἡρχεν Ἀντίοχος· τοὺς δὲ Ἀγριάνας, ὧν ἡρχεν Ἀτταλος, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ κατὰ νώτου ἔταξεν, ὥστε κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτῷ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐς δύο κέρατα διέχουσιν τετάχθαι, τὸ μὲν ὡς πρὸς Δαρειὸν τε καὶ τοὺς πέρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς πάντας Πέρσας, τὸ δὲ ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει κατὰ νώτου σφῶν τεταγμένους. [3] τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου προετάχθησαν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν οἱ τε Κρήτες τοξόται καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σιτάλκης, πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἡ ἵππος ἡ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον. οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι ξένοι πᾶσιν ἐπετάχθησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε πυκνὴ αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐφαίνετο, πολὺ τε ταύτῃ ὑπερφαλαγγήσιν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδόκουν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐκέλευσε δύο ἵλας τῶν ἐταίρων, τὴν τε Ἀνθεμουσίαν, ἣς ἱλάρχης ἦν Περοΐδας ὁ Μενεσθέως, καὶ τὴν Λευγαίαν καλουμένην, ἣς ἡγεῖτο Παντόρδανος ὁ Κλεάνδρου, ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἀφανῶς παρελθεῖν. [4] καὶ τοὺς τοξότας δὲ καὶ μέρος τῶν Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων ἔστιν οὗς κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ μετώπου παραγαγὼν ἐξέτεινεν ὑπὲρ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν κέρας τὴν φάλαγγα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὄρους τεταγμένοι οὔτε κατήεσαν, ἐκδρομῆς τε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ὀλίγων κατὰ πρόσταξιν Ἀλεξάνδρου γενομένης ῥαδίως ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπωρείας ἀνασταλέντες ἐς τὸ ἄκρον ἀνέφυγον, ἔγνω καὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτοὺς τεταγμένοις δυνατὸς ὦν χρήσασθαι ἐς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς φάλαγγος· ἐκείνοις δὲ ἱππέας

IX. Meanwhile Alexander, observing nearly all the Persian cavalry transferred to his left, resting on the sea, while he had only the Peloponnesians and the other allied horse on this side, despatched at full speed the Thessalian cavalry to the left, with orders not to ride in front of the line, so as not to be sighted by the enemy, but to pass quickly at the rear of his phalanx. But he pushed forward the cavalry patrols on his right, under Protomachus, and the Paeonians under Antiochus, the Agrianes under Attalus, some of the cavalry and of the archers, He threw back at an acute angle towards the foothills in his rear, so that on his right wing his line forked into two parts, one facing Darius and the main body of Persians across the river, the other towards the force posted in his rear in the hills. On the left wing, of the infantry, foremost were the Cretans and Thracians, under Sitalces, with the cavalry of the left wing in advance of these. The foreign mercenaries were distributed among all the troops. But as his line did not seem very solid on his right, and the Persians seemed likely to overlap them considerably there, he ordered from the centre two territorial squadrons and the squadron from Anthemus, whose squadron leader was Peroedes son of Menestheus, and that called the Leugaeon, under Pantordanus son of Cleander; the word being passed that they were to transfer unobserved to the right wing. The archers and some of the Agrianes and of the Greek mercenaries he led to the front of his right wing and so extended his line to outflank the Persian wing. For since the troops posted in the hills had not descended — nay, on a raid of the Agrianes and a

few archers, at Alexander's order, they had been easily dislodged and had fled to the summit — Alexander understood that he could use those who had been posted to hold them in check to deepen his phalanx. To watch the hill troops he reckoned it enough to tell off three hundred horsemen.

[1] οὕτω δὴ τεταγμένους χρόνον μὲν τινα προῆγεν ἀναπαύων, ὥστε καὶ πάνυ ἔδοξε σχολαία γενέσθαι αὐτῷ ἡ πρόσοδος: τοὺς γὰρ βαρβάρους, ὅπως τὰ πρῶτα ἐτάχθησαν, οὐκέτι ἀντεπῆγε Δαρεῖος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς ὄχθαις, πολλαχῇ μὲν ἀποκρήμνους οὖσαις, ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ χάρακα παρατείνας αὐταῖς ἵνα εὐεφοδώτερα ἐφαίνετο, οὕτως ἔμενεν: καὶ ταύτη εὐθὺς δῆλος ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένος. [2] ὥς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦν τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἐνταῦθα παριππεύων πάντῃ Ἀλέξανδρος παρεκάλει ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι, οὐ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μόνον τὰ ὀνόματα ζῆν τῷ πρέποντι κόσμῳ ἀνακαλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς ὀνομαστὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὅσοι κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἢ τινα ἀρετὴν γνωριμώτεροι ἦσαν: καὶ πανταχόθεν βοή ἐγένετο μὴ διατρίβειν, ἀλλὰ ἐσβάλλειν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. [3] ὁ δὲ ἦγεν ἐν τάξει ἔτι, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, καίπερ ἐν ἀπόπτῳ ἤδη ἔχων τὴν Δαρείου δύναμιν, βάδην, τοῦ μὴ διασπασθῆναι τι ἐν τῇ ζυντονωτέρᾳ πορείᾳ κυμῆναν τῆς φάλαγγος: ὥς δὲ ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγίγοντο, πρῶτοι δὴ οἱ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τεταγμένος δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλον, ὥς τῇ τε ὀξύτητι τῆς ἐφόδου ἐκπλήξαι τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ τοῦ θάσσον ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας ὀλίγα πρὸς τῶν τοξοτῶν βλάπτεσθαι. καὶ ζυνέβη ὅπως εἶκασεν Ἀλέξανδρος. [4] εὐθὺς γὰρ ὥς ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, τρέπονται τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος οἱ τῷ ἀριστερῷ κέρα ἐπιτεταγμένοι: καὶ ταύτη μὲν λαμπρῶς ἐνίκα Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες οἱ μισθοφόροι οἱ ζῆν Δαρεῖω, ἢ διέσχε τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡ φάλαγξ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρα παραρραγεῖσα, [5] ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν σπουδῇ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμβάλων καὶ ἐν χερσὶ τὴν μάχην ποιήσας ἐξώθει ἤδη τοὺς ταύτη τεταγμένους τῶν Περσῶν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῶν Μακεδόνων οὔτε τῇ ἴσῃ σπουδῇ ἦσαντο τοῦ ἔργου καὶ πολλαχῇ κρημνώδεσι ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐντυγχάνοντες τὸ μέτωπον τῆς φάλαγγος οὐ δυνατοὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει διασώσασθαι, — ταύτη ἐμβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἢ μάλιστα διεσπασμένην αὐτοῖς τὴν φάλαγγα κατεῖδον. [6] καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐνταῦθα καρτερόν ἦν, τῶν μὲν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπώσασθαι τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τὴν νίκην τοῖς ἤδη φεύγουσι σφῶν ἀνασώσασθαι, τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ τῆς τε Ἀλεξάνδρου ἤδη φαινομένης εὐπραγίας μὴ λειφθῆναι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς φάλαγγος, ὥς ἀμάχου δὴ ἐς τὸ τότε διαβεβοημένης, μὴ ἀφανίσαι. καὶ τι καὶ τοῖς γένεσι τῷ τε Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ Μακεδονικῷ φιλοτιμίας ἐνέπεσεν ἐς ἀλλήλους. [7] καὶ ἐνταῦθα πίπτει Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ Σελεύκου, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς εἴκοσι μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατὸν τῶν οὐκ ἡμελημένων Μακεδόνων.

IX. His forces thus marshalled, Alexander led them on for some time with halts, so that their advance seemed quite a leisurely affair. For Dareius did not yet lead on the Persians, arrayed as at the first, but remained on the river banks, which were in many places precipitous, in some parts building up a

stockade, where they appeared more accessible. It was here that Alexander's staff perceived Dareius to be a man of no spirit. But when the two armies were close, Alexander riding along his front bade them be good men and true, calling aloud the names, with all proper distinctions, not only of the commanders, but even squadron leaders and captains, as well as any of the mercenaries who were conspicuous for rank or for any deed of valour. There came an answering cry to him from all sides to tarry no longer, but to charge the foe. He continued to lead on in line, at first slowly, though with Dareius' force in full view, desiring that no part of the phalanx should fluctuate in the more rapid advance and so become disparted; but once within range, first Alexander's suite and himself too, in his post on the right wing, took the river at the double, in order to confound the Persians by the swoop of their attack, and by joining in the mellay the sooner to receive the less harm from the Persian archers. All fell out as Alexander had guessed. For the moment the battle joined, the Persian left gave way; and here Alexander and his immediate following scored a triumphant success. But Dareius' Greek mercenaries, where the Macedonian phalanx showed a gap, having broken away to the right wing — for Alexander had flung into the river in hot haste — had come to blows with the Persians and were already driving them back at that point, while the Macedonian centre did not get to work with like enthusiasm, and finding the banks in many places steep could not keep their front unbroken — the Greeks, I say, at this point charged the Macedonians just where they saw the phalanx most agape. There the action was severe, the Greeks tried to push off the Macedonians into the river and to restore victory to their already retreating wing; but the Macedonians, seeing Alexander's success assured, did not mean to be a whit behind, nor to suffer any eclipse of their prestige and their proud title of "invincible." There arose also a racial rivalry between Greeks and Macedonians. Here it was that Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus fell, a good man and true, and about a hundred and twenty distinguished Macedonians.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τάξεις, τετραμμένους ἤδη τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς τῶν Περσῶν ὁρῶντες, ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τε τοὺς μισθοφόρους τοὺς Δαρείου καὶ τὸ πονοῦμενον σφῶν ἐπικάμψαντες ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπώσαντο αὐτούς, καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρερρωγὸς τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος ὑπερφαλαγγήσαντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια ἐμβεβληκότες ἤδη ἔκοπτον τοὺς ξένους: [2] καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν κατὰ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς τεταγμένοι οὐκ ἔμειναν ἐντὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ ἔργῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπιδιαβάντες εὐρώστως ἐνέβαλον ἐς τὰς ὕλας τῶν Θετταλῶν. καὶ ταύτῃ ξυνέστη ἵππομαχία καρτερά, οὐδὲ πρόσθεν ἐνέκλιναν οἱ Πέρσαι πρὶν Δαρεῖόν τε πεφηνότα ἦσθοντο καὶ πρὶν ἀπορραγῆναι σφῶν τοὺς μισθοφόρους συγκοπέντας ὑπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος. [3] τότε δὲ ἤδη λαμπρά τε καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἡ φυγὴ ἐγίνετο: καὶ οἱ τε τῶν Περσῶν ἵπποι ἐν τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ἐκακοπάθουν βαρέως ὀπλισμένους τοὺς ἀμβάτας σφῶν φέροντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς κατὰ στενάς ὁδοὺς πλήθει τε πολλοὶ καὶ πεφοβημένως ζὺν ἀταξία ἀποχωροῦντες οὐ μείον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων

καταπατούμενοι ἢ πρὸς τῶν διωκόντων πολεμίων ἐβλάπτοντο. καὶ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ εὐρώστως αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειντο, ὥστε οὐ μείων ἢ τῶν πεζῶν φόνος ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐγένετο. [4] Δαρεῖος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφοβήθη τὸ κέρας τὸ εὐώνυμον καὶ ταύτῃ ἀπορρηγνύμενον κατείδε τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοπέδου, εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος ζὺν τοῖς πρώτοις ἔφευγε. [5] καὶ ἔστε μὲν ὁμαλοῖς χωρίοις ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἐπετύγχανεν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος διεσώζετο, ὡς δὲ φάραγξι τε καὶ ἄλλαις δυσχωρίαις ἐνέκυρσε, τὸ μὲν ἄρμα ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸν κἀνδυν ἐκδύς· ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸ τόξον ἀπολείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος· αὐτὸς δὲ ἵππου ἐπιβὰς ἔφευγε· καὶ ἡ νύξ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἐπιγενομένη ἀφείλετο αὐτὸν τὸ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἁλῶναι. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἔστε μὲν φάος ἦν ἀνὰ κράτος ἐδίωκεν, ὡς δὲ συνεσκοτάζε τε ἤδη καὶ τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ἀφανῇ ἦν, εἰς τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἀπετρέπετο ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τὸ μέντοι ἄρμα τοῦ Δαρείου ἔλαβε καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν κἀνδυν καὶ τὸ τόξον, [7] καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ δίωξις βραδυτέρα αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ παραρρήξει τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπιστρέψας καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ πρόσθεν ἐς τὸ διώκειν ἐτράπετο πρὶν τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους τοὺς ξένους καὶ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἱππικὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπωσθέντας κατείδε. [8] τῶν δὲ Περσῶν ἀπέθανον Ἀρσάμης μὲν Ῥεομίθρης καὶ Ἀτιζύης τῶν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ ἡγήσαμένων τοῦ ἱππικοῦ· ἀποθνήσκει δὲ καὶ Σαυάκης ὁ Αἰγύπτου σατράπης καὶ Βουβάκης τῶν ἐντίμων Περσῶν· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος εἰς δέκα μάλιστα μυριάδας καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἱππεῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, ὥστε λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ξυνεπισπόμενος τότε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοὺς μετὰ σφῶν διώκοντας Δαρεῖον, ὡς ἐπὶ φάραγγί τινι ἐν τῇ διώξει ἐγένοντο, ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν διαβῆναι τὴν φάραγγα. [9] τό τε στρατόπεδον τὸ Δαρείου εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐάλω καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή, αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Δαρείου, καὶ υἱὸς Δαρείου νήπιος· καὶ θυγατέρες δύο ἐάλωσαν καὶ ἄλλαι ἀμφ' αὐτάς Περσῶν τῶν ὁμοτίμων γυναῖκες οὐ πολλαί. οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τὰς γυναῖκας σφῶν ζὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ ἐς Δαμασκὸν ἔτυχον ἐσταλκότες· [10] ἐπεὶ καὶ Δαρεῖος τῶν τε χρημάτων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ ἐς πολυτελεῆ δίαιταν καὶ στρατευομένῳ ὁμῶς συνέπεται πεπόμφει ἐς Δαμασκόν, ὥστε ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι οὐ πλείονα ἢ τρισχίλια τάλαντα ἐάλω. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν Δαμασκῷ χρήματα ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐάλω ὑπὸ Παρμενίωνος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο σταλέντος. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίους Νικοκράτους μηνὸς Μαμακτηρῶνος.

XI. Now the battalions on the right wing, seeing the Persians opposed to them already turned back, inclined towards Dareius' mercenaries and their own hard-pressed centre, and drove these from the river, and then overlapping the now broken Persian left, by an oblique move, attacked and were in a trice cutting down the mercenaries. However, the Persian cavalry posted opposite to the Thessalians did not keep their ground on the river bed in the action, but crossed manfully and charged the Thessalian squadrons, and here there was a desperate cavalry fight; the Persians did not give way till they saw Dareius in flight and till their mercenaries were cut off, mowed down by the phalanx. But then the rout was open and universal. The Persian horses suffered much in the retreat, with their riders heavily armed, while the riders too, hurrying by

narrow roads in a crowded horde, in terror and in disorder, were as much damaged being ridden over by one another as by their pursuers. The Thessalians stoutly pressed them, and there was as much slaughter in the cavalry as in the infantry flight.

Darius, for his part, the moment his left wing was panic-stricken by Alexander and he beheld it thus cut off from the rest of his army, fled just as he was in his chariot, and in the van of the fugitives. So long as he found level ground, he found safety in his chariot; but when he met defiles and other difficulties, he left his chariot and threw away his shield and his outer mantle, nay, left even his bow in the chariot, and fled on horseback; night, speedily falling, saved him from becoming Alexander's captive. For Alexander pursued with all his might as long as daylight held; but when it grew dark and he could not see his way, he turned back towards the camp, taking, however, Darius' chariot, and with it his shield, bow, and mantle. The fact is that his pursuit was the slower, since he had wheeled back at the first breaking through of the phalanx and had not himself turned to pursue till he had seen the mercenaries and the Persian cavalry driven back from the river.

Of the Persians fell Arsames and Rheomithres and Atizyes of the cavalry commanders on the Granicus; Sabakes the satrap of Egypt, and Bubakes, of the Persian nobles; as for the rank and file, some 100,000, among which were over 10,000 cavalry, so that Ptolemaeus son of Lagos, who then was with Alexander, says that the pursuers of Darius meeting a deep gully in the pursuit crossed it on bodies of the dead. Darius' camp was stormed and captured, with his mother, wife, who was sister also of Darius, and his infant son; two daughters also were taken, and in their suite some few noble Persian ladies. For the other Persians had sent their women-folk and baggage to Damascus; Darius too had sent thither the greater part of his money and all else that goes along with a great king, even on campaign, to meet his extravagant way of living; they found, therefore, in the camp not above three thousand talents. Yet even this wealth at Damascus was captured soon after by Parmenio, who was specially detailed to do so. So ended this battle, fought in the archonship at Athens of Nicocrates and in the month Maimakterion.

[1] τῇ δὲ ὕστεραίᾳ, καίπερ τετρωμένος τὸν μηρὸν ξίφει Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ δὲ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐπῆλθε, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ξυναγαγὼν ἔθαψε μεγαλοπρεπῶς ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ ἐκτεταγμένη ὡς λαμπρότατα ἐς πόλεμον: καὶ λόγῳ τε ἐπεκόσμησεν ὅσοις τι διαπρεπὲς ἔργον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἢ αὐτὸς ξυνέγνω εἰργασμένον ἢ ἀκοῇ συμφωνούμενον ἔμαθεν, καὶ χρημάτων ἐπιδόσει ὡς ἐκάστους ξὺν τῇ ἀξίᾳ ἐτίμησεν. [2] καὶ Κιλικίας μὲν ἀποδεικνύει σατράπην Βάλακρον τὸν Νικάνορος, ἓνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν βασιλικῶν, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου ἐς τοὺς σωματοφύλακας κατέλεξε Μένητα τὸν Διονυσίου: ἀντὶ δὲ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σελεύκου τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Πολυπέρχοντα τὸν Σιμμίου ἄρχειν ἀπέδειξε τῆς ἐκείνου τάξεως. καὶ Σολεῦσι τὰ τε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ ἔτι ἐνδεᾶ ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιβληθέντων Σφίσι χρημάτων, ἀνῆκεν καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀπέδωκεν. [3] ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Δαρείου οὐδὲ τῆς

γυναικὸς ἢ τῶν παιδῶν ἡμέλεισεν. ἀλλὰ λέγουσί τινες τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου γραψάντων τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτῆς, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως τῆς Δαρείου ἐπανήκεν, ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν παρελθόντα αὐτὸν τὴν Δαρείου, ἥτις αὐτῷ ἐξηρημένη ἦν, ἀκοῦσαι γυναικῶν οἰμωγὴν καὶ ἄλλον τοιοῦτον θόρυβον οὐ πόρρω τῆς σκηνῆς: [4] πυθέσθαι οὖν αἵτινες γυναῖκες καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου οὕτως ἐγγὺς παρασκηνοῦσι: καὶ τινα ἐξαγγεῖλαι, ὅτι: ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἡ μήτηρ τε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Δαρείου καὶ οἱ παῖδες, ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη αὐταῖς ὅτι τὸ τόξον τε τοῦ Δαρείου ἔχεις καὶ τὸν κἀνδυν τὸν βασιλικὸν καὶ ἡ ἀσπίς ὅτι κεκόμισται ὀπίσω ἡ Δαρείου, ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεῶτι Δαρεῖῳ ἀνοιμώζουσιν. [5] ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὰς Λεοννάτον, ἕνα τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐντειλάμενον φράσαι ὅτι ζῇ Δαρεῖος, τὰ δὲ ὄπλα καὶ τὸν κἀνδυν ὅτι φεύγων ἀπέλιπεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι μόνον ἔχει Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ Λεοννάτον παρελθόντα ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν τὰ τε περὶ Δαρείου εἰπεῖν καὶ ὅτι τὴν θεραπείαν αὐταῖς συγχωρεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον καὶ καλεῖσθαι βασιλίσας, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ ἔχθραν οἱ γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Δαρεῖον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς [6] τῆς Ἀσίας διαπεπολεμῆσθαι ἐννόμως. ταῦτα μὲν Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος λέγουσι: λόγος δὲ ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐλθεῖν εἰσὼς ξὺν Ἡφαιστίῳ μόνῳ τῶν ἐταίρων: καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Δαρείου ἀμφιγνοήσασαν ὅστις ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶη αὐτοῖν, ἐστάλθαι γὰρ ἅμῳ τῷ αὐτῷ κόσμῳ, τὴν δὲ Ἡφαιστίῳ προσελθεῖν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, ὅτι μείζων ἐφάνη ἐκεῖνος. [7] ὡς δὲ ὁ Ἡφαιστίων τε ὀπίσω ὑπεχώρησε καὶ τις τῶν ἀμφοῖν αὐτῇν, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δείξας, ἐκεῖνον ἔφη εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν μὲν καταδεδεσθῆσαν τῇ διαμαρτίᾳ ὑποχωρεῖν, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ οὐ φάναι αὐτὴν ἀμαρτεῖν: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρον. [8] καὶ ταῦτα ἐγὼ οὐθ' ὡς ἀληθῆ οὔτε ὡς πάντῃ ἄπιστα ἀνέγραψα. ἀλλ' εἴτε οὕτως ἐπράχθη, ἐπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς τε ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας κατοικτίσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν ἐταῖρον πίστεως καὶ τιμῆς: εἴτε πιθανὸς δοκεῖ τοῖς συγγράψασιν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς καὶ ταῦτα ἂν πράξας καὶ εἰπὼν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον.

XII. Next day, despite a sword wound in his thigh, Alexander went round to see the wounded; and the dead he gathered together and gave them a splendid military funeral, the whole army marshalled in their finest battle array. He praised all who, by his own personal witness, or by the agreed report of others, he knew had done valorous deeds in the battle; these one and all he honoured by a donation suitable to their desert. He appointed as satrap of Cilicia Balacrus son of Nicanor, one of the royal bodyguard; and chose to take his place in the guard Menes, son of Dionysius; and in place of Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, who had fallen in the fight, he appointed Polysperchon son of Simmias commander of his battalion. To the citizens of Soli he remitted the fifty talents still due from the fine he had imposed, and restored their hostages.

Nor did he neglect Dareius' mother, queen, or children. Some of the biographies of Alexander relate that the night after his return from the pursuit of Dareius he entered Dareius' pavilion, which had been put aside for his own use, and heard a lamentation and other confused sound of women's voices

near the pavilion; he enquired what women they were and why they were accommodated so near him; and was told, “Sire, it is Dareius’ mother, wife, and children; hearing that you possess his bow and the royal mantle and that his shield has been brought back, they are wailing for him as dead.” Alexander thereupon sent Leonnatus to them, one of the Companions, bidding him tell them that Dareius still lived; that he while escaping left his arms and mantle in the chariot, and that Alexander had no more than these. Leonnatus entered the tent and gave Alexander’s message about Dareius, adding that Alexander granted them the right of royal state and all other marks of royalty, with the title of princesses of the blood, since he had made war with Dareius from no personal enmity but had legitimately fought for the sovereignty of Asia. This is the account of Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus; there is, however, a story that Alexander himself next day visited the tent with Hephaestion alone of his suite; and Dareius’ mother, mistaking the king — for both were accounted alike — approached Hephaestion and prostrated herself before him, for he appeared the taller. Hephaestion, however withdrew, and one of the Queen-mother’s attendants pointing to Alexander said that he was the king; whereupon she also withdrew in confusion at her mistake; Alexander remarking that she had made no error, for Hephaestion was also an Alexander. This I have included not as necessarily true nor yet altogether untrustworthy. If it so happened, I have nothing but praise for Alexander for his compassion towards these women, and for his thus trusting and honouring his comrade; if it is the sort of thing that the historians thought Alexander would have said and done, and hence they accept it, I still have nothing but praise for Alexander.

[1] Δαρειῶς δὲ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ξὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς ἄμφ’ αὐτὸν ἔφυγε, τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναλαμβάνων ἀεὶ τῶν τε Περσῶν τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἔχων τοὺς πάντας, ὥς ἐπὶ Θάσᾱκόν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν σπουδῇ ἤλαυνεν, ὥς τάχιστα μέσον αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Εὐφράτην ποιῆσαι. [2] Ἀμύντας δὲ ὁ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Θυμῶνδας ὁ Μέντορος καὶ Ἀριστομήδης ὁ Φεραῖος καὶ Βιάνωρ ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, ξυμπάντες οὗτοι αὐτόμολοι, μετὰ τῶν ἄμφ’ αὐτοὺς στρατιωτῶν ὥς ὀκτακισχιλίων εὐθὺς ὥς τεταγμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰ ὄρη φεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς Τρίπολιν τῆς Φοινίκης. [3] καὶ ἐνταῦθα καταλαβόντες τὰς ναὺς νενεωλκημένας ἐφ’ ὧν πρόσθεν ἐκ Λέσβου διακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν, τούτων ὅσαι μὲν ἱκαναὶ σφισιν ἐς τὴν κομιδὴν ἐδόκουν, ταύτας καθελκύσαντες, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις κατακαύσαντες, ὥς μὴ παρασχεῖν ταχεῖαν σφῶν τὴν δίωξιν, ἐπὶ Κύπρου ἔφευγον καὶ ἐκείθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἵνα περ ὀλίγον ὕστερον πολυπραγμονῶν τι Ἀμύντας ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων. [4] Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Αὐτοφραδάτης τέως μὲν περὶ τὴν Χίον διέτριβον: καταστήσαντες δὲ φρουρὰν τῆς Χίου τὰς μὲν τινὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐς Κῶν καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσὸν ἔστειλαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ ταῖς ἄριστα πλεούσαις ἀναγαγόμενοι ἐς Σίφνον κατέσχον. καὶ παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἀφικνεῖται Ἄγις ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ μιᾷς τριήρους, χρήματά τε αἰτήσων ἐς τὸν

πόλεμον καὶ δύναμιν ναυτικὴν τε καὶ πεζικὴν ὅσῃν πλείστην ἀξιώσωσιν συμπέμψαι οἱ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. [5] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀγγελία αὐτοῖς ἔρχεται τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Ἴσῳ γενομένης. ἐκπλαγέντες δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα Φαρνάβαζος μὲν σὺν δώδεκα τριήρεσι καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ξένων ξὺν χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις ἐπὶ Χίου ἐστάλη, δέισας μὴ τι πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς ἥττης οἱ Χῖοι νεωτερίσωσιν. [6] Ἄγις δὲ παρ' Αὐτοφραδάτου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου λαβὼν τριάκοντα καὶ τριῆρεις δέκα, ταύτας μὲν Ἰππῖαν ἄξοντα ἀποστέλλει παρὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀγησίλαον ἐπὶ Ταίναρον· καὶ παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, διδόντα τοῖς ναύταις ἐντελῇ τὸν μισθὸν πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ Κρήτης, ὥς τὰ ἐκεῖ καταστησόμενον. αὐτὸς δὲ τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ὑπέμενεν, ὕστερον δὲ εἰς Ἀλικαρνασσὸν παρ' Αὐτοφραδάτην ἀφίκετο. [7] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σατράπην μὲν Συρίᾳ τῇ κοιλῇ Μένωνα τὸν Κερδίμμη ἐπέταξε δοῦς αὐτῷ εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας τοὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων ἱππεάς, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Φοινίκῃς ἦι. καὶ ἀπαντᾷ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Στράτων ὁ Γηροστράτου παῖς τοῦ Ἀραδίων τε καὶ τῶν Ἀράδῳ προσοίκων βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ Γηρόστρατος αὐτὸς μετ' Αὐτοφραδάτου ἔπλει ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τε τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ οἱ τῶν Κυπρίων βασιλεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ Αὐτοφραδάτῃ ξυνέπλεον. [8] Στράτων δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐντυχὼν στεφανοῖ χρυσοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τε Ἀραδὸν αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον καὶ τὴν Μάραθον τὴν καταντικρὺ τῇ Ἀράδου ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ὤκισμένην, πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, καὶ Σιγῶνα καὶ Μαριάμμην πόλιν καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τῆς σφῶν ἐπικρατείας ἐνδίδωσιν.

XII. Dareius meanwhile fled through the night with a handful of his suite; but in the daylight he kept picking up such Persians as had got off safe from the battle and also some of the foreign mercenaries; and with a body of about 4000 in all he rode at full speed to the River Euphrates, meaning to put the river between Alexander and himself as soon as might be. Amyntas, however, son of Antiochus and Thymondas son of Mentor and Aristomedes of Phrae and Bianor the Acarnanian, all deserters to Dareius, with their troops to the number of 8000, when posted in battle formation, fled straight to the hills and reached Tripolis in Phoenicia. There they picked up the ships which had been hauled ashore; the same ships which had brought them from Lesbos. They launched as many of these as they thought enough for their convoy; the rest they burnt in the dockyards, to avoid a speedy pursuit, and made for Cyprus and thence to Egypt, where a little later Amyntas, stirring up trouble, was killed by the Egyptians.

Meanwhile Pharnabazus and Autophradates for their part had been waiting at Chios; they had appointed a guard for Chios, and they now sent part of their fleet to Cos and Halicarnassus; they themselves with the hundred swiftest ships put to sea and arrived at Siphnus. Agis king of Sparta met them there with a single trireme to beg for funds for the war and to ask that as many ships and men as possible should be sent to him in the Peloponnese. Just at this moment came the news of the battle of Issus. Utterly dumbfounded at the news, Pharnabazus with twelve triremes and fifteen hundred of the

mercenaries made for Chios, fearing lest the Chians, on the news of the defeat, might rebel. Agis, meanwhile, getting thirty silver talents from Autophradates and ten triremes, despatched Hippias to take them to his brother Agesilaus at Taenarum. He ordered him to tell Agesilaus to pay the crew in full and sail by the shortest route to Crete, to put all there in order. But Agis remained there for the present among the islands, joining Autophradates later at Halicarnassus.

Alexander appointed as satrap of Lowland Syria Menon son of Kerdimmas, giving him, to garrison the country, the allied cavalry. He himself went towards Phoenicia. On his way Straton son of Gerostratus met him; he was sheik of Aradians and those near Aradus; Gerostratus sailed with Autophradates, and the rest of the princes of Phoenicia and the kings of the Cyprians sailed with him too. But Straton meeting Alexander crowned him with a golden crown, yielding up to him the island of Aradus and Marathus which lay opposite it on the mainland, a great and prosperous city, with Sigon and Mariamne and all else under his sway.

[1] ἔτι δὲ ἐν Μαράθῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος ἀφίκοντο παρὰ Δαρείου πρέσβεις, ἐπιστολὴν τε κομίζοντες Δαρείου καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης δεησόμενοι ἀφεῖναι Δαρείῳ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας. [2] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὅτι Φίλιππῳ τε πρὸς Ἀρτοξέρῃην φιλία καὶ ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο καὶ, ἐπειδὴ Ἀρσῆς ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρτοξέρξου ἐβασίλευσεν, ὅτι Φίλιππος ἀδικίας πρῶτος ἐς βασιλέα Ἀρσῆν ἤρξεν οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐκ Περσῶν παθόν. ἐξ οὗ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεύει Περσῶν, οὔτε πέμψαι τινὰ Ἀλέξανδρον παρ' αὐτὸν ἐς βεβαίωσιν τῆς πάλαι οὔσης φιλίας τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας, διαβῆναι τε ξὺν στρατιᾷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐργάσασθαι Πέρσας. [3] τούτου ἕνεκα καταβῆναι αὐτὸς τῇ χώρᾳ ἀμυνῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρῶαν ἀνασώσων. τὴν μὲν δὴ μάχην ὡς θεῶν τῷ ἔδοξεν οὕτω κριθῆναι, αὐτὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς παρὰ βασιλέως γυναῖκά τε τὴν αὐτοῦ αἰτεῖν καὶ μητέρα καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἀλόντας, καὶ φιλίαν ἐθέλειν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ξύμμαχος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ: καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων πέμπειν ἡξίου Ἀλέξανδρον παρ' αὐτὸν ξὺν Μενίσκῳ τε καὶ Ἀρσίμῳ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τοῖς ἐκ Περσῶν ἡκουσι τοὺς τὰ πιστὰ ληγομένους τε καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου δώσοντας. [4] πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιγράφει Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ξυμπέμπει τοῖς παρὰ Δαρείου ἐλθοῦσι Θέρσιππον, παραγγείλας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δοῦναι Δαρείῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ μὴ διαλέγεσθαι ὑπὲρ μηδενός. ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔχει ὧδε: οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι ἐλθόντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα κακῶς ἐποίησαν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν προηδικημένοι: ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμῶν κατασταθεὶς καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι βουλόμενος Πέρσας διέβην ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὑπαρξάντων ὑμῶν. [5] καὶ γὰρ Περινθίοις ἐβοηθήσατε, οἱ τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα ἡδίκουν, καὶ εἰς Θράκην, ἧς ἡμεῖς ἤρχομεν, δύναιμι ἐπεμψεν Ὀχος. τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων, οὓς ὑμεῖς συνετάξατε, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐκομπάσατε, καὶ Ἀρσῆν ἀποκτείναντός σου μετὰ Βαγῶου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντος οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Περσῶν νόμον, ἀλλὰ ἀδικοῦντος Πέρσας, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας γράμματα οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια διαπέμποντος, [6] ὅπως πρὸς με

πολεμῶσι, καὶ χρήματα ἀποστέλλοντος πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πόλεων οὐδεμιᾶς δεχομένης, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ λαβόντων, καὶ παρὰ σοῦ πεμφθέντων τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλους διαφθειράντων καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κατεσκεύασα, διαλύειν ἐπιχειρούντων — ἐστράτευσα ἐπὶ σὲ ὑπάρξαντος σοῦ τῆς ἔχθρας. [7] ἐπεὶ δὲ μάχῃ νενίκηκα πρότερον μὲν τοὺς σοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ σατράπας, νῦν δὲ σὲ καὶ τὴν μετὰ σοῦ δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔχω τῶν θεῶν μοι δόντων, ὅσοι τῶν μετὰ σοῦ παραταξαμένων μὴ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέθανον, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐμὲ κατέφυγον, τούτων ἐπιμέλομαι καὶ οὐκ ἄκοντες παρ' ἐμοί εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ ἐκόντες ξυστρατεύονται μετ' ἐμοῦ. [8] ὥς οὖν ἐμοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης κυρίου ὄντος ἦκε πρὸς ἐμέ. εἰ δὲ φοβῇ μὴ ἐλθὼν πάθῃς τι ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἄχαρι, πέμπε τινὰς τῶν φίλων τὰ πιστὰ ληψομένους. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς με τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ εἰ ἄλλο τι θέλεις αἰτεῖ καὶ λάμβανε. ὃ τι γὰρ ἂν πείθῃς ἐμὲ ἔσται σοι. [9] καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ὅταν πέμπῃς παρ' ἐμὲ, ὥς πρὸς βασιλεᾶ τῆς Ἀσίας πέμπε, μὴδὲ [ᾧ] ἐξ ἴσου ἐπίστελλε, ἀλλ' ὥς κυρίῳ ὄντι πάντων τῶν σῶν φράζε εἴ του δέῃ: εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐγὼ βουλευέσομαι περὶ σοῦ ὥς ἀδικοῦντος. εἰ δ' ἀντιλέγῃς περὶ τῆς βασιλείας, ὑπομείνας ἔτι ἀγώνισαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ μὴ φεῦγε, ὥς ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σὲ πορεύσομαι οὐ ἂν ᾗς.

XIII. While Alexander was yet at Marathus, envoys reached him from Dareius, bringing a letter from him, and themselves under orders to beg Alexander to release to Dareius his mother, wife, and children. The letter ran: Philip and Artaxerxes were in peace and alliance; and when Arsēs son of Artaxerxes became king, Philip took the first wrong step towards King Arsēs, having suffered no ungracious treatment at his hands. But since Dareius had been King of Persia, Alexander had sent no envoy to him to confirm this ancient friendship and alliance, but had actually crossed in full force into Asia and had done much harm to the Persians. Dareius therefore had come down to defend his country and to save his ancestral sovereignty. The battle had gone as some god had willed it; but he, a king, begged from a king his captive mother, wife, and children; and was ready to make friendship and an alliance with Alexander; and for these things he begged Alexander to send to him along with Meniscus and Arsimes, the envoys from Persia, duly authorised persons to receive sureties from him, and to give him sureties from Alexander.

Alexander replied to this, sending with Dareius' envoys Thersippus, bidding him deliver the letter to Dareius, but to discuss no point with him. This is how Alexander's letter runs: "Your ancestors invaded Macedonia and the rest of Greece and did us much harm, though we had done none to them; I have been duly appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Greeks, and invaded Asia desiring to take vengeance on Persia; but it was you who began the mischief. You assisted Perinthus, which wronged my father; and Ochus sent a force into Thrace, which is under our sovereignty. My father was murdered by conspirators, whom you instructed, as you yourselves boasted in your letters, before all the world; you assassinated Arsēs with the help of Bagoas, (Alexander seems inaccurate. Bagoas apparently murdered Arsēs

independently and then placed Dareius on the throne, later attempting to poison him, but was “hoist with his own petard,” being compelled to drink the poison himself.) and seized the throne unjustly and, according to Persian law, illegally, doing grievous wrong to Persians; you sent improper letters to the Greeks about me, urging them to declare war upon me. You despatched sums of money to the Lacedaemonians and certain other Greeks, and when no other city received these, save the Lacedaemonians, and when your envoys corrupted my friends and sought to destroy the peace I had made in Greece, I took up arms against you; but it was you who started the quarrel. And whereas I conquered in battle first your generals and satraps, and now yourself and your own force, and hold the country — by the gift of heaven — I hold myself responsible for all of your troops who did not die in the field but took refuge with me; indeed they are with me of their own free will and of their will serve in my army. Regard me then as Lord of all Asia and come to me. If you fear lest by coming you may receive some ungracious treatment at my hands, send some of your friends to receive proper pledges. When you come to me, request and receive your mother, wife, and children, and what you will. You shall have whatsoever you persuade me to give. And in future when you send, send to me as Supreme Lord of Asia, and do not direct what you require as on equal terms, but tell me, as lord of all your possessions, if you have need of aught; otherwise I shall take steps concerning you as a misdemeanor. If you claim your kingdom, stand your ground and fight for it and flee not, since I will pursue you whithersoever you go.”

[1] πρὸς μὲν Δαρεῖον ταῦτ' ἐπέστειλεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθεν τὰ τε χρήματα ὅσα σὺν Κωφῆνι τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἀποπεπόμφει εἰς Δαμασκὸν Δαρεῖος ὅτι ἐάλωκε, καὶ ὅσοι Περσῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὰ ἐγκατελείφθησαν ζῆν τῇ ἄλλῃ βασιλικῇ κατασκευῇ ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι ἐάλωσαν, ταῦτα μὲν ὀπίσω κομίσαντα ἐς Δαμασκὸν Παρμενίωνα φυλάσσειν ἐκέλευε. [2] τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ πρὸς Δαρεῖον πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἀφιγμένοι ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτους ἐαλωκέναι ἔμαθεν, παρ' αὐτὸν πέμπειν ἐκέλευεν. ἦσαν δὲ Εὐθυκλῆς μὲν Σπαρτιάτης, Θεσσαλίσκος δὲ Ἰσμνίου καὶ Διονυσόδωρος Ὀλυμπιονίκης Θηβαῖοι, Ἰφικράτης δὲ ὁ Ἰφικράτους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Αθηναῖος. [3] καὶ οὗτοι ὡς ἦκον παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, Θεσσαλίσκον μὲν καὶ Διονυσόδωρον καίπερ Θηβαίους ὄντας εὐθὺς ἀφῆκεν, τὸ μὲν τι κατοικτίσει τῶν Θηβῶν, τὸ δὲ ὅτι συγγνωστὰ δεδρακέναι ἐφαίνοντο, ἡνδραποδισμένης ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων τῆς πατρίδος σφίσιν τε ἦντινα ἡδύναντο ὠφέλειαν εὐρισκόμενοι καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ Δαρείου: [4] ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοῖν ἐπικεικὴ ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Θεσσαλίσκον μὲν αἰδοῖ τοῦ γένους ἀφιέναι εἶπεν, ὅτι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Θηβαίων ἦν, Διονυσόδωρον δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων. Ἰφικράτην δὲ φιλίᾳ τε τῆς Αθηναίων πόλεως καὶ μνήμῃ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς ζῶντᾳ τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐτίμησε καὶ νόσω τελευτήσαντος τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τοῖς πρὸς γένους ἀπέπεμψε. [5] Εὐθυκλέα δὲ Λακεδαιμονίον τε ὄντα, πόλεως περιφανῶς ἐχθρᾶς ἐν τῷ τότε, καὶ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ εὐρισκόμενον ἐς συγγνώμην ὃ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν

φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ εἶχεν, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἐπὶ μέγα εὐτύχει, καὶ τοῦτον ἀφῆκεν. [6] ἐκ Μαράθου δὲ ὀρμηθεὶς Βύβλον τε λαμβάνει ὁμολογίᾳ ἐνδοθεῖσαν καὶ Σιδῶνα αὐτῶν Σιδωνίων ἐπικαλεσαμένων κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Περσῶν καὶ Δαρειοῦ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ προὐχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ Τύρον· καὶ ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρέσβεις Τυρίων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐσταλμένοι ὡς ἐγνωκότων Τυρίων πράσσειν ὃ τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλῃ Ἀλέξανδρος. [7] ὁ δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν ἐπαινέσας καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις 'καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐν Τύρῳ οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Τυρίων παῖς. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀξέμιλκος μετ' Αὐτοφραδάτου ἔπλει ἐκέλευσεν ἐπανελθόντας φράσαι Τυρίοις, ὅτι ἐθέλοι παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν θῆσαι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ.

XIV. This was Alexander's letter to Dareius. As soon as he learned that the moneys which Dareius had sent with Cophen son of Artabazus to Damascus had been seized, and that all the Persians left to guard them with the rest of the royal equipage had been seized also, he bade Parmenio take the spoil back to Damascus and guard it there. But as for the Greek envoys who had reached Dareius before the battle, when he learned that these also were captured, he ordered them to be sent to him. They were Euthycles the Spartiate, Thessaliscus son of Ismenius, and Dionysidorus, Olympian victor, of Thebes; and Iphicrates son of Iphicrates the general, of Athens. When these envoys reached Alexander, he at once dismissed Thessaliscus and Dionysidorus, Thebans though they were, partly from compassion for Thebes and partly because it seemed that they had acted pardonably, since their city had been enslaved by Macedonians, and they were looking for what help they could get for themselves and for their country, too from Dareius and Persia; Alexander therefore took a kindly view of the doings of both; but privately he said that he released Thessaliscus from regard for his family — since he was one of the Theban nobles — and Dionysidorus because of his athletic victory at Olympia. Iphicrates, from friendship for Athens and remembrance of his father's fame, he retained about his person with especial honour; when at last Iphicrates died he sent his bones to his relatives at Athens. Euthycles, however, as a Lacedaemonian, citizen of a city of bitter hostility to him at the moment, and unable to produce any reasonable claim to pardon, at first he kept under open arrest; but later, when successes crowded in upon him, he released him also.

Alexander marched from Marathus and received the surrender of Byblus, Sidon also, invited by the Sidonians themselves, who loathed Persia and Dareius. Thence he proceeded towards Tyre, and on the way Tyrian envoys met him, sent by the community to say that Tyre had decided to accept Alexander's orders. He commended both the city and its envoys — for they were not only Tyrian nobles but numbered among them the son of their king, who himself was at sea with Autophradates' fleet — and bade them return and tell the Tyrians that he proposed to come to Tyre and sacrifice to Heracles.

[1] ἔστι γὰρ ἐν Τύρῳ ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους παλαιότατον ὧν μνήμη ἀνθρωπίνη διασώζεται, οὐ τοῦ Ἀργεῖου Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης; πολλαῖς γὰρ γενεαῖς

πρότερον τιμᾶται ἐν Τύρῳ Ἡρακλῆς ἢ Κάδμου ἐκ Φοινίκης ὀρμηθέντα Θήβας
 κατασχεῖν καὶ τὴν παῖδα Κάδμω τὴν Σεμέλῃν γενέσθαι, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς
 Διόνυσος γίγνεται. [2] Διόνυσος μὲν δὴ τρίτος ἂν ἀπὸ Κάδμου εἴη, κατὰ
 Λάβδακον τὸν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου παῖδα, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ὁ Ἀργεῖος κατ'
 Οἰδίποδα μάλιστα τὸν Λαΐου. σέβουσι δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἄλλον Ἡρακλέα, οὐχ
 ὄνπερ Τύριοι ἢ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ λέγει Ἡρόδοτος, [3] ὅτι τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν
 Ἡρακλέα ἄγουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Διόνυσον τὸν Διὸς καὶ
 Κόρης σέβουσιν, ἄλλον τοῦτον Διόνυσον: καὶ ὁ Ἰακχος ὁ μυστικὸς τοῦτω
 Διονύσῳ, οὐχὶ τῷ Θηβαίῳ, ἐπάδεται. [4] ὡς τὸν γε ἐν Ταρτησσῷ πρὸς Ἰβήρων
 τιμώμενον Ἡρακλέα, ἵνα καὶ στήλαί τινες Ἡρακλέους ὠνομασμέναι εἴσι,
 δοκῶ ἐγὼ τὸν Τύριον εἶναι Ἡρακλέα, ὅτι Φοινίκων κτίσμα ἢ Ταρτησσὸς καὶ
 τῷ Φοινίκων νόμῳ ὃ τε νεῶς πεποιήται τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐκεῖ καὶ αἱ θυσίαι
 θύονται. [5] Γηρυόνην δέ, ἐφ' ὄντινα ὁ Ἀργεῖος Ἡρακλῆς ἐστάλη πρὸς
 Εὐρυσθέως τὰς βοῦς ἀπελάσαι τὰς Γηρυόνου καὶ ἀγαγεῖν ἐς Μυκῆνας, οὐδέν
 τι προσήκειν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἰβήρων Ἐκαταῖος ὁ λογοποιὸς λέγει, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ νησόν
 τινα Ἐρύθειαν τῆς ἔξω τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης σταλῆναι Ἡρακλέα, ἀλλὰ τῆς
 ἡπείρου τῆς περὶ Ἀμπρακίαν τε καὶ Ἀμφιλόχους βασιλέα γενέσθαι Γηρυόνην
 καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης ἀπελάσαι Ἡρακλέα τὰς βοῦς, οὐδὲ τοῦτο φαῦλον
 ἄθλον τιθέμενον. [6] οἶδα δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἔτι εὐβοτον τὴν ἡπειρον ταύτην
 καὶ βοῦς τρέφουσιν καλλίστας: καὶ ἐς Εὐρυσθέα τῶν μὲν ἐξ Ἠπείρου βοῶν
 κλέος ἀφίχθαι καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἠπείρου τὸ ὄνομα τὸν Γηρυόνην οὐκ
 ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος τίθεται: τῶν δὲ ἐσχάτων τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἰβήρων οὐτ' ἂν τοῦ
 βασιλέως τὸ ὄνομα γινώσκων Εὐρυσθέα, οὔτε εἰ βοῦς καλαὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ
 ταύτῃ νέμονται, εἰ μὴ τις τὴν Ἥραν τοῦτοις ἐπάγων, ὡς αὐτὴν ταῦτα Ἡρακλεῖ
 δι' Εὐρυσθέως ἐπαγγέλλουσιν, τὸ οὐ πιστὸν τοῦ λόγου ἀποκρύπτειν ἐθέλοι
 τῷ μύθῳ. [7] τοῦτω τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Τυρίῳ ἔφη ἐθέλιν θῆσαι Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς
 δὲ ἀπηγγέλη ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν πρέσβων εἰς τὴν Τύρον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔδοξε
 σφισι ποιεῖν ὃ τι περ ἐπαγγέλλοι Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐς δὲ τὴν πόλιν μήτε τινὰ
 Περσῶν μήτε Μακεδόνων δέχεσθαι, ὡς τοῦτο ἔς τε τὰ παρόντα τῷ λόγῳ
 εὐπρεπέστατον καὶ ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν κρίσιν, ἄδηλον ἔτι οὖσαν,
 ἀσφαλέστατον σφισι γνωσόμενοι. [8] ὡς δὲ ἐξηγγέλη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ ἐκ τῆς
 Τύρου, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις πρὸς ὀργὴν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ συναγαγὼν
 τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ταξιάρχας καὶ ἰλάρχας
 ἔλεξεν ὧδε. ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ ζύμμαχοι, ἡμῖν οὕτε τὴν ἐπ'

XVI. There is, you must know, at Tyre the most ancient temple of Heracles
 of which there is any record; not the Argive Heracles, son of Alcmena; for
 Heracles was honoured at Tyre many generations before Cadmus sailed from
 Phoenicia, occupied Thebes, and had a daughter Semele, mother of Dionysus
 son of Zeus. For Dionysus would appear to be in the third generation from
 Cadmus, in the line of Labdacus son of Polydorus, son of Cadmus; while the
 Argive Heracles was probably in the line of Oedipus son of Laius. The
 Egyptians worship another Heracles, different from the Heracles of Tyre and
 Greece; Herodotus says that the Egyptians reckon him one of the Twelve
 Deities, just as the Athenians worship a different Dionysus, son of Zeus and

Kore. It is to him — not the Theban Dionysus — that the mystic chant “Iacchus” is sung. So also I think that the Heracles honoured at Tartessus by the Iberians — where are the “Pillars” called “of Heracles” — is the Tyrian Heracles, since Tartessus is a Phoenician possession, and the temple to the Heracles there has been built in the Phoenician style and the sacrifices are offered in Phoenician ritual. Geryones, moreover, to whom the Argive Heracles was sent by Eurystheus, to raid the oxen of Geryones and bring them to Mycenae, has no connection with Iberia — at least so Hecataeus the Chronicler says; nor, according to him, was Heracles sent to some island, Erytheia, beyond the Great Sea; but rather that Geryones was king of the mainland round Ambracia and Amphiloichi, and that from the mainland here Heracles drove off the oxen; and that was in itself achievement enough. What I do know is that even now this part of the mainland is capital pasture and rears excellent oxen; and I reckon it quite likely that Eurystheus got wind of the fame of these mainland oxen and of the name of the king, Geryones; but I feel sure that Eurystheus would have no knowledge of the name of the king of the Iberians, right at the ends of Europe, nor whether there were fine cattle or not in those parts, unless anyone cares to bring in Hera, as passing on the news of them to Heracles through Eurystheus, and thus veil by the myth the general unlikeliness of the tale.

It was to this Tyrian Heracles that Alexander said he wished to sacrifice. When this was announced at Tyre by the envoys, the Tyrians were prepared to obey all Alexander’s other behests, but would have no Persian nor Macedonian within their city, for this resolve they felt to be most honourable for the present and safest for the future, looking at the yet uncertain issue of the war. When Alexander received this answer he angrily sent back the envoys, but assembling the Companions and the commanders of the army, with battalion and squadron commanders, he made the following speech.

[1] Αἰγύπτου πορείαν ἀσφαλῆ ὁρῶ θαλασσοκρατούντων Περσῶν, Δαρεῖόν τε διώκειν ὑπολειπομένους αὐτὴν τε ὀπίσω τὴν τῶν Τυρίων πόλιν ἀμφίβολον καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἔχόμενας πρὸς Περσῶν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀσφαλὲς ἔς τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ἔς τε Ἑλληνικὰ πράγματα, [2] μή ποτε ἄρα ἐπικρατήσαντες αὖθις τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ χωρίων οἱ Πέρσαι, προχωρησάντων ἡμῶν ζὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὥς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνά τε καὶ Δαρεῖον, αὐτοὶ ζὺν πλείονι στόλῳ μετ[α]γάγειν τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἡμῖν πολεμούντων, τῆς δὲ Ἀθηναίων πόλεως φόβῳ μᾶλλον τι ἢ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν κατεχομένης. [3] ἐξαίρεθείσης δὲ Τύρου ἢ τε Φοινίκη ἔχοιτο ἂν πᾶσα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ὅπερ πλείστον τε καὶ κράτιστον τοῦ Περσικοῦ, τὸ Φοινίκων, παρ’ ἡμᾶς μεταχωρήσειν εἰκός: οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξονται οὔτε οἱ ἐρέται οὐθ’ οἱ ἐπιβάται Φοινίκες ἔχόμενων σφίσι τῶν πόλεων αὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων πλέοντες κινδυνεύειν: Κύπρος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἢ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἡμῖν προσχωρήσει ἢ ἐξ ἐπίπλου εὐμαρῶς ληφθήσεται. [4] καὶ ταῖς τε ἐκ Μακεδονίας ναυσὶ καὶ ταῖς Φοινίσσαις πλεόντων ἡμῶν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ Κύπρου ἅμα προσγενομένης θαλασσοκρατοῦμέν τε ἂν βεβαίως καὶ ὁ ἐς Αἴγυπτον στόλος

εὐμαρῶς ἡμῖν ἐν ταύτῳ γίγνεται. Αἴγυπτον δὲ παραστησαμένοις ὑπὲρ τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς οἰκείας οὐδὲν ἔτι ὑποπτον ὑπολείπεται, τὸν τε ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος στόλον μετὰ τοῦ ἐς τὰ οἴκοι ἀσφαλοῦς καὶ ζὺν μείζονι ἅμα ἀξιώσει ποιησόμεθα ἀποτετμημένοι τὴν τε θάλασσαν Περσῶν ξύμπασαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Εὐφράτου γῆν.

XV. “My friends and allies, so long as Persia is supreme at sea I cannot see how we can march in safety to Egypt. Nor, again, is it safe to pursue Dareius, leaving in our rear the city of Tyre, of doubtful allegiance, and Egypt and Cyprus still in Persia’s hands, especially in view of the state of Greek affairs. There is a fear lest the Persians, again seizing the coast places, when we have gone in full force toward Babylon and Dareius, should with a larger army transfer the war into Greece, where the Lacedaemonians are at the moment fighting us; and Athens is kept in its place for the present by fear rather than goodwill towards us. But with Tyre once destroyed, Phoenicia could all be held, and the best and strongest part of the Persian navy, the Phoenician element, would most probably come over to us. For neither the rowers nor the marines of Phoenicia will have the courage, if their cities are in our hands, to sail the sea and run its dangers for the sake of others. After this Cyprus, moreover, will either come readily to our side or be captured easily by a naval raid. Then if we hold the sea with our Macedonian ships, and the Phoenician navy too, and with Cyprus Ours, we should firmly hold the sea-power, and in virtue thereof our expedition to Egypt would be easy. Then, when we have possession of Egypt, we shall have no cause for uneasiness for Greece and our own home, and we shall make the expedition to Babylon, with security at home, and with our enhanced prestige, with the whole sea cut off from Persia and all the country this side of Euphrates.”

[1] ταῦτα λέγων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπειθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ Τύρῳ· καὶ τι καὶ θεῖον ἀνέπειθεν αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐνὺπνιον αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐδόκει αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ τείχει προσάγειν τῶν Τυρίων, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα δεξιοῦσθαι τε αὐτόν καὶ ἀνάγειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τοῦτο ἐξηγεῖτο Ἀρίστανδρος ὡς ζὺν πόνῳ ἄλωσομένην τὴν Τύρον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔργα ζὺν πόνῳ ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ καὶ μέγα ἔργον τῆς Τύρου ἢ πολιορκία ἐφαίνετο. [2] νῆσός τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ πόλις ἦν καὶ τείχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς πάντῃ ὠχύρωτο καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρὸς τῶν Τυρίων μᾶλλον τι ἐν τῷ τότε ἐφαίνετο, τῶν τε Περσῶν ἔτι θαλασσοκρατούντων καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Τυρίοις νεῶν ἔτι πολλῶν περιουσῶν. [3] ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ὁμως ἐκράτησε, χῶμα ἐγνώ χωννῦναι ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. ἔστι δὲ πορθμὸς τεναγώδης τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης βραχέα καὶ πηλώδη αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, ἵνα τὸ βαθύτατον τοῦ διάπλου, τριῶν μάλιστα ὀργυιῶν τὸ βάθος. ἀλλὰ λίθων τε πολλῶν ἀφθονία ἦν καὶ ὕλης, ἥντινα τοῖς λίθοις ἄνωθεν ἐπεφόρουσαν, χάρακές τε οὐ χαλεπῶς κατεπήγνυντο ἐν τῷ πηλῷ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πηλὸς ζύνδεσμος τοῖς λίθοις ἐς τὸ ἐπιμένειν ἐγίγνετο. [4] καὶ προθυμία τῶν τε Μακεδόνων ἐς τὸ ἔργον καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου πολλή ἦν παρόντος τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστα ἐξηγουμένου καὶ τὰ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπαίροντος, τὰ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι τούς τι ἐκπρεπέστερον κατ’

ἀρετὴν πονουμένους ἐπικουρίζοντος. ἀλλ' ἔστε μὲν τὸ πρὸς τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐχώννυτο, οὐ χαλεπῶς προυχώρει τὸ ἔργον, ἐπὶ βάθος τε ὀλίγον χωννύμενον καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐξείργοντος. [5] ὥς δὲ τῷ τε βαθυτέρῳ ἤδη ἐπέλαζον καὶ ἅμα τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ ἐγγὺς ἐγίγνοντο, ἀπὸ τε τῶν τειχῶν ὑψηλῶν ὄντων βαλλόμενοι ἐκακοπάθουν, ἅτε καὶ ἐπ' ἐργασίᾳ μᾶλλον τι ἢ ὥς ἐς μάχην ἀκριβῶς ἐσταλμένοι, καὶ ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ χώματος ἐπιπλέοντες οἱ Τύριοι, ἅτε δὴ θαλασσοκρατοῦντες ἔτι, ἄπορον πολλαχθὶ τὴν πρόσχωσιν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐποιοῦν. [6] καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες πύργους ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ χώματος, ὃ τι περ προκεχωρήκει αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἐπέστησαν δύο καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς πύργοις. προκαλύμματα δὲ δέρρεις καὶ διφθέραι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, ὥς μήτε πυρφόροις βέλεσιν ἀπὸ τείχους βάλλεσθαι, τοῖς τε ἐργαζομένοις προβολὴν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ εἶναι πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα: ἅμα τε ὅσοι προσπλέοντες τῶν Τυρίων ἐβλαπτον τοὺς χωννύντας, ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων βαλλόμενοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνασταλήσεσθαι ἔμελλον. οἱ δὲ Τύριοι πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιμηχανῶνται τοιόνδε.

XVI. With words like these Alexander easily won over his staff to the attack on Tyre, and he had an omen to help him, for in a dream that night he found himself approaching the wall of Tyre, and there was Heracles, stretching out to him his right hand, and conducting him into the city. Aristandros interpreted the dream thus: Tyre would be taken, but with much toil, for toil was the mark of Heracles' achievements. The plain fact is that anyone could see that the siege of Tyre would be a big business. The city was an island, and strengthened all round with high walls; moreover, any movements from the seaward side were in Tyre's favour, as the Persians were still supreme at sea and the Tyrians had plenty of ships left.

But Alexander's arguments, none the less, winning the day, he decided to build a mole from the mainland to the city. At this part is a shallow strait; towards the mainland are shallows and patches of mud; but next the city where is the deepest part of the crossing is a depth of about three fathoms. But there was plenty of stones and wood, which they heaped above the stones; then it was easy to fix stakes in the mud, and the mud itself made a good and safe binding for the stones. The Macedonians were eager for the work, and Alexander too; he was himself present, explained each step, and encouraged the workers, besides rewarding with a gift those who did any specially good work. As long as the building of the mole was near the mainland, the work went on without difficulty; for the depth was not great for the structure, and no one hindered. But when they got into deeper water and also nearer the city, they were in great distress by reason of volleys from the high walls; since the workers were clad rather for work than for warfare; and the Tyrians sailing up in their triremes on this side and on that, being still masters of the sea, made in many places the building up of the mole impossible for the Macedonians. On this the Macedonians built two towers above the mole, which had now run far over the sea, and engines on the towers; they placed hides and skins to cover them, so that they could not be pelted with fire-darts from the wall, and that

the builders might have also a screen against arrows; besides, any Tyrians who rowed up and tried to damage the builders of the mole, receiving volleys from the towers, would probably be easily repulsed.

[1] ναὺν ἱπαγωγὸν κλημάτων τε ξηρῶν καὶ ἄλλης ὕλης εὐφλέκτου ἐμπλήσαντες δύο ἰστοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πρῶρᾳ καταπηγνύουσι καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ περιφράσσουσιν ἐς ὅσον μακρότατον ὡς φορυτόν τε ταύτη καὶ δάδας ὅσας πλείστας δέξασθαι: πρὸς δὲ πίσσαν τε καὶ θεῖον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τὸ παρακαλέσαι μεγάλην φλόγα ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐπεφόρησαν. [2] παρέτειναν δὲ καὶ κεραϊὰν διπλὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰστοῖς ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐξήρτησαν ἐν λέβησιν ὅσα ἐπιχυθέντα ἢ ἐπιβληθέντα ἐπὶ μέγα τὴν φλόγα ἐξάγειν ἔμελλεν, ἔρματα τε ἐς τὴν πρύμναν ἐνέθεσαν, τοῦ ἐξᾶραι ἐς ὕψος τὴν πρῶραν πιεζομένης κατὰ πρύμναν τῆς νεῶς. [3] ἔπειτα ἄνεμον τηρήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα ἐπιφέροντα ἐξάψαντες τριήρεσι τὴν ναὺν κατ' οὐρὰν εἷλκον. ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἤδη τῷ τε χῶματι καὶ τοῖς πύργοις πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ὕλην καὶ ὡς βιαιότατα ἅμα ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἐπανελκύσαντες τὴν ναὺν ἐνσείουσιν ἄκρῳ τῷ χῶματι: αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ νηὶ καιομένη ἤδη ἐξενήξαντο οὐ χαλεπῶς. [4] καὶ ἐντούτῳ ἢ τε φλοῦξ πολλὴ ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πύργοις καὶ αἱ κεραῖαι περικλασθεῖσαι ἐξέχεαν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ὅσα ἐς ἔξαψιν τῆς φλογὸς παρεσκευασμένα ἦν. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν τριήρων πλησίον τοῦ χῶματος ἀνακωχεύοντες ἐτόξευον ἐς τοὺς πύργους, ὡς μὴ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι πελάσαι ὅσοι σβεστήριόν τι τῇ φλογὶ ἐπέφερον. [5] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κατεχομένων ἤδη ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τῶν πύργων ἐκδραμιόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πολλοὶ καὶ ἐς κελήτια ἐμβάντες ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐποκείλαντες τοῦ χῶματος τὸν τε χάρακα οὐ χαλεπῶς διέεσπασαν τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ προβεβλημένον καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ξυμπάσας κατέφλεξαν, ὅσας μὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς πῦρ ἐπέσχευ. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τό τε χῶμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου ἀρξαμένους πλατύτερον χωνύναι, ὡς πλείονας δέξασθαι πύργους, καὶ τοὺς μηχανοποιούς μηχανὰς ἄλλας κατασκευάζειν ἐκέλευσεν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο, αὐτὸς τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἐπὶ Σιδῶνος ἐστάλη, ὡς ἀθροίσων ἐκεῖ ὅσαι ἤδη ἦσαν αὐτῷ τριήρεις, ὅτι ἀπορώτερα τὰ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐφαίνετο θαλασσοκρατούντων τῶν Τυρίων. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γηρόστρατος τε ὁ Ἀράδου βασιλεὺς

XVII. The Tyrians, however, took counter steps thus; they filled a cavalry transport with dry boughs and a good deal of other combustible wood, fixed two masts in the bows, and built high bulwarks round, extending as far as possible, so as to contain as many chips and shavings and torches as possible; to say nothing of pitch, sulphur, and anything else to stir a great blaze, which they liberally added. Then they lashed a double yardarm to each mast, and from it hung, in cauldrons, anything which either poured or thrown on would increase the flame, and they ballasted the stern to lift the bows as high as possible by the weight aft. Then they waited for a wind blowing towards the mole, and making fast hawsers towed the transport astern with triremes. When they came near the mole and the towers, they lighted the material and as violently as possible hauled with the triremes and dashed the ship on the edge of the mole. The crew of the ship, already burning fiercely, easily swam off.

Soon enough a great fire fell on the towers, and as the yards broke, they poured into the fire anything that had been made ready to feed the flame. The men in the triremes lay to near the mole, and shot at the towers, so that it was not safe for anyone bringing materials to quench the fire to get near. At this stage, the towers being well alight, the citizens sallied in large numbers, and jumping into small boats put in at different parts of the mole and easily tore down the palisade set up to protect it; besides, they burned all the engines which had not been caught by fire from the ships. Alexander, however, bade his men to build the mole broader from the mainland, so as to hold more towers, and the engineers he bade construct more engines. While these were being got ready, he with the bodyguard and the Agrianes made for Sidon, to collect all his triremes there, since the siege seemed more difficult as long as the Tyrians held the sea.

[1] καὶ Ἐνυλος ὁ Βύβλου ὡς ἔμαθον τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐχομένας, ἀπολιπόντες Αὐτοφραδάτην τε καὶ τὰς ζὺν αὐτῷ νέας παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ζὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀφίκοντο καὶ αἱ τῶν Σιδωνίων τριῆρεις σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὥστε Φοινίκων μὲν νῆες ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα αὐτῷ παρεγένοντο. [2] ἦκον δὲ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ἐκ Ῥόδου τριῆρεις ἣ τε περίπολος καλουμένη καὶ ζὺν ταύτῃ ἄλλαι ἑννέα, καὶ ἐκ Σόλων καὶ Μαλλοῦ τρεῖς τρεῖς καὶ Λύκιαι δέκα, ἐκ Μακεδονίας δὲ πεντηκόντορος, ἐφ' ἧς Πρωτέας ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐπέπλει. [3] οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ οἱ τῆς Κύπρου βασιλεῖς ἐς τὴν Σιδῶνα κατέσχον ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν μάλιστα καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε ἦσαν τὴν κατ' Ἰσὸν Δαρεῖου ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη πᾶσα ἐχομένη ἤδη ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφόβει αὐτοῦς. καὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἔδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἄδειαν τῶν πρόσθεν, ὅτι ὑπ' ἀνάγκης μᾶλλον τι ἢ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν σφῶν ἐδόκουν ζυνταχθῆναι τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν. [4] ἐν ᾧ δὲ αἱ τε μηχαναὶ αὐτῷ ζυνεπήγνυντο καὶ αἱ νῆες ὡς εἰς ἐπίπλουν τε καὶ ναυμαχίας ἀπόπειραν ἐξηρτύοντο, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τε ἱππέων ἴλας ἔστιν ἃς καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνὰς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπ' Ἀραβίας στέλλεται εἰς τὸν Ἀντιλίβανον καλούμενον τὸ ὄρος. [5] καὶ τὰ μὲν βίᾳ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐξελόν, τὰ δὲ ὁμολογία παραστησάμενος ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις ἐπανήγεν ἐς τὴν Σιδῶνα, καὶ καταλαμβάνει Κλέανδρον τὸν Πολεμοκράτους ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἦκοντα καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ μισθοφόρους Ἑλληνας ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. [6] ὥς δὲ συνετέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἐπιβιβάσας τοῖς καταστρώμασι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὅσοι ἱκανοὶ ἐδόκουν ἐς τὸ ἔργον, εἰ μὴ διέκπλοις μᾶλλον τι ἢ ἐν χερσὶν ἡ ναυμαχία γίγνοιτο, ἄρας ἐκ τῆς Σιδῶνος ἐπέπλει τῇ Τύρῳ ζυντεταγμέναις ταῖς ναυσὶν, αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, ὃ δὴ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος αὐτῷ ἀνεῖχε, καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ οἱ τε Κυπρίων βασιλεῖς καὶ ὅσοι Φοινίκων, πλὴν Πνυταγόρου. οὗτος δὲ καὶ Κρατερὸς τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας εἶχον τῆς πάσης τάξεως. [7] τοῖς δὲ Τυρίοις πρότερον μὲν ναυμαχεῖν ἐγνωσμένον ἦν, εἰ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπιπλέοι σφίσιν Ἀλέξανδρος, τότε δὲ πληθος νεῶν πολὺ ἀπροσδοκῆτως κατιδόντες, οὐ γάρ πω πεπυσμένοι ἦσαν τὰς τε Κυπρίων ναῦς καὶ τὰς [8] Φοινίκων ζυμπάσας Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχοντά καὶ ἅμα ζυντεταγμένως τοῦ ἐπίπλου γιγνομένου, ὀλίγον γάρ πρὶν προσχεῖν τῇ πόλει ἀνεκώχευσαν ἔτι πελάγαι αἱ ζὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ

νῆες, εἴ πως ἄρα ἐς ναυμαχίαν τοὺς Τυρίους προκαλέσαιντο, ἔπειτα οὕτως
ξυνταξάμενοι, ὥς οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο, πολλῷ τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἐπέπλεον — ταῦτα
ὀρῶντες οἱ Τύριοι ναυμαχεῖν μὲν ἀπέγνωσαν, τριήρεσι δὲ ὅσας τῶν λιμένων
τὰ στόματα ἐδέχοντο βύζην τὸν ἔσπλουν φραζάμενοι ἐφύλασσον, ὥς μὴ ἐς
τῶν λιμένων τινὰ ἐγκαθορμισθῆναι τῶν πολεμίων τὸν στόλον. [9] Ἀλέξανδρος
δέ, ὥς οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο οἱ Τύριοι, ἐπέπλει τῇ πόλει: καὶ ἐς μὲν τὸν λιμένα τὸν
πρὸς Σιδῶνος βιάζεσθαι ἀπέγνω διὰ στενότητα τοῦ στόματος καὶ ἅμα
ἀντιπρώροις τριήρεσι πολλαῖς ὀρῶν πεφραγμένον τὸν ἔσπλουν, τρεῖς δὲ τὰς
ἐξωτάτω ἐφορμούσας τῷ στόματι τριήρεις προσπεσόντες οἱ Φοίνικες καὶ
ἀντίπρωροι ἐμβαλόντες καταδύουσιν: οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν οὐ χαλεπῶς
ἀπενήξαντο ἐς τὴν γῆν φιλίαν οὔσαν. [10] τότε μὲν δὴ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ποιητοῦ
χώματος κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἵνα σκέπη τῶν ἀνέμων ἐφαίνετο, οἱ δὲ
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὠρμίσαντο: τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία τοὺς μὲν Κυπρίους ζὺν ταῖς σφετέραις
ναυσὶ καὶ Ἀνδρομάχῳ τῷ ναυάρχῳ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐκ Σιδῶνος φέροντα
ἐκέλευσεν ἐφορμεῖν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς δὲ Φοίνικας κατὰ τὸν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ
χώματος τὸν πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ἀνέχοντα, ἵνα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ σκηνὴ ᾗ.

XVIII. Meanwhile Gerostratus king of Aradus and Enylos of Byblus, learning that Alexander held their cities, left Autophradates and his fleet and arrived with their own contingents, and with them the Sidonian triremes, so that a total force joined him of some eighty Phoenician sail. There arrived also at the same time triremes from Rhodes, nine, in addition to their state guardship, three from Soli and Mallos and ten from Lycia, and a fifty-oar from Macedon, its captain Proteus son of Andronicus. Soon also the kings of Cyprus put in at Sidon with about 120 sail, having learnt of Dareius' defeat on the Issus, and scared by Alexander's hold over all Phoenicia. To all these Alexander let bygones be bygones, supposing that it was rather from necessity than choice that they had joined naval forces with the Persians.

While his engines were being fitted together, and his ships were being equipped for the attack and for trying the issue of a naval battle, Alexander with some of the cavalry squadrons, the Agrianes, and the archers, marched towards Arabia to the mountain called Antilibanus. Part of this country he captured, part he received in surrender, and in ten days returned to Sidon, and found Cleandros son of Polemocrates arrived from the Peloponnese and with him four thousand Greek mercenaries.

When his navy was in due array, he put on deck as many of his bodyguard as he thought sufficient for the action — unless, of course, the engagement should rather be a matter of breaking through and charging than of hand-to-hand fighting — and weighing anchor sailed from Sidon to Tyre with his ships in close order; himself on the right wing, that is, seaward, and with him the Cyprian kings and all the Phoenicians, except Pnytagoras, who, with Craterus, commanded the left wing of the whole armada. The Tyrians first decided to give battle by sea, should Alexander attack them there. But then sighting a host of ships far beyond their estimate — for they were unaware so far that all the Cyprian and all the Phoenician ships were with Alexander — and

observing the attack coming in regular order — I must note that just before closing on the city Alexander's ships while still in the open had lain to, hoping to draw out the Tyrians to an engagement, and then as they did not put out in their original order came on at great speed — the Tyrians, I repeat, observing this, refused battle; but with so many of the triremes as the mouths of their harbours would hold they blocked the entrance and guarded them, so that the enemy's armada could not anchor in any of the harbours.

Alexander, however, on the Tyrians' refusal, sailed towards the city; he would not force an entry into the harbour facing Sidon because of the narrowness of the entry; and also because it was blocked with several triremes, bows on; still the Phoenicians charged, bow to bow, the three triremes which were moored farthest out, and sank them; their crews swam comfortably to the friendly shore; and on this Alexander's fleet came to anchor near the new-made mole along the shore, where there seemed to be protection from the winds. Next day Alexander ordered the Cyprians, with their contingent and with Andromachus the admiral, to blockade the city at the harbour that faced Sidon, and the Phoenicians to do the same at the harbour on the other side of the mole, facing towards Egypt, where was his own pavilion.

[1] ἤδη δὲ καὶ μηχανοποιῶν αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἕκ τε Κύπρου καὶ Φοινίκης ἀπάσης συλλελεγμένων μηχαναὶ πολλαὶ συμπεπηγμέναι ἦσαν, αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππαγωγῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἐκ Σιδῶνος ἅμα οἱ ἐκόμισεν, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων ὅσαι αὐτῶν οὐ ταχυναντοῦσαι ἦσαν. [2] ὥς δὲ παρεσκεύαστο ἤδη ξύμπαντα, προσῆγον τὰς μηχανὰς κατὰ τε τὸ ποιητὸν χῶμα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ τείχους προσορμιζομένων τε καὶ ἀποπειρωμένων τοῦ τείχους. [3] οἱ δὲ Τύριοι ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἐπάλξεων τῶν κατὰ τὸ χῶμα πύργους ξυλίνους ἐπέστησαν, ὥς ἀπομάχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ εἴ πῃ ἄλλη αἱ μηχαναὶ προσῆγοντο, βέλεσί τε ἡμύνοντο καὶ πυρφόροις οἰστοῖς ἔβαλλον αὐτὰς τὰς ναῦς, ὥστε φόβον παρέχειν τοῖς Μακεδόσι πελάζειν τῷ τείχει. [4] ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ κατὰ τὸ χῶμα τό τε ὕψος εἰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα πόδας καὶ ἐς πλάτος ξύμμετρον λίθοις μεγάλοις ἐν γύψῳ κειμένοις ξυμπεπηγότα. ταῖς δὲ ἱππαγωγοῖς τε καὶ ταῖς τριήρεσι τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὅσαι τὰς μηχανὰς προσῆγον τῷ τείχει, καὶ ταῦτη οὐκ εὐπορον ἐγίγνετο πελάζειν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι λίθοι πολλοὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος προβεβλημένοι ἐξεῖργον αὐτῶν τὴν ἐγγὺς προσβολήν. [5] καὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος ἔγνω ἐξελκύσαι ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης: ἡνύετο δὲ χαλεπῶς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, οἷα δὴ ἀπὸ νεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς βεβαίου γινόμενον: ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ Τύριοι ναῦς καταφράξαντες παρὰ τὰς ἀγκύρας ἐπῆγον τῶν τριήρων καὶ ὑποτέμνοντες τὰς σχοίνους τῶν ἀγκυρῶν ἄπορον τὴν προσόρμισιν ταῖς πολεμίαις ναυσὶν ἐποίουν. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τριακοντόρους πολλὰς ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον φράζας ἐπέστησεν ἐγκαρσίας πρὸ τῶν ἀγκυρῶν, ὥς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναστέλλεσθαι τὸν ἐπίπλου τῶν νεῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ὕφαλοι κολυμβηταὶ τὰς σχοίνους αὐτοῖς ὑπέτεμνον. οἱ δὲ ἀλύσεσιν ἀντὶ σχοίνων εἰς τὰς ἀγκύρας χρώμενοι, οἱ Μακεδόνες, καθίεσαν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι πλέον τοῖς κολυμβηταῖς γίνεσθαι. [7] ἐξάπτοντες οὖν βρόχους

τῶν λίθων ἀπὸ τοῦ χρώματος ἀνέσπων αὐτοὺς ἔξω τῆς θαλάσσης, ἔπειτα μηχαναῖς μετεωρίσαντες κατὰ βάθους ἀφίεσαν, ἵνα οὐκέτι προβεβλημένοι βλάψιν ἑμέλλον. ὅπου δὲ καθαρὸν πεποιήτο τῶν προβόλων τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἤδη ταύτῃ αἱ νῆες προσεῖχον. [8] οἱ δὲ Τύριοι πάντῃ ἄποροι γινόμενοι ἔγνωσαν ἐπίπλουν ποιήσασθαι ταῖς Κυπρίαις ναυσίν, αἱ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα ἐφόρμουν τὸν ἐς Σιδῶνα τετραμμένον: ἐκ πολλοῦ δὴ καταπετάσαντες τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ἰστίοις, τοῦ μὴ καταφανῆ γενέσθαι τῶν τριήρων τὴν πλήρωσιν, ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας, ὁπότε οἱ τε ναῦται ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς πόλεως ναυτικοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπεχώρει, πληρώσαντες πεντήρεις μὲν τρεῖς καὶ τετρήρεις ἴσας, [9] τριήρεις δὲ ἐπὶ ὥς ἀκριβεστάτοις τε τοῖς πληρώμασι καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν καταστροφμάτων μάχεσθαι μέλλουσιν εὐοπλοτάτοις καὶ ἅμα εὐθαρσεστάτοις ἐς τοὺς ναυτικούς ἀγῶνας, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀτρέμα τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ ἐπὶ μιᾷ νεῶν ἐξέπλεον ἄνευ κελυστῶν τὰς κόπας παραφέροντες: ὥς δὲ ἐπέστρεφον ἤδη ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυπρίους καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ καθορᾶσθαι ἦσαν, τότε δὴ ζὺν βοῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐγκελευσμῷ ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἅμα τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ ζυντόνω ἐπέφεροντο.

XIX. By this time a good many engineers had collected from Cyprus and the whole of Phoenicia, and a large number of engines had been built, some on the mole, some on the transports which Alexander had brought with him from Sidon, and some on the slower triremes. When everything was ready, they brought forward the engines at the end of the new-made mole and from the ships which lay to alongside the walls at all points and which now began to attack them.

The Tyrians set wooden towers on the battlements which faced the mole, so as to fight therefrom; and wherever else the engines were being brought to bear, they defended themselves with missiles and with fiery arrows assaulted the ships themselves, so that the Macedonians feared to approach their wall. The walls facing the mole were about 150 feet high and of corresponding breadth, stoutly built of big blocks of stone fitted in mortar. Even at this point the Macedonian transports and triremes, which brought up engines against the wall, found it not easy to approach the city, since heaps of stones cast into the sea prevented their approaching closely. These stones Alexander determined to drag out of the sea; but this work went on with difficulty, being carried on from ships and not from land; moreover, the Tyrians protected with armour certain of their ships and bore down on the anchors of the triremes and cut the cables, thus making it impossible for the enemy's ships to lie near by. But Alexander protected several thirty-oars in the same way, and laid them athwart in front of the anchors to repel the attack of the Tyrian ships. Even so, divers plunging in cut the cables. So the Macedonians used chains for anchor cables, and lowered them, so that the divers were made useless. Then standing on the mole they cast running knots round the stones and drew them out of the sea, and then hurled them with their engines into deep water, where there was no more chance of their being thrown in the way and doing any more harm.

Thus, when they had cleared the approach to the wall, the ships lay alongside quite easily.

The Tyrians, now hard pressed all round, determined to attack the Cyprian vessels which were blockading the harbour that fronted Sidon. For a long time they kept sails stretched in front of the harbour mouth, that the manning of the triremes might not be seen, and about midday, when the Greek sailors were scattered on necessary business and Alexander had just retired from the ships on the south of the city to his pavilion, they manned three quinquiremes and quadriremes, and seven triremes, with their smartest crews and the bestarmed marines, to fight from the decks, and — what is more — their bravest sea-fighting men, and first gently rowed out in single file, rowing without anyone to call the stroke; but when they were turning towards the Cyprian ships and were on the point of being seen, then, with shouting and calling of the time and with orderly and regular strokes, on they came.

[1] ξυνέβη δὲ ἐκεῖνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποχωρῆσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν, οὐ διατρίψαντα δὲ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς δι' ὀλίγου ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπανελθεῖν. [2] οἱ δὲ Τύριοι προσπεσόντες ἀπροσδοκῆτως ταῖς ναυσὶν ὁρμούσαις καὶ ταῖς μὲν πάντα κεναῖς ἐπιτυχόντες, τῶν δ' ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν βοήν καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν χαλεπῶς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων πληρουμένων, τὴν τε Πνυταγόρου τοῦ βασιλέως πεντήρη εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐμβολῇ κατέδυσαν καὶ τὴν Ἀνδροκλέους τοῦ Ἀμαθουσίου καὶ τὴν Πασικράτους τοῦ Κουριέως, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξωθοῦντες ἔκοπτον. [3] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἦσθετο τὸν ἐκπλουν τῶν Τυρίων τριήρων, τὰς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ νεῶν, ὅπως ἐκάστη πληρωθεῖη, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἀνακωχεῦν ἔταξεν, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἄλλαι ἐκπλεύσειαν τῶν Τυρίων νῆες· αὐτὸς δὲ πεντήρεις τε τὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τῶν τριήρων ἐς πέντε μάλιστα, ὅσαι ἔφθισαν αὐτῷ κατὰ τάχος πληρωθεῖσαι, περιέπλει τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκπεπλευκότας τῶν Τυρίων. [4] οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, τὸν τε ἐπίπλουν τῶν πολεμίων κατιδόντες καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, βοῇ τε ἐπανάγειν ἐνεκελεύοντο τοῖς ἐκ τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐξακουστὸν ἦν ὑπὸ θορύβου ξυνεχομένων ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, σημείοις ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπεκάλουν ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. οἱ δὲ ὁπῆ ποτε αἰσθόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἔφευγον. [5] καὶ ὀλίγα μὲν τῶν νεῶν φθάνουσιν ὑπεκφυγοῦσαι, ταῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ἐμβαλοῦσαι αἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἅπλους ἐποίησαν, πεντήρης δέ τις καὶ τετρήρης αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἐλήφθησαν. φόνος δὲ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν οὐ πολλὸς ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ ἦσθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς ναῦς ἀπηνήξαντο οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐς τὸν λιμένα. [6] ὡς δὲ οὐδεμία ἔτι τοῖς Τυρίοις ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ὠφέλεια ἦν, ἐπῆγον ἤδη οἱ Μακεδόνες τὰς μηχανὰς τῷ τείχει αὐτῶν. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ χῶμα προσαγόμεναι διὰ ἰσχὴν τοῦ τείχους οὐδὲν ἦνουν ὃ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς Σιδῶνα τετραμμένον τῆς πόλεως τῶν νεῶν τινὰς τῶν μηχανοφόρων προσῆγον. [7] ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ αὕτη ἦνυεν, ἐς τὸ πρὸς νότον αὖ ἄνεμον καὶ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ἀνέχον τεῖχος μετῆι πάντα ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον κατεσείσθη τε τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ τι καὶ

κατηρίφθη αὐτοῦ παραρραγέν. τότε μὲν δὴ ὅσον ἐπιβαλὼν γεφύρας ἧ ἑρήριπτο τοῦ τείχους ἀπεπειράθη ἐς ὀλίγον τῆς προσβολῆς· καὶ οἱ Τύριοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεκρούσαντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας.

XX. On that day, as it fell out, Alexander had retired to his pavilion, but had not rested there, as his custom was, but returned to the ships quite soon. The Tyrians falling all unexpected on the anchored ships, finding some quite empty, and others being hastily manned from any who chanced to be there at the noise and the attack, at the first charge sank the pentereme of King Pnytagoras, with those of Androcles of Amathus and Pasicrates of Thurion; the rest they drove ashore and broke up.

Alexander, however, learning of the sally of the Tyrian triremes, bade most of his ships to lay to at the harbour mouth as soon as each was manned, that no other Tyrian ships might sally; then he took what quinqueremes he had and some five triremes, which had got their crews on board in all haste, and sailed round the city against the Tyrians who had broken out. Those on the wall, seeing the enemy attack and Alexander himself aboard, bade their own men with shouts to put about, and as no one could hear from the general noise, they used various signals to ensure their retreat. The seamen, observing too late the attack of Alexander's ships, went about, and hurried back to the harbour. A few of the Tyrian ships managed to get to safety, but Alexander's ships charged the bulk of them and put some out of action, while a quinquireme and a quadrireme were captured at the very entrance of the harbour. There was no great slaughter of the crews, for they, as soon as they saw that their ships were held up, swam off without much difficulty into the harbour.

Now that the Tyrians could look for no help from their ships, the Macedonians began to bring up their engines against the wall. When brought along the mole, they did nothing worthy of remark, owing to the strength of the walls; but, on the side of the city looking towards Sidon, the Greeks brought up some of their ships which carried engines. But as they did not succeed even here, Alexander turned to the south and the harbour facing towards Egypt, testing the wall from all sides. There first the wall was badly shaken and a part broken down, and thereupon Alexander made a slight and tentative attack so far at least as throwing bridges over the broken part of the wall: the Tyrians, however, easily repulsed the Macedonians.

[1] τρίτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμέρας νηνεμίαν τε φυλάξας καὶ παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν τάξεων ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπῆγε τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν τὰς μηχανάς. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν κατέσεισε τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ μέγα, ὥς δὲ ἀποχρῶν εἰς πλάτος ἐφάνη τὸ παρερρηγμένον, τὰς μὲν μηχανοφόρους ναὺς ἐπανάγειν ἐκέλευσεν:
[2] ὁ δὲ δύο ἄλλας ἐπῆγεν, αἱ τὰς γεφύρας αὐτῷ ἔφερον, αἳ δὴ ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπενόει τῷ κατερρηγμένῳ τοῦ τείχους. καὶ τὴν μὲν μίαν τῶν νεῶν οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ἔλαβον, ἧ ἐπετέτακτο Ἄδμητος, τὴν ἑτέραν δὲ ἡ Κοῖνου τάξις οἱ πεζέταιροι καλοῦμενοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ζὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς ἐπιβήσεται τοῦ

τείχους ἢ παρείκοι ἔμελλεν. [3] τὰς τριήρεις δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐπιπλεῖν κατὰ τοὺς λιμένας ἀμφοτέρους ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ πως πρὸς σφᾶς τετραμμένων τῶν Τυρίων βιάσαιντο τὸν ἔσπλον· ὅσαι δὲ αὐτῶν βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βαλλόμενα εἶχον ἢ ὅσαι τοξότας ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἔφερον, ταύτας δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν κύκλῳ περιπλεούσας τὸ τεῖχος ἐποκέλλειν τε ὅπῃ παρείκοι καὶ ἀνακωχεύειν ἐντὸς βέλους, ἔστε τὸ ἐποκεῖλαι ἄπορον γίγνοιτο, ὥς πανταχόθεν βαλλομένους τοὺς Τυρίους ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἀμφιβόλους γίγνεσθαι. [4] ὥς δὲ αἱ τε νῆες αἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσέσχον τῇ πόλει καὶ αἱ γέφυραι ἐπεβλήθησαν τῷ τείχει ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ ὑπασπισται εὐρώστως κατὰ ταύτας ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος. ὁ τε γὰρ Ἀδμητος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ τότε ἐγένετο καὶ ἅμα Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπετο αὐτοῖς, τοῦ τε ἔργου αὐτοῦ καρτερῶς ἀπτόμενος καὶ θεατῆς τῶν ἄλλων ὅτῃ τι λαμπρὸν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ἐτολμᾷτο. [5] καὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτον ἢ ἐπετέτακτο Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλήφθη τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀποκρουσθέντων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν Τυρίων, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον βεβαίῳ τε καὶ ἅμα οὐ πάντῃ ἀποτόμῳ τῇ προσβάσει ἐχρήσαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες. καὶ Ἀδμητος μὲν πρῶτος ἐπιβὰς τοῦ τεύχους καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγκελευόμενος ἐπιβαίνειν βληθεὶς λόγχῃ ἀποθνήσκει αὐτοῦ· [6] ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχε τὸ τεῖχος ξὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις. ὥς δὲ εἶχοντο αὐτῷ πύργοι τε ἔστιν οἱ καὶ μεταπύργια, αὐτὸς μὲν παρῆι διὰ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ὥς ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια, ὅτι ταύτῃ εὐπορωτέρα ἐφαίνετο ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἢ κάθοδος.

XXI. The third day afterwards, having waited for a calm, and urging his battalion commanders to action, Alexander brought up against the city the engines on board the ships. First he battered down the wall for a good space. But when the breach seemed wide enough, he ordered up the engine-carrying ships; besides, he sent in two others, fitted with gangways, which were to be let fall on the breach of the wall. One of the ships the bodyguard took over, Admetus being its captain; the other was manned by Coenus' battalion, called the territorial infantry. He was ready himself with his bodyguard to rush in wherever the wall gave. A part of his triremes he ordered to sail round about either harbour, to see if perhaps (the Tyrians being busy with the attacking troops) they might force an entrance. Other vessels which carried ammunition for the engines or had archers on deck, Alexander ordered to circle about the wall, and put in wherever it was possible, and lay to within range, so long as it should be impossible to lie alongside; so that the Tyrians should be attacked from all sides and become distracted by their danger.

As soon as Alexander's ships closed upon the city and the gangways were thrown upon the wall from the ships, the guards stoutly mounted the wall by these; not only did Admetus behave valiantly that day, but Alexander was with them, both taking a conspicuous part in the action and keeping his eyes open for any brave or brilliant action of the rest. And the part of the wall captured first was, in fact, just where Alexander had posted himself; the Tyrians were rather easily beaten off from it, since now for the first time the Macedonians had an approach that was solid and not precipitous on all sides. Admetus, first on the wall, and cheering his men on, was wounded by a spear

and died there; after him Alexander followed up and seized the wall with his followers. Holding then some of the towers and the curtains between them, he passed on through the battlements towards the royal quarters; this way it appeared that descent into the city would be easier.

[1] οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, οἱ τε Φοίνικες κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς Αἰγύπτου, καθ' ὃνπερ καὶ ἐφορμοῦντες ἐτύγγανον, βιασάμενοι καὶ τὰ κλεῖθρα διασπάσαντες ἔκοπτον τὰς ναῦς ἐν τῷ λιμένι, ταῖς μὲν μετεώροις ἐμβάλλοντες, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξωθοῦντες, καὶ οἱ Κύπριοι κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον λιμένα τὸν ἐκ Σιδῶνος φέροντα οὐδὲ κλεῖθρον τοῦτόν γε ἔχοντα εἰσπλεύσαντες εἷλον εὐθὺς ταύτη τὴν πόλιν. [2] τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Τυρίων τὸ μὲν τεῖχος, ὡς ἐχόμενον εἶδον, ἐκλείπουσιν, ἄθροισθέντες δὲ κατὰ τὸ Ἀγηνόριον καλούμενον ἐπέστρεψαν ταύτῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ζὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς ἐπὶ τοὺτους χωρήσας τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ μαχομένους διέφθειρεν αὐτῶν, τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσιν ἐφείπετο. [3] καὶ φόνος ἦν πολὺς, τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος ἐχόντων ἤδη τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς Κοίνου τάξεως παρεληλυθυίας ἐς αὐτήν. ὀργῇ γὰρ ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ πᾶν οἱ Μακεδόνες, τῆς τε πολιορκίας τῇ τριβῇ ἀχθόμενοι καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες τινὰς αὐτῶν οἱ Τύριοι πλέοντας ἐκ Σιδῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβιβάσαντες, ὅπως ἄποπτον εἶη ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, σφάζαντες ἔρριψαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. [4] ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν Τυρίων ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ ἐν τῇ τότε προσβολῇ Ἀδμητὸς τε ὁ πρῶτος ἑλὼν τὸ τεῖχος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος, καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ εἴκοσι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν: ἐν δὲ τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ μάλιστα ἐς τετρακοσίους. [5] τοῖς δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καταφυγοῦσιν ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῶν τε τῶν Τυρίων οἱ μάλιστα ἐν τέλει. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀζέμιλκος καὶ Καρχηδονίων τινὲς θεωροὶ ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους κατὰ δὴ τι[να] νόμιμον παλαιὸν εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἀφικόμενοι τούτοις ζύμπασιν ἄδειαν δίδωσιν Ἀλέξανδρος: τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἠνδραπόδισε, καὶ ἐπράθησαν Τυρίων τε καὶ τῶν ξένων ὅσοι ἐγκατελήφθησαν μάλιστα ἐς τρισμυρίους. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἔθυσέ τε καὶ πομπὴν ἔστειλε ζὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὠπλισμένη: καὶ αἱ νῆες ξυνεπόμευσαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ λαμπάδα ἐποίησε: καὶ τὴν μηχανήν, ἣ τὸ τεῖχος κατεσείσθη, ἀνέθηκεν ἐς τὸν νεῶν καὶ τὴν ναὺν τὴν Τυρίαν τὴν ἱεράν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἦντινα ἐν τῷ ἐπίπλῳ ἔλαβε, καὶ ταύτην τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνέθηκεν καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ, ἣ αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἢ ὅτου δὴ ἄλλου ποιήσαντος, οὐκ ἄξιον μνήμης τὸ ἐπίγραμμα: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸ ἀναγράψαι ἀπηξίωσα, Τύρος μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐάλω ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νικήτου Ἀθήνησι μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος.

XXII. To turn to the ships and their crews, the Phoenicians near the southern harbour, where they were moored, forcing their way and tearing asunder the booms, played havoc with the ships in the harbour, attacking some afloat, and driving others ashore; the Cyprians by the northern harbour, which had not even a boom, sailed in and captured the city on this side. The main body of the Tyrians deserted the wall when they saw it was in the enemy's possession: but they massed together at what is called the Shrine of Agenor, and there made a stand against the Macedonians. There Alexander with his

bodyguard came upon them, and some he slew there, still fighting; the rest he turned to flight and pursued. There was a bloody massacre; now that those coming from the harbour were already masters of the city, and Coenus' battalion had passed inside. For the Macedonians fell furiously on everything, enraged at the length of the siege, and also because the Tyrians having captured some of their men sailing from Sidon had dragged them up on to the wall, so that the Greek camp might see them, and slew them and cast them into the sea. Eight thousand Tyrians fell; of the Macedonians, in this actual attack, Admetus, the first to mount on the wall, after proving himself a brave man, and with him twenty of the guards; in the entire siege the losses were about four hundred.

As for those who fled to the temple of Heracles — these were the more important Tyrians, King Azemilcus, and some Carthaginian visitors, come to their mother-city to pay honour to Heracles, according to some ancient custom — to all these Alexander granted complete pardon; the rest he sold into slavery; there were sold, what with Tyrians and foreigners captured at Tyre, some 30,000. Alexander sacrificed to Heracles and held a procession in his honour, with his whole army under arms; there was a naval review also in honour of Heracles, and Alexander held games in the Temple enclosure and a torch-race; the engine which battered the wall he dedicated in the temple; and the Tyrian sacred ship, consecrated to Heracles, which he captured in the attack, he hallowed to Heracles with an inscription, either of his own composition or of someone else's not worth recording; that is why I did not trouble to copy it. Tyre then was captured, in the archonship at Athens of Anicetus in the month Hecatombaeon.

[1] ἔτι δὲ ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Τύρου ξυνεχομένου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφίκοντο παρὰ Δαρείου πρέσβεις ὥς αὐτὸν ἀπαγγέλλοντες μύρια μὲν τάλαντα ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς τε καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν παίδων δοῦναι ἐθέλειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Δαρεῖον: τὴν δὲ χώραν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἔστε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου εἶναι: γῆμαντα δὲ τὴν Δαρείου παῖδα Ἀλέξανδρον φίλον τε εἶναι Δαρείῳ καὶ ζῦμμαχον. [2] καὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ ξυλλόγῳ τῶν ἐταίρων ἀπαγγελθέντων Παρμενίωνα μὲν λέγουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰπεῖν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἂν Ἀλέξανδρος ὢν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡγάπησεν καταλύσας τὸν πόλεμον μηκέτι τὸ πρόσω κινδυνεύειν: Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ Παρμενίῳ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν, εἴπερ Παρμενίων ἦν, οὕτως ἔπραξεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρός ἐστιν, ἀποκρινεῖσθαι Δαρείῳ ἅπερ δὴ καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο. [3] ἔφη γὰρ οὔτε χρημάτων δεῖσθαι παρὰ Δαρείου οὔτε τῆς χώρας λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τῆς πάσης τὸ μέρος: εἶναι γὰρ τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν: γῆμαί τε εἰ ἐθέλοι τὴν Δαρείου παῖδα, γῆμαι ἂν καὶ οὐ διδόντος Δαρείου: ἐκέλευέ τε αὐτὸν ἥκειν, εἴ τι εὐρέσθαι ἐθέλοι φιλάνθρωπον παρ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ὥς ἤκουσε Δαρεῖος, τὰς μὲν ξυμβάσεις ἀπέγνω τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐν παρασκευῇ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου αὐθις ἦν. [4] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἔγνω ποιεῖσθαι τὸν στόλον. καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας προσκεχωρηκότα ἤδη, εὐνοῦχος δὲ τις, ὃ ὄνομα ἦν Βάτις, κρατῶν τῆς

Γαζαίων πόλεως, οὐ προσεῖχεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀλλὰ Ἀραβὰς τε μισθωτοὺς ἐπαγαγόμενος καὶ σῖτον ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευακὼς διαρκῆ ἐς χρόνιον πολιορκίαν καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ πιστεῦον μήποτε ἂν βία ἀλῶναι, ἔγνω μὴ δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει Ἀλέξανδρον.

XXIII. While Alexander was still busied with the siege, envoys from Dareius came to him offering, from Dareius to Alexander, 10,000 talents for his mother, wife, and children; with the proposal that all the country within the Euphrates to the Greek sea should be Alexander's; that Alexander should marry Dareius' daughter and be his friend and ally. On these suggestions being read in the staff council, Parmenio (so we are told) affirmed that were he Alexander he would close with these terms and stop the war without further risks; then Alexander answered Parmenio that he would indeed have done this were he Parmenio, but being Alexander he would reply to Dareius in the words he actually used; he needed no money from Dareius, nor to receive a part of the country in place of the whole; for all the country and all the treasures were already his; if he chose to marry Dareius' daughter, he would marry her, even if Dareius did not give her; and Dareius, if he desired friendship at his hands, must come to him. When Dareius received this reply he cancelled all proposals to Alexander and began to prepare again for war.

Alexander now determined to make his expedition to Egypt. The rest of Syrian Palestine (as it is called) had already come over to him, but a certain eunuch, Batis, who was master of Gaza, did not join Alexander, but brought against him a force of Arab mercenaries, and having got ready some time before provision for a long siege, trusting, moreover, in the fortress, that it never could be taken by assault, decided not to admit Alexander into the city.

[1] ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Γάζα τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἴκοσι μάλιστα σταδίου, καὶ ἔστι ψαμμώδης καὶ βαθεῖα ἐς αὐτὴν ἡ ἄνοδος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἡ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τεναγώδης πᾶσα. μεγάλη δὲ πόλις ἡ Γάζα ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ χώματος ὑψηλοῦ ὤκιστο καὶ τεῖχος περιεβέβλητο αὐτῇ ὀχυρόν. ἐσχάτῃ δὲ ὤκειτο ὡς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐκ Φοινίκης ἰόντι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐρήμου. [2] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τῇ μὲν πρώτη κατεστρατοπέδευσε ἢ μάλιστα ἐπίμαχον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ μηχανὰς συμπηγνύναι ἐκέλευσε. οἱ δὲ μηχανοποιοὶ γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυντο ἄπορον εἶναι βία εἰλεῖν τὸ τεῖχος διὰ ὕψος τοῦ χώματος. [3] ἀλλὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ αἰρετέον ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅσῳ ἀπορώτερον: ἐκπλήξειν γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ ἔργον τῷ παραλόγῳ ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ τὸ μὴ εἰλεῖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι οἱ λεγόμενον ἕς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἐς Δαρεῖον. ἐδόκει δὴ χῶμα ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως χωνύναι, ὡς ἐξ ἴσου ἀπὸ τοῦ χωσθέντος ἐπάγεσθαι τὰ μηχανὰς τοῖς τείχεσι. καὶ ἐχώννυτο κατὰ κατὰ τὸ νότιον μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος, ἵνα ἐπιμαχώτερα ἐφαίνετο. [4] ὡς δὲ ἐδόκει ἐξηρθαι συμμέτρως τὸ χῶμα, μηχανὰς ἐπιστήσαντες οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐπῆγον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Γαζαίων. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ θύοντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐστεφανωμένῳ τε καὶ κατάρχεσθαι μέλλοντι τοῦ πρώτου ἱερείου κατὰ νόμον τῶν τις σαρκοφάγων ὀρνίθων ὑπερπετόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ βωμοῦ λίθον ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὅντινα τοῖν ποδοῖν ἔφερε. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤρετο Ἀρίστανδρον τὸν μάντιν, ὃ τι νοοῖ ὁ οἰωνός. ὁ δὲ

ἀποκρίνεται ὅτι: ὁ βασιλεῦ, τὴν μὲν πόλιν αἰρήσεις, αὐτῷ δέ σοι φυλακτέα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος τέως μὲν πρὸς ταῖς μηχαναῖς

XXIV. Gaza is about 20 stades from the sea, and the approach is over deep sand, and the sea over against the city is broken into pools. The city of Gaza was large, and built on a lofty mound, with a strong wall built round it. It was the last town on the edge of the desert as you go from Phoenicia to Egypt.

When Alexander reached the city, he encamped the first day where the wall seemed easiest to attack, and he ordered siege engines to be made up. The engineers, however, suggested that it was hopeless to take the city by force owing to the height of the mound. Alexander thought, on the contrary, that the more impracticable it was, the more it must be taken; for the miracle of the achievement would strike terror into his enemies, while not to take it would be a blow to his prestige when noised abroad to the Greeks and Dareius. It was decided to raise a counter-mound round the city, and so bring the engines to bear on the walls, from the new mound, on the level. They built this mound chiefly against the city's southern wall, where the assault seemed most likely to succeed. And when the Macedonians thought they had built the mound of the proper height, they set up engines upon it and brought them up to the city wall. Just at this time, as Alexander was sacrificing, wearing garlands, and just about to initiate the first victim according to the ceremonial, a carnivorous bird hovering over the altar dropped on his head a stone which it was carrying in its talons. Alexander asked Aristander the seer what this omen of the bird meant, and he answered, "O King, you will capture the city; but for to-day you must look to yourself."

[1] ἔξω βέλους αὐτὸν εἶχεν: ὥς δὲ ἐκδρομή τε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καρτερὰ ἐγίνετο καὶ πῦρ τε ἐπέφερον ταῖς μηχαναῖς οἱ Ἀραβες καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀμυνομένους κάτωθεν αὐτοὶ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τοῦ χωρίου ἐβαλλόν τε καὶ ὤθουν κατὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ χώματος, ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἐκὼν ἀπειθεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μάντει ἢ ἐκπλαγεῖς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσε τῆς μαντείας, ἀλλ' ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς παρεβόηθει, ἵνα μάλιστα ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Μακεδόνες. [2] καὶ τούτους μὲν ἔσχε τὸ μὴ οὐκ αἰσχυρὰ φυγῇ ὥσθῃναι κατὰ τοῦ χώματος, αὐτὸς δὲ βάλλεται καταπέλτη διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος διαμπαῖς καὶ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸν ὦμον. ὥς δὲ ἔγνω τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸ τραῦμα ἀληθεύσαντα Ἀρίστανδρον, ἐχάρη, ὅτι καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὴ αἰρήσειν ἐδόκει Ἀριστάνδρου ἕνεκα. [3] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ τραῦμα ἐθεραπεύετο χαλεπῶς: ἀφικνοῦνται δ' αὐτῷ μετάπεμπτοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης αἱ μηχαναί, αἷς Τύρον εἴλε. καὶ χῶμα χωννύναι ἐν κύκλῳ πάντοθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐκέλευσεν, εὖρος μὲν ἐς δύο σταδίους, ὕψος δὲ ἐς πόδας πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους. [4] ὥς δὲ αἱ τε μηχαναὶ αὐτῷ ἐποιήθησαν καὶ ἐπαχθεῖσαι κατὰ τὸ χῶμα κατέσεισαν τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ πολὺ, ὑπονόμων τε ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ὀρυσσομένων καὶ τοῦ χοῦ ἀφανῶς ἐκφερομένου τὸ τεῖχος πολλαχθὶ ἠρείπετο ὑφίζανον κατὰ τὸ κενούμενον, τοῖς τε βέλεσιν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατεῖχον οἱ Μακεδόνες ἀναστέλλοντες τοὺς προμαχομένους τῶν πύργων, ἐς μὲν τρεῖς προσβολὰς οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθνησκόντων τε αὐτοῖς πολλῶν καὶ

τιρωσκομένων ὁμως ἀντείχον. [5] τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν φάλαγγα πάντοθεν προσαγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ μὲν ὑπορυσσόμενον τὸ τεῖχος καταβάλλει, τῇ δὲ παίόμενον ταῖς μηχαναῖς κατασεῖει ἐπὶ πολὺ, ὥς μὴ χαλεπὴν ταῖς κλίμαξιν τὴν προσβολὴν κατὰ τὰ ἐρηριμμένα ἐνδοῦναι. [6] αἱ τε οὖν κλίμακες προσήγοντο τῷ τείχει καὶ ἔρις πολλὴ ἦν τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὅσοι τι ἀρετῆς μετεποιοῦντο, ὅστις πρῶτος αἰρήσει τὸ τεῖχος· καὶ αἰρεῖ πρῶτος Νεοπτόλεμος τῶν ἐταίρων τοῦ Αἰακιδῶν γένους· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἄλλαι καὶ ἄλλαι τάξεις ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀνέβαινον. [7] ὥς δὲ ἅπαξ παρηλθόν τινες ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τῶν Μακεδόνων, κατασχίσαντες ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας πύλας, ὅσαις ἕκαστοι ἐπετύγχανον, δέχονται εἰσὼ τὴν στρατιὰς πᾶσαν. οἱ δὲ Γαζαῖοι καὶ τῆς πόλεως σφισιν ἤδη ἐχομένης ξυνεστηκότες ὁμως ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἀπέθανον πάντες αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ὥς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν· παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξηνδραπόδισεν αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος. τὴν πόλιν δὲ ξυνοικίσας ἐκ τῶν περιόικων ἐχρήτο ὅσα φρουρίῳ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.

XXV. On this advice Alexander remained for a time by the engines, out of range; but on a strong sally from the city, the Arabs trying to set fire to the engines, and pelting the Macedonians, who were resisting below, from their commanding position, and even pushing them over the new mound, Alexander either disobeyed the seer's words on purpose or carried away in the action did not give them a moment's thought, but bringing on his guards helped the Macedonians where they were most hardly pressed. He did, in fact, hold them from being driven down the mound in ignominious flight; but he was hit by a shot from a catapult right through his shield and his corselet, into the shoulder. But perceiving that Aristander had been right about the wound, he was glad, since he felt that Aristander also guaranteed the capture of the city.

Alexander was not easily treated of his wound; but there arrived, sent for by sea, the engines with which he captured Tyre. He ordered a mound to be erected the whole way round the city, two stades broad, two hundred and fifty feet high. Then as soon as his engines had been set up and being brought up to the mound had considerably battered the wall, tunnels were driven here and there and the earth below secretly withdrawn till the wall gave, subsiding on the gaps, while the Macedonians cleared a great space with their volleys and drove back the defenders from the towers; the defenders, nevertheless, though with many dead and wounded, held bravely out against three onslaughts. But in the fourth Alexander brought up his phalanx of Macedonians on all sides, threw down the wall, now undermined, at one place, and breached it for a great stretch in another, battered as it was with his engines, so that it was not hard to make the assault with ladders on the fallen portions. So the ladders were set against the wall, and then was much rivalry of the Macedonians, such as laid claim to valorous qualities, who would be first to mount the wall; the first proved to be Neoptolemus, one of the Companions and of the family of the Aeacidae. After him, battalion after battalion climbed up with their officers. As soon as the first few had entered into the wall, they tore down

gate after gate, as they found them, and so admitted the entire army. The citizens, though their city was already in enemy hands, held together and still resisted; and they all perished there, fighting each man at his post. Their women and children Alexander sold into slavery; the city he populated with the neighbouring tribesmen and used it as a fortress town for the war.

BOOK III.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου, ἵναπερ τὸ πρῶτον ὠρμήθη, ἐστέλλετο, καὶ ἐβδόμη ἡμέρα ἀπὸ τῆς Γάζης ἐλαύνων ἦκεν εἰς Πηλούσιον τῆς Αἰγύπτου. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς παρέπλει αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ὡς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον: καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὰς ναῦς ἐν Πηλουσίῳ ὁρμούσας. [2] Μαζάκης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης, ὃς ἦν σατράπης Αἰγύπτου ἐκ Δαρείου καθεστηκώς, τήν τε ἐν Ἰσσοῦ μάχην ὅπως συνέβη πεπυσμένος καὶ Δαρεῖον ὅτι αἰσχρὰ φυγῇ ἔφυγεν, καὶ Φοινίκην τε καὶ Συρίαν καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας τὰς πολλὰ ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐχόμενα, αὐτῷ τε οὐκ οὔσης δυνάμεως Περσικῆς, ἐδέχετο ταῖς τε πόλεσι φιλίως καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον. [3] ὁ δὲ εἰς μὲν Πηλούσιον φυλακὴν εἰσήγαγε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀναπλεῖν κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κελεύσας ἔστε ἐπὶ Μέμφιν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἐφ' Ἡλιούπολεως ἦει, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Νεῖλον, καὶ ὅσα καθ' ὁδὸν χωρία ἐνδιδόντων τῶν ἐνοικούντων κατασχὼν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ἀφίκετο ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν: [4] ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διαβὰς τὸν πόρον ἦκεν ἐς Μέμφιν: καὶ θύει ἐκεῖ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τῷ Ἄπιδι καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν: ἦκον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ ταῦτα τεχνῖται ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. ἐκ δὲ Μέμφιος κατέπλει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τὴν βασιλικὴν ἵλην τὴν τῶν ἐταίρων. [5] ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Κάνωβον καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαρίαν περιπλεύσας ἀποβαίνει, ὅτου νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρεια πόλις ᾤκισται, Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπώνυμος. καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὁ χῶρος κάλλιστος κτίσαι ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν καὶ γενέσθαι ἂν εὐδαίμονα τὴν πόλιν. πόθος οὖν λαμβάνει αὐτὸν τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ σημεῖα τῇ πόλει ἔθηκεν, ἵνα τε ἀγορὰν ἐν αὐτῇ δείμασθαι ἔδει καὶ ἱερὰ ὅσα καὶ θεῶν ὄντων, τῶν μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν, Ἰσίδος δὲ Αἰγυπτίας, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἧ περιβεβλησθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύετο, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἐφαίνετο.

I. ALEXANDER now set forth for Egypt — his original goal (That is, the original object of his southerly march, held up for a time at Tyre.) — and marching from Gaza he arrived on the seventh day at Pelusium in Egypt. His fleet was coasting along with him from Phoenicia towards Egypt; and he found them already at anchor at Pelusium. Mazaces the Persian, who had been appointed satrap of Egypt by Dareius, when he learnt both the result of the battle of Issus and the shameful flight of Dareius, and also that Phoenicia, Syria, and the greater part of Arabia were in Alexander's hands, being, moreover, without any Persian force, received Alexander in a friendly way into the cities and the country. Alexander for his part brought a garrison into Pelusium, and bade the officers of his fleet sail up the river as far as Memphis; he meanwhile went towards Heliopolis, with the river Nile on his right hand; all the districts on his route he took over, by surrender of the inhabitants, and through the desert he reached Heliopolis. Thence he crossed the river and came to Memphis. There he sacrificed in especial to Apis and also to the other gods; and held a contest both athletic and literary; the most famous artists in

these branches came to him there from Greece. From Memphis he sailed down-stream towards the sea, taking on board the ships his guards, the archers, and the Agrianes, and of the cavalry the royal squadron of the Companions. When he had reached Canopus and sailed round Lake Mareotis he came ashore just where is now the city of Alexandria, named after Alexander. It struck him that the position was admirable for founding a city there and that such a city was bound to be prosperous. He was therefore filled with eagerness to get to work, and himself marked out the ground plan of the city, both where the market-place was to be laid out, how many temples were to be built, and in honour of what gods, some of these Greek, and Isis, the Egyptian; and where the wall was to be built round it. In view of all this he offered sacrifice, and the sacrifice proved favourable.

[1] λέγεται δέ τις καὶ τοιόσδε λόγος, οὐκ ἄπιστος ἔμοιγε: ἐθέλειν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον καταλείπειν αὐτὸν τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ τειχισμοῦ τοῖς τέκτοσιν, οὐκ εἶναι δὲ ὅτῳ τὴν γῆν ἐπιγράψουσιν: τῶν δὴ τεκτόνων τινὰ ἐπιφρασθέντα, ὅσα ἐν τεύχεσιν ἄλφита οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκόμιζον ξυναγαρόντα ἐπιβάλλειν τῇ γῇ, ἵναπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑφηγεῖτο, καὶ τὸν κύκλον οὕτω περιγραφῆναι τοῦ περιτειχισμοῦ, ὄντινα τῇ πόλει ἐποίει. [2] τοῦτο δὲ ἐπιλεξαμένους τοὺς μάντιες καὶ μάλιστα δὴ Ἀρίστανδρον τὸν Τελμισσέα, ὃς δὴ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀληθεῦσαι ἐλέγετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, φάναι εὐδαίμονα ἔσσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καρπῶν εἵνεκα. [3] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἡγέλοχος κατέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Τενεδίους τε ἀποστάντας Περσῶν σφίσι προσθέσθαι ἑκαὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄκοντας Πέρσαις προσχωρῆσαι καὶ Χίων ὅτι δὴ ὁ δῆμος ἐπηγάγετο σφᾶς βία τῶν κατεχόντων τὴν πόλιν, οὓς Αὐτοφραδάτης τε καὶ Φαρνάβαζος ἐγκατέστησαν: [4] ἀλῶναι δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ Φαρνάβαζον ἐγκαταληφθέντα καὶ Ἀριστόνικον Μηθυμναῖον τὸν τύραννον ἐσπλεύσαντα ἐς τὸν λιμένα τῆς Χίου ζῆν ἡμιολίαις ληστρικαῖς πέντε, ὑπὸ σφῶν ἐχόμενον τὸν λιμένα οὐ γνόντα, ἀλλ' ἐξαπατηθέντα γὰρ πρὸς τῶν τὰ κλεῖθρα ἐχόντων τοῦ λιμένος, ὅτι τὸ Φαρναβάζου ἄρα ναυτικὸν ὁρμεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ: [5] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ληστὰς πάντας αὐτοῦ κατακοπῆναι πρὸς σφῶν, Ἀριστόνικον δὲ ἦγε παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδην τὸν Χῖον καὶ Φησίνον καὶ Μεγαρέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι τῆς τε ἀποστάσεως τῆς Χίων ξυνεπλάβοντο καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε τὰ πράγματα τῆς νήσου βία εἶχον: [6] καὶ Μιτυλήνην δὲ Χάρητα ἔχοντα ὅτι ἀφείλετο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐν Λέσβῳ πόλεις καὶ αὐτὰς ὁμολογία προσηγάγετο, Ἀμφοτερὸν δὲ σὺν ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Κῷ ἔπεμψεν: ἐπικαλεῖσθαι γὰρ σφᾶς τοὺς Κῶους: καὶ αὐτὸς καταπλεύσας ὅτι εὗρε τὴν Κῷ πρὸς Ἀμφοτεροῦ ἤδη ἐχομένην. [7] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσοι αἰχμαῶτοι ἦγεν Ἡγέλοχος, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἀπέδρα ἐν Κῷ λαθὼν τοὺς φύλακας. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τυράννους μὲν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐς τὰς πόλεις πέμπει χρήσασθαι ὅπως ἐθέλοιεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀπολλωνίδην τοὺς Χίους ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν Αἰγυπτίαν ζῆν φυλακῇ ἀκριβεῖ ἔπεμψεν.

II. A story of the following sort is told, and I see no reason to disbelieve it; Alexander desired to leave behind for the builders the ground-plan of the fortification, but had nothing wherewith to mark the ground. One of the

builders, however, had the happy thought of collecting the meal which the soldiers carried in vessels, and of dropping it upon the ground wherever the king led the way. Thus the circle of the surrounding wall which he proposed to make for the city was marked out. The soothsayers, and among them especially Aristander the Telmessian, who was reported to have made many other correct prophecies to Alexander, reflecting upon this, said that the city would be prosperous in all respects, but especially in the fruits of the earth.

Meanwhile Hegelochus arrived by sea in Egypt and reported to Alexander that Tenedos had revolted from the Persians and joined the Macedonians, in fact they had joined the Persians against their will; the people of Chios too had invited him and his men into the city, despite those whom Autophradates and Pharnabazus had settled in the city, and who now were in possession of it; moreover, that Pharnabazus had been captured there, and with him Aristonicus the despot of Methymna who had sailed into the harbour of Chios with five pirate ships, not having learnt that the Macedonians had possession of the harbour; he had also been misled by those who guarded the entrance of the harbour, who asserted that Pharnabazus' fleet was in the roadstead there; the pirates indeed had all been cut down by his own men, but Aristonicus he brought to Alexander, with Apollonides the Chian and Phisinus and Megareus, and all the rest who had assisted the revolt of the Chians, and, at the time being, were tyrannically in command of the government of the island. He reported also that he had captured Mitylene from Chares who was holding it, and had received in surrender the other cities in Lesbos also. Amphoterus with sixty ships he had sent to Cos; for the people of Cos asked them to come; and he had sailed himself to Cos and found it already in the possession of Amphoterus. All the remaining captives Hegelochus brought in, except Pharnabazus, who had slipped his guards in Cos and escaped. Alexander sent the despots who came from the cities to their cities, so that the citizens might take such justice upon them as they pleased; but those with Apollonides, the Chians, he sent to the city of Elephantine of Egypt, with a strong guard.

[1] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ πόθος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν παρ' Ἀμμωνα ἐς Λιβύην, τὸ μὲν τι τῷ θεῷ χρησόμενον, ὅτι ἀτρεκὲς ἐλέγετο εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ Ἀμμωνος καὶ χρῆσασθαι αὐτῷ Περσέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Γοργόνα ὅτε πρὸς Πολυδέκτου ἐστέλλετο, τὸν δὲ ὅτε παρ' Ἀνταῖον ἦει εἰς Λιβύην καὶ παρὰ Βούσιριν εἰς Αἴγυπτον. [2] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ φιλοτιμία ἦν πρὸς Περσέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα, ἀπὸ γένους τε ὄντι τοῦ ἀμφοῖν καὶ τι καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς γενέσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐς Ἀμμωνα ἀνέφερε, καθάπερ οἱ μῦθοι τὴν Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Περσέως ἐς Δία. καὶ οὖν παρ' Ἀμμωνα ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐστέλλετο, ὥς καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀτρεκέστερον εἰσόμενος ἢ φήσων γε ἐγνώκεναι. [3] μέχρι μὲν δὴ Παιονίου παρὰ θάλασσαν ἦει δι' ἐρήμου, οὐ μέντοι δι' ἀνύδρου τῆς χώρας, σταδίου ἐς χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους, ὥς λέγει Αἰριστόβουλος. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐτράπετο, ἵνα τὸ μαντεῖον ἦν τοῦ Ἀμμωνος. ἔστι δὲ ἐρήμη τε ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ψάμμος ἡ πολλὴ αὐτῆς καὶ ἄνυδρος. [4] ὕδωρ δὲ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολὺ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνηνέχθη. ἀνηνέχθη

δὲ ἐς τὸ θεῖον καὶ τόδε: ἄνεμος νότος ἐπὶ πνεύσῃ ἐν ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ χώρῳ, τῆς ψάμμου ἐπιφορεῖ κατὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ ἀφανίζεται τῆς ὁδοῦ τὰ σημεῖα οὐδὲ ἔστιν εἰδέναι ἵνα χρή πορεύεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει τῇ ψάμμῳ, ὅτι σημεῖα οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν οὔτε που ὄρος οὔτε δένδρον οὔτε γήλοφοι βέβαιοι ἀνεστηκότες, οἷς τισιν οἱ ὁδῖται τεκμαίροντο ἂν τὴν πορείαν, καθάπερ οἱ ναῦται τοῖς ἄστροις: ἀλλὰ ἐπλανᾶτο γὰρ ἡ στρατιὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀμφίβολοι ἦσαν. [5] Πτολεμαῖος μὲν δὴ ὁ Λάγου λέγει δράκοντας δύο ἰέναι πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος φωνὴν ἰέντας, καὶ τούτοις ἀλέξανδρον κελεῦσαι ἔπεσθαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας πιστεύσαντας τῷ θεῷ, τοὺς δὲ ἡγήσασθαι τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν τε ἐς τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ ὀπίσω αὐθις: [6] Ἀριστόβουλος δέ, καὶ ὁ πλείων λόγος ταύτῃ κατέχει, κόρακας δύο προπετομένους πρὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς, τούτους γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν θεῖόν τι ξυνεπέλαβεν αὐτῷ ἔχω ἰσχυρίσασθαι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς ταύτῃ ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἀτρεκὲς τοῦ λόγου ἀφείλοντο οἱ ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐξηγησάμενοι.

III. After this an overmastering desire came upon Alexander to pay a visit to Ammon in Libya; partly to consult the oracle, since the oracle of Ammon was reputed to be infallible, and Perseus and Heracles were both said to have consulted it: Perseus when he was sent by Polydectes to destroy the Gorgon, and Heracles when he was journeying into Libya to find Antaeus, and into Egypt to find Busiris. Then, besides, Alexander felt a kind of rivalry with Perseus and Heracles, being descended from them both; nay, he also traced his descent in part from Ammon, just as the legends traced the descent of Heracles and Perseus from Zeus. In any case he set out for Ammon with this idea, hoping to learn about himself more accurately, or at least to say he had so learnt.

As far as Paraetonium he advanced along the coast through country which though desert is not wholly waterless, a distance of sixteen hundred stades, as Aristobulus tells us. Thence he turned into the interior, where the oracle of Ammon was. The way thither is desert; most of it is sand, and waterless. Alexander, however, had plenty of rain, and this too was attributed to the divine influence. This also was attributed to divine power; whenever the south wind blows in that country, it makes a great heap of sand upon the route and obscures the marks of the road, and one cannot get one's bearings in the sand any more than at sea; since there are no marks along the route nor any mountain anywhere nor tree nor solid hillocks standing up, by which the wayfarers might get some inkling of their proper course, as sailors do from the stars; the fact was, indeed, that Alexander's army fairly went astray, and the guides were in doubt as to the route. Now Ptolemaeus son of Lagos says that two serpents preceded the army uttering speech, and Alexander bade his leaders follow them and trust the divine guidance; and the serpents did actually serve as guides for the route to the oracle and back again. But Aristobulus, with the more common version, has it as follows: two crows flying in advance of the army acted as guides to Alexander. That some divine help was given him I can confidently assert, because probability also inclines

this way; but the story has been deprived of exactitude by the way in which various writers about Alexander have given various accounts.

[1] ὁ δὲ χῶρος, ἵναπερ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι, τὰ μὲν κύκλῳ πάντα ἔρημα καὶ ψάμμιον τὸ πᾶν ἔχει καὶ ἄνυδρον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὀλίγος ὢν ὅσον γὰρ πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ ἐς πλάτος διέχει ἐς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα σταδίου ἐρχεται κατάπλεως ἐστὶν ἡμέρων δένδρων, ἐλαῶν καὶ φοινίκων, καὶ ἔνδροσος μόνος τῶν πέριξ. [2] καὶ πηγὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνίσχει οὐδέν τι εἰκουῖα ταῖς πηγαῖς, ὅσαι ἄλλαι ἐκ γῆς ἀνίσχουσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ μεσημβρία ψυχρὸν τὸ ὕδωρ γευσάμενόν τε καὶ ἐτι μᾶλλον ἀψαμένον οἷον ψυχρότατον: ἐγκλίναντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐς ἐσπέραν θερμότερον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐτι θερμότερον ἔστε ἐπὶ μέσας τὰς νύκτας, μέσων δὲ νυκτῶν ἑαυτοῦ θερμότατον: ἀπὸ δὲ μέσων νυκτῶν ψύχεται ἐν τάξει, καὶ ἔωθεν ψυχρὸν ἤδη ἐστί, ψυχρότατον δὲ μεσημβρίας: καὶ τοῦτο ἀμείβει ἐν τάξει ἐπὶ ἐκάστη [τῇ] ἡμέρᾳ. [3] γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλες αὐτόματοι ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ ὀρυκτοί: καὶ τούτων ἔστιν οὓς ἐς Αἴγυπτον φέρουσι τῶν ἱερέων τινὲς τοῦ Ἀμμωνος. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου στέλλωνται, ἐς κοιτίδας πλεκτὰς ἐκ φοίνικος ἐσβαλόντες δῶρον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποφέρουσιν ἢ εἴ τῳ ἄλλῳ. [4] ἔστι δὲ μακρὸς τε ὁ χόνδρος ἥδη δὲ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τρεῖς δακτύλους· καὶ καθαρὸς ὥσπερ κρύσταλλος: καὶ τούτῳ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις χρῶνται, ὡς καθαρωτέρῳ τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἁλῶν, Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τοῦ θείου οὐκ ἀμελῶς ἔχουσιν. [5] ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξανδρος τόν τε χῶρον ἐθαύμασε καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐχρήσατο: καὶ ἀκούσας ὅσα αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἦν, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἀνέξεν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου, ὡς μὲν Ἀριστόβουλος λέγει, τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδόν, ὡς δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ἄλλην εὐθείαν ὡς ἐπὶ Μέμφιν.

IV. The district in which the Temple of Ammon lies is desert all round, covered with sand, and without water. But the site, in the centre, is small (its broadest stretch only comes to about forty stades) and is full of garden trees, olives and palms, and it alone, of all the surrounding country, catches the dew. A spring, too, rises from it, not at all like ordinary springs which rise from the ground. For at midday the water is cold to the taste and even more to the touch, it is as cold as can be, then when the sun sinks towards evening it is warmer, and from evening on it grows warmer and warmer till midnight, and at midnight it is at its warmest; but after midnight it cools off in turn, and from dawn onwards it is already cold, but at midday coldest. This goes on in due rotation day by day. Then there are natural salts in this district, to be obtained by digging; some of these salts are taken by priests of Ammon to Egypt. For whenever they are going towards Egypt, they pack the salt into baskets woven of palm leaves and take them as a present to the king or to someone else. The grains of this salt are large, some of them have been known to be more than three fingers' breadth; and it is as clear as crystal. Both Egyptians, and others who are particular about religious observance, use this salt in their sacrifices, as being purer than the sea-salts. There Alexander surveyed the site with wonder, and also made his enquiry of the god; he received the answer his soul desired, as he said, and turned back towards Egypt, as Aristobulus says, going the same way back, but as Ptolemaeus son of Lagos says, another way direct

to Memphis.

[1] εἰς Μέμφιν δὲ αὐτῷ πρεσβεῖαί τε πολλαὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦκον, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντινα ἀτυχήσαντα ὧν ἐδεῖτο ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ στρατιὰ παραγίγνεται παρὰ μὲν Ἀντιπάτρου μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἐς τετρακοσίους, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Μενόιτας ὁ Ἥγησάνδρου, ἐκ Θράκης δὲ ἱππεῖς ἐς πεντακοσίους, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ Εὐνίκου. [2] ἐνταῦθα θύει τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πομπεύει ζῶν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικόν. καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνταῦθα ἐκόσμησε: δύο μὲν νομάρχας Αἰγύπτου κατέστησεν Αἰγυπτίους, Δολόασπιν καὶ Πέτισιν, καὶ τούτοις διένειμε τὴν χώραν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν: Πετίσιος δὲ ἀπειπαμένον τὴν ἀρχὴν Δολόασπις ἐκδέχεται πᾶσαν. [3] φρουράρχους δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐν Μέμφει μὲν Πανταλέοντα κατέστησε τὸν Πυδναῖον, ἐν Πηλουσίῳ δὲ Πολέμονα τὸν Μεγακλέους Πελλαῖον: τῶν ξένων δὲ ἄρχειν Λυκίδαν Αἰτωλόν, γραμματέα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ξένων Εὐγνωστον τὸν Ξενοφάντου τῶν ἐταίρων: ἐπισκόπους δὲ αὐτῶν Αἰσχύλον τε καὶ Ἐφιππον τὸν Χαλκιδέως. [4] Λιβύης δὲ τῆς προσχώρου ἄρχειν δίδωσιν Ἀπολλώνιον Χαρίνου, Ἀραβίας δὲ τῆς πρὸς Ἡρώων πόλει Κλεομένην τὸν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος: καὶ τούτῳ παρηγγέλλετο τοὺς μὲν νομάρχας ἂν ἄρχειν τῶν νομῶν τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς καθάπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθειστέκει, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκλέγειν παρ' αὐτῶν τοὺς φόρους: οἱ δὲ ἀποφέρειν αὐτῷ ἐτάχθησαν. [5] στρατηγούς δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ κατέστησεν, ἦντινα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὑπελείπετο, Πευκέσταν τε τὸν Μακαρτάτου καὶ Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου, ναύαρχον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν Πολέμονα τὸν Θηραμένους: σωματοφύλακα δὲ ἀντὶ Ἀρρύβα [τὸν] Λεοννάτον τὸν % Ὀνάσου ἔταξεν: Ἀρρύβας γὰρ νόσῳ ἀπέθανεν. [6] ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἄρχων τῶν τοξοτῶν, καὶ ἀντὶ τούτου ἄρχειν ἐπέστησε τοῖς τοξόταις Ὀμβρίωνα Κρήτα. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τοὺς πεζοὺς, ὧν Βάλακρος ἡγεῖτο, ἐπεὶ Βάλακρος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὑπελείπετο, Κάλανον κατέστησεν ἡγεμόνα. [7] κατανεῖμαι δὲ λέγεται ἐς πολλοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν τε φύσιν τῆς χώρας θαυμάσας καὶ τὴν ὀχυρότητα, ὅτι οὐκ ἀσφαλές οἱ ἐφαίνετο ἐνὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ἄρχειν Αἰγύπτου πάσης. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μοι δοκοῦσι παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μαθόντες ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν Αἴγυπτον καὶ μηδένα τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐκπέμπειν ὑπαρχον Αἰγύπτου, ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἱππέας σφίσι ζυντελούντων.

V. There came to him at Memphis a good many embassies from Greece, and he sent no one away disappointed of his request; and also a force from Antipater joined him, Greek mercenaries four hundred strong, under the command of Menidas son of Hegesandros; from Thrace came cavalry, about five hundred, under command of Asclepiodorus son of Eunicus. Thereupon Alexander sacrificed to Zeus the King and held a procession with his force under arms and held an athletic and literary contest. He also put Egyptian affairs in order; he appointed two Egyptian governors of provinces, Doloaspis and Petisis, dividing the whole country of Egypt between them; Petisis, however, declined the office, and Doloaspis took it all over. As garrison commandants at Memphis he appointed Pantaleon of Pydna of the territorial troops, and in Pelusium, Polemon, son of Megacles, of Pella; to command the

mercenaries, Lycidas, an Aetolian, and as clerk in charge of the mercenaries Eugnostos son of Xenophantes, one of the territorials, and as their overseers, Aeschylus and Ephippus of Chalcis. As governor of the neighbouring country of Libya he appointed Apollonius son of Charinus; and of Arabia about Heroöpolis, Cleomenes from Naucratis. He instructed him to permit the district governors to govern their own districts as had been their way all along, but that he was to exact from them the tributes, while they were ordered to pay these to him. As generals of the army which he was leaving behind in Egypt he appointed Peucestas son of Macartatus and Balacrus son of Amyntas, and as admiral of his fleet, Polemon son of Theramenes; and as bodyguard in place of Arrhybas he appointed Leonnatus son of Onasus; Arrhybas having died of disease. Antioch us also the commander of the archers had died, and in his place Alexander appointed as commander of the archers Ombrion a Cretan. Over the allied infantry, of which Balacrus had been commander, he set Calanus as general, since Balacrus was being left behind in Egypt. It is stated that he divided the government of Egypt between many officers, both from his surprise at the nature of the country and its strength, since it did not appear to him safe to entrust the command of all Egypt to one man. The Romans, too, I think, learnt a lesson from Alexander and keep Egypt under guard, and never send anyone from the Senate as proconsul of Egypt, but only those who are enrolled among them as Knights.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἥρι ὑποφαίνονται ἐκ Μέμφιος ἦει ἐπὶ Φοινίκης: καὶ ἐγεφυρώθη αὐτῷ ὁ τε κατὰ Μέμφιν πόρος τοῦ Νείλου καὶ αἱ διώρυχες αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι. ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς Τύρον, καταλαμβάνει ἐνταῦθα ἤκον αὐτῷ ἤδη καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. ἐν Τύρῳ δὲ αὖθις θύει τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν. [2] ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται παρ' αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἡ Πάραλος πρέσβεις ἄγουςα Διόφαντον καὶ Ἀχιλλέα: ξυνεπρέσβευον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Πάραλοι ξύμπαντες. καὶ οὗτοι τῶν τε ἄλλων ἔτυχον ὧν ἕνεκα ἐστάλησαν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀφῆκεν Ἀθηναίοις ὅσοι ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐάλωσαν. [3] τὰ δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ὅτι αὐτῷ νενεωτερίσθαι ἀπήγγελλτο, Ἀμφοτερόν πέμπει βοηθεῖν Πελοποννησίων ὅσοι ἐξ τε τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον βέβαιοι ἦσαν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐ κατήκουον. Φοίνιξι δὲ καὶ Κυπρίοις προσετάχθη ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἄλλας πρὸς αἷς ἔχοντα Ἀμφοτερόν ἐπεμπε στέλλειν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου. [4] αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη ἄνω ὤρματο ὥς ἐπὶ Θάψακόν τε καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, ἐν Φοινίκη μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν φόρων τῇ ξυλλογῇ καταστήσας Κοίραν Βεροιαῖον, Φιλόξενον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου ἐκλέγειν. τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ δὲ χρημάτων τὴν φυλακὴν ἀντὶ τούτων ἐπέτρεψεν Ἀρπάλῳ τῷ Μαχάτῃ ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἔκοντι. [5] Ἀρπαλος γὰρ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἔφυγε, Φιλίππου ἔτι βασιλεύοντος, ὅτι πιστὸς ἦν, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔφυγε καὶ Νέαρχος ὁ Ἀνδροτίμου καὶ Ἐριγύσιος ὁ Λαρίχου καὶ Λαομέδων ὁ τούτου ἀδελφός, ὅτι ὑποπτα ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς Φίλιππον, ἐπειδὴ Εὐρυδίκην γυναῖκα ἠγάγετο Φίλιππος, Ὀλυμπιάδα δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μητέρα ἠτίμασε. [6] τελευτήσαντος δὲ Φιλίππου κατελθόντας ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὅσοι δι' αὐτὸν ἔφευγον Πτολεμαῖον μὲν σωματοφύλακα κατέστησεν, Ἀρπαλον δὲ ἐπὶ

τῶν χρημάτων, ὅτι αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα ἐς τὰ πολέμια ἀχρεῖον ἦν, Ἐριγύτιον δὲ ἱπάρχην τῶν ξυμμάχων, Λαομέδοντα δὲ τὸν τοῦτου ἀδελφόν, ὅτι δίγλωσσος ἦν ἐς τὰ βαρβαρικά γράμματα, ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις βαρβάροις, Νέαρχον δὲ σατραπεύειν Λυκίας καὶ τῆς ἐχομένης Λυκίας χώρας ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος. [7] ὀλίγον δὲ πρόσθεν τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Ἴσῳ γενομένης ἀναπεισθεῖς πρὸς Ταυρίσκου ἀνδρὸς κακοῦ Ἀρπαλος φεύγει ξὺν Ταυρίσκῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ταυρίσκος παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἑπειρώτην ἐς Ἰταλίαν σταλεῖς ἐκεῖ ἐτελεύτησεν, Ἀρπάλῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι ἡ φυγὴ ἦν. ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος πείθει αὐτὸν κατελθεῖν πίστει δούς οὐδέν οἱ μείον ἔσσεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ: οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἐπανελθόντι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων αὐθις ἐτάχθη Ἀρπαλος. ἐς Λυδίαν δὲ σατράπην Μένανδρον ἐκπέμπει τῶν ἐταίρων: [8] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ξένοις, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Μένανδρος, Κλέαρχος αὐτῷ ἐτάχθη. ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀρίμματος σατράπην Συρίας Ἀσκληπιόδωρον τὸν Εὐνίκου ἀπέδειξεν, ὅτι Ἀρίμματος βλακεῦσαι ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ, ἥντινα ἐτάχθη παρασκευάσαι τῇ στρατιᾷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἄνω. καὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς Θάψακον Ἀλέξανδρος μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος

VI. When Spring began to show itself, Alexander started from Memphis in the direction of Phoenicia; a bridge was made for him over the River Nile at Memphis and over all its canals also. When he reached Tyre he found there his fleet already arrived to meet him. At Tyre he sacrificed a second time to Heracles and held an athletic and literary contest. There the *Paralus* from Athens met him, bringing as envoys Diophantus and Achilles; the entire crew of the *Paralus* were associated with them in the embassy. These achieved all the objects of their mission, and Alexander gave up to the Athenians all the Athenian captives taken on the Granicus. Learning that things in the Peloponnesus had taken a turn towards revolt in his favour, he sent Amphoterus to help such Peloponnesians as were quite sound as regards the Persian war and were not inclined to listen to the Lacedaemonians. Orders were, besides, given to the Phoenicians and Cyprians to send to the Peloponnese a hundred ships over and above those he was despatching under command of Amphoterus.

Alexander himself was already starting inland towards Thapsacus and the River Euphrates, having set Coeranus, a Beroean, over the collection of taxes in Phoenicia, and Philoxenus to be collector in Asia, this side of the Taurus. The guardianship of such moneys as were with him he entrusted (in lieu of these officers) to Harpalus son of Machatas, just returned from exile; for this Harpalus had in the first instance been sent into exile while Philip was still on the throne, because he was loyal, and Ptolemaeus son of Lagos was exiled on the same account, and Nearchus son of Androtimus and Erigyios son of Larichus and Laomedon his brother, since Alexander had various suspicions towards Philip, because Philip had taken Eurydice to wife, and had treated with contumely Olympias the mother of Alexander. On Philip's death those who were in exile on Alexander's account returned, and of them he appointed Ptolemaeus one of the bodyguards, Harpalus an officer of finance, since his

bodily strength was not equal to fighting, Erigyius commander of the allied cavalry, and Laomedon his brother, since he knew, besides his own, the Persian language, officer in charge of the Persian captives; Nearchus he made satrap of Lycia and the country bordering upon Lycia as far as Mount Taurus. To return to Harpalus; not long before the battle of ISSUS he was led astray by Tauriscus, an evil man, and fled with Tauriscus, who made his way to Italy to Alexander of Epirus, and died in Italy; Harpalus, however, took refuge in the Megarid. Alexander, however, persuaded him to return, giving him assurances that he would not suffer at all for this flight of his; and sure enough he did not suffer, but was set again in charge of the treasure. He sent to Lydia as satrap Menandros, one of the Companions, setting Clearchus in command of the mercenaries of whom Menandros had charge. In place of Arimmas he made satrap of Syria Asclepiodorus son of Eunicus, since he considered Arimmas to have malingered in the matter of supplying such things as he had been ordered to supply for the army detailed for the march into the interior.

[1] ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀριστοφάνους· καὶ καταλαμβάνει δυοῖν γεφύραιν ἐξευγμένον τὸν πόρον. καὶ γὰρ καὶ Μαζαῖος, ὅτῳ ἡ φυλακὴ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ Δαρείου ἐπετέτραπτο, ἱππέας μὲν ἔχων περὶ τρισχιλίους, πεζοὺς δὲ ... καὶ τούτων Ἑλλήνας μισθοφόρους δισχιλίους, τέως μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐφύλασσε, [2] καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐ ξυνεχῆς ἡ γέφυρα ἐξευγμένη ἦν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ὄχθην τοῖς Μακεδόσι, δειμαίνουσι μὴ ἐπιθοῖντο οἱ ἀμφὶ Μαζαῖον τῇ γεφύρᾳ ἵνα ἐπαύετο· Μαζαῖος δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν ἤδη προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον, ὥχετο φεύγων ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ. καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς ἔφυγε Μαζαῖος ἐπεβλήθησαν αἱ γέφυραι τῇ ὄχθῃ τῇ πέραν καὶ διέβη ἐπ' αὐτῶν ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ἀλέξανδρος. [3] ἔνθεν δὲ ἐχώρει ἄνων, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τὰ ὄρη, διὰ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καλουμένης χώρας. οὐκ εὐθεῖαν δὲ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἦγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὁρμηθεῖς, ὅτι τὴν ἐτέραν ἰόντι εὐπορώτερα τὰ ζύμπαντα τῷ στρατῷ ἦν, καὶ χιλὸς τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνειν καὶ τὸ καῦμα οὐχ ὡσάυτως ἐπιφλέγον. [4] ἀλόντες δὲ τινες κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαρείου στρατεύματος κατασκοπῆς ἔνεκα ἀπεσκεδασμένων ἐξήγγειλαν, ὅτι Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ κάθηται ἐγνωκῶς εἶργειν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἰ διαβαίνει· καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ στρατιὰν πολὺ μείζονα ἢ ζὺν ἢ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἐμάχετο. [5] ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἦει σπουδῇ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο, οὔτε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον καταλαμβάνει οὔτε τὴν φυλακὴν, ἦντινα ἀπολελοίπει Δαρεῖος, ἀλλὰ διαβαίνει τὸν πόρον, χαλεπῶς μὲν δι' ὀξύτητα τοῦ ῥοῦ, οὐδενὸς δὲ εἶργοντος. ἐνταῦθα ἀναπαύει τὸν στρατόν· καὶ τῆς σελήνης τὸ πολὺ ἐκλιπὲς ἐγένετο· [6] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔθυε τῇ τε σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ τῇ γῇ, ὅτων τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο λόγος εἶναι κατέχει. καὶ ἐδόκει Ἀριστάνδρῳ πρὸς Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου εἶναι τῆς σελήνης τὸ πάθημα καὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ μηνὸς ἔσεσθαι ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν νίκην σημαίνεσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [7] ἄρας δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἦει διὰ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας χώρας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἔχων τὰ Γορδυνηῶν ὄρη, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Τίγρητα. τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρα ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως οἱ πρόδρομοι αὐτῷ ἐξαγγέλλουσιν, ὅτι ἱππεῖς οὗτοι πολέμιοι ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον

φαίνονται, ὅσοι δὲ, οὐκ ἔχουν εἰκάσαι. ξυντάξας οὖν τὴν στρατιὰν προῦχώρει ὥς ἐς μάχην· καὶ ἄλλοι αὖ τῶν προδρόμων προσελάσαντες ἀκριβέστερον οὗτοι κατιδόντες ἔφασκον δοκεῖν εἶναι σφισιν οὐ πλείους ἢ χιλίους τοὺς ἱππέας.

VII. Alexander arrived at Thapsacus in the month Hecatombaeon, when Aristophanes was archon at Athens. There he found the river bridged by two bridges. The fact was that Mazaeus, to whom Dareius had entrusted the guarding of the river, with about three thousand cavalry, and of these two thousand being Greek mercenaries, for some time kept his guard over the river, and so the bridge had not been completed by the Macedonians right up to the opposite bank, for fear that Mazaeus' troops would attack the bridge at its extremity; but Mazaeus on learning that Alexander was already marching up hurried off with all his forces. So soon as ever Mazaeus fled, the bridges were thrown right over to the far bank and Alexander crossed over with his troops.

Thence he continued inland, keeping on his left the Euphrates and the mountains of Armenia, through the country called Mesopotamia. But on leaving the Euphrates he did not lead direct on Babylon, since going by the other road he found everything more convenient for the troops, and it was easy to obtain fodder for the horses and any necessities from the country, and, what is more, the heat did not burn so strongly. Some few men captured from those who had broken off from Dareius' army for scouting, reported that Dareius was encamped on the River Tigris, determined to check Alexander should he try to cross. Dareius, they said, had a much larger army than that with which he had fought in Cilicia. On hearing this Alexander hurried off towards the Tigris, but on arriving there he found neither Dareius himself nor the guard which Dareius had left behind. Yet he crossed the river, with difficulty, it is true, on account of the swiftness of the current, but without any attempt at hindrance.

There he gave his army a rest; there too there was an almost total eclipse of the moon. Alexander sacrificed to the Moon, to the Sun, to the Earth; who are all said to be concerned in an eclipse. Aristandros concluded that the eclipse was favourable to the Macedonians and Alexander, and that the battle would take place during that selfsame moon, and that the sacrifices portended victory to Alexander. Then, leaving the Tigris, Alexander passed through the country of Aturia with the Gordyaeon mountains on his left, and the Tigris on his right. On the fourth day after the crossing, his advance scouts reported that enemy cavalry were sighted here over the plain, but they could not guess their numbers. So drawing up his force he advanced as to battle; when other scouts rode in, and those having had a more precise view reported that they thought the cavalry to number not above a thousand.

[1] ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν τε βασιλικὴν ἵλην καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων μίαν καὶ τῶν προδρόμων τοὺς Παιόνας ἤλαυνε σπουδῇ, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην στρατιὰν βάδην

ἔπεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν ἱππεῖς κατιδόντες τοὺς ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὀξέως ἐπάγοντας ἔφευγον ἀνὰ κράτος. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος διώκων ἐνέκειτο: [2] καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἀπέφυγον, τοὺς δὲ τινας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν, ὅσοις οἱ ἵπποι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἔκαμον, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας αὐτοῖς ἵπποις ἔλαβον: καὶ παρὰ τούτων ἔμαθον, ὅτι οὐ πόρρω εἴη Δαρεῖος ζῶν δυνάμει πολλῇ. [3] Βεβοηθήκεσαν γὰρ Δαρεῖω Ἴνδων τε ὅσοι Βακτρίοις ὁμοροὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ Βάκτριοι καὶ Σογδιανοί: τούτων μὲν πάντων ἡγεῖτο Βῆσσος ὁ τῆς Βακτριῶν Χώρας σατράπης. εἶποντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Σάκαι — Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐποικούντων Σκυθῶν — οὐχ ὑπήκοοι οὗτοι Βῆσσου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμμαχίαν τὴν Δαρείου: ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Μαυάκης: αὐτοὶ δὲ ἱπποτοξόται ἦσαν. [4] Βαρσαέντης δὲ Ἀραχωτῶν σατράπης Ἀραχωτούς τε ἤγε καὶ τοὺς ὀρείους Ἴνδους καλουμένους. Σατιβαρζάνης δὲ ὁ Ἀρείων σατράπης Ἀρείους ἤγεν. Παρθυαίους δὲ καὶ Ὑρκανίους καὶ Τοπείρους, τοὺς πάντας ἱππέας, Φραταφέρνης ἤγεν. Μήδων δὲ ἡγεῖτο Ἀτροπάτης ζυνετάττοντο δὲ Μήδοις Καδούσιοι τε καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Σακεσῖναι. [5] τοὺς δὲ προσοίκους τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ Ὀροντοβάτης καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης καὶ Ὀρξίνης ἐκόσμου. Οὗξιοι δὲ καὶ Σουσιανοὶ ἡγεμόνα παρείχοντο Ὁξάθρην τὸν Ἀβουλίτου. Βουπάρης δὲ Βαβυλωνίων ἡγεῖτο. οἱ δ' ἀνάσπαστοι Κᾶρες καὶ Σιττακηνοὶ σὺν Βαβυλωνίοις ἐτετάχατο. Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ὀρόντης καὶ Μιθραύστης ἦρχε, καὶ Ἀριάκης Καππαδοκῶν. [6] Σύρους δὲ τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς κοίλης καὶ ὅσοι τῆς μετὰ τῶν ποταμῶν Συρίας Μαζαῖος ἤγεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ ἡ πᾶσα στρατιὰ ἡ Δαρείου ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν μυριάδας, καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια, ἐλέφαντες δὲ οὐ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα μάλιστα Ἴνδοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἴνδου ἦσαν. [7] ζῶν ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει ἐστρατοπεδεύκει Δαρεῖος ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις πρὸς ποταμῷ Βουμήλῳ, ἀπέχων Ἀρβήλων τῆς πόλεως ὅσον ἑξακοσίους σταδίους, ἐν χώρῳ ὁμαλῷ πάντῃ. καὶ καὶ ὅσα ἀνώμαλα αὐτοῦ ἐς ἱππασίαν, ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ οἱ Πέρσαι τοῖς τε ἄρμασιν ἐπελαύνειν εὐπετὴ πεποιήκεσαν καὶ τῇ ἵππῳ ἱππάσιμα. ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ ἀνέπειθον Δαρεῖον ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς Ἴσσω γενομένης μάχης, ὅτι ἄρα ἐμειονέκτησε τῶν χωρίων τῇ στενότητι: καὶ Δαρεῖος οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπέθετο.

VIII. Alexander, then, taking with him the royal squadron, one squadron of territorials, and, from among the advanced scouts, the Paeonians, moved on rapidly, ordering the rest of the army to follow at walking pace. But the Persian cavalry observing the troops with Alexander coming up rapidly, lost no time in flight. Alexander pressed on pursuing, and though the greater number of them got off, the Greeks slew some whose horses wearied in the flight, and captured others alive with their mounts. From these they learnt that Dareius was not far off with a large force.

This was because there had come to the help of Dareius such of the Indians as border upon the Bactrians, with the Bactrians and Sogdians themselves; all these were under the command of Bessus the satrap of Bactria. With these there came also certain Sacae, a Scythian people, of the Scyths who inhabit Asia, not as subjects of Bessus, but owing to an alliance with Dareius;

Mauaces was their commander, and they were mounted archers. Barsaentes, satrap of the Arachotians, led both the Arachotians and the Indian hillmen, as they are called. Satibarzanes satrap of the Areians led the Areians. But the Parthyaecans, the Hyrcanians and the Tapurians, who were all cavalry, were commanded by Phrataphernes. Atropates led the Medes; along with the Medes were ranged Cadusians, Albanians, and Sacasinians. The tribes bordering on the Red Sea were marshalled by Ocondobates, Ariobarzanes, and Orxines. The Uxians and Sousianians acknowledged the leadership of Oxathres son of Aboulites. Bupares was in command of the Babylonians. The Carians who had been transplanted and Sitacenians were brigaded with the Babylonians. Of the Armenians, Orontes and Mithraustes were commanders; of the Cappadocians, Ariaces. The Syrians of Lowland-Syria and all from Mesopotamian Syria were under Mazaeus. The number of Dareius' forces was given as 40,000 horse, 1,000,000 foot, 200 scythe-chariots, a few elephants, the Indians on this side of the Indus having some fifteen.

With this army Dareius had encamped at Gaugamela by the River Bumodus, about six hundred stades from the city Arbela, in a position level on all sides. For what few uneven parts for cavalry there had been the Persians had mostly made convenient both for chariot driving and for cavalry to ride over; for certain persons persuaded Dareius that in the battle of Issus he had, all said and done, suffered disadvantage from the narrowness of the battlefield; and Dareius very readily assented.

[1] ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλέξανδρῳ πρὸς τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν Περσῶν ὅσοι ἐάλωσαν, ἔμεινεν αὐτοῦ ἵνα ἐξηγγέλθῃ ἡμέρας τέσσαρας· καὶ τὴν [τε] στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνέπαυσε, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον τάφρῳ τε καὶ χάρακι ἐτείχισεν. ἔγνω γὰρ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα ἀπολείπειν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς μαχίμοις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ ὄπλα φέρουσιν ἰέναι ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα. [2] ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν δύναμιν νυκτὸς ἦγεν ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν μάλιστα, ὡς ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προσμῖξαι τοῖς βαρβάροις. Δαρεῖος δέ, ὡς προσηγγέλθη αὐτῷ προσάγων ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐκτάσσει τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐς μάχην· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦγεν ὡσαύτως τεταγμένους. καὶ ἀπεῖχε μὲν ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατόπεδα ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίου, οὐ μὴν πῶ καθέωρων ἀλλήλους· γήλοφοι γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ ἐπίπροσθεν ἀμφοῖν ἦσαν [3] ὡς δὲ ἀπεῖχεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὅσον ἐς τριάκοντα σταδίους καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἤδη τῶν γηλόφων ἦει αὐτῷ ὁ στρατός, ἐνταῦθα, ὡς εἶδε τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἔστησε τὴν αὐτοῦ φάλαγγα· καὶ συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς τε ἐταίρους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ ἱλάρχας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τε καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ξένων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐβουλεύετο, εἰ αὐτόθεν ἐπάγοι ἤδη τὴν φάλαγγα, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι ἄγειν ἐκέλευον, ἢ καθάπερ Παρμενίῳ [καλῶς] ἐδόκει, τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ καταστρατοπεδεύειν, [4] κατασκέψασθαι δὲ τὸν τε χῶρον ζύμπαντα, εἰ δὴ τι ὑποπτον αὐτοῦ ἢ ἄπορον, ἢ εἴ πῃ τάφροι ἢ σκόλοπες καταπεπηγότες ἀφανεῖς, καὶ τὰς τάξεις τῶν πολεμίων ἀκριβέστερον κατιδεῖν. καὶ νικᾷ Παρμενίων τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύουσιν αὐτοῦ ὅπως τεταγμένοι ἔμελλον ἰέναι ἐς τὴν μάχην. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ψιλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἐταίρους περιήει

ἐν κύκλῳ σκοπῶν τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν, ἵνα τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ ἔσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ καὶ ξυγκαλέσας αἰθῆς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας, αὐτοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι παρακαλεῖσθαι πρὸς οὗ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα: πάλαι γὰρ εἶναι δι' ἀρετὴν τε τὴν σφῶν παρακεκλημένους καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλὰκις ἤδη καλῶν ἔργων ἀποδεδειγμένους. [6] τοὺς κατὰ σφῶς δὲ ἐκάστους ἐξορμᾶν ἡξίου, λοχαγόν τε λοχίτας καὶ ἰλάρχην τὴν Ἴλην τὴν αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον καὶ ταξιάρχους τὰς τάξεις, τοὺς τε ἡγεμόνας τῶν πεζῶν τὴν φάλαγγα ἕκαστον τὴν οἱ ἐπιτετραμμένην, ὥς ἐν τῇδε τῇ μάχῃ οὐχ ὑπὲρ Κοίλης Συρίας ἢ Φοινίκης, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, ὥς πρόσθεν, μαχομένους, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ξυμπάσης Ἀσίας, οὐστinas χρὴ ἄρχειν, ἐν τῷ τότε κριθισόμενον. [7] οὐκουν τὴν ἐς τὰ καλὰ ἐξόρμησιν διὰ πολλῶν ἀναγκαίαν αὐτοῖς εἶναι οἰκοθεν τοῦτο ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ κόσμου τε ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ὅπως τις καθ' αὐτὸν ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ σιγῆς ἀκριβοῦς, ὁπότε σιγῶντας ἐπιέναι δέοι, καὶ αὖ λαμπρὰς τῆς βοῆς, ἵνα ἐμβοῆσαι καλόν, καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ ὥς φοβερωτάτου, ὁπότε ἐπαλαλάξαι καιρός, [8] αὐτοῖ τε ὅπως ὀξέως κατακούοιεν τῶν [τε] παραγγελλομένων καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν αὖ ὅπως ἐς τὰς τάξεις ὀξέως παραδιδῶνται τὰ παραγγέλματα: ἐν τε τῷ καθ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστον καὶ τὸ πᾶν μεμνησθαι ξυγκινδυνεύόν τε ἀμελουμένῳ καὶ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἐκπονουμένῳ ξυνορθούμενον.

VII. On receiving this information from the captured Persian scouts, Alexander stopped where he had received it, for four days; he rested his army after their march and strengthened his camp by a ditch and palisade. For he had decided to leave behind the baggage animals and any non-combatants among his men, and himself with the combatant troops to advance to the battle burdened with nothing but their arms. He therefore marshalled his force at night and led them off just about the second watch, so as to meet the enemy at dawn. Darius for his part, on hearing that Alexander was already advancing, arrayed his army for battle; while Alexander was bringing up his army also in due battle array. The forces were about sixty stades apart, but did not as yet sight one another, for there were hills intervening in front of both.

When Alexander was about thirty stades away and his army was already descending these hills, sighting the enemy he drew up there his phalanx; and summoning the Companions, the generals, the cavalry commanders, and the commandants of the allies and the mercenary troops, he discussed the question whether he should advance his phalanx at once from that point, as most of them urged, or, as armenio thought best, camp for the time being, make a complete survey of the whole ground, in case there should be any part suspicious or impassable, or perhaps ditches, or hidden stakes fixed in the soil, and make a thorough reconnaissance of the enemy's dispositions. Parmenio's advice prevailed and they camped there, but in the order in which they were to engage.

But Alexander, taking with him the light-armed troops and the territorial cavalry, rode all round surveying the ground which was to be the battlefield. Then he returned and again summoned the same officers, and said that there was no need for him to inspire them to the fight; they had long ago been

inspired by their own bravery and by their many splendid exploits already done; but he called on each of them to encourage his own men; the infantry captains their companies, the cavalry commanders their own squadrons, the brigadiers their brigades, and the infantry commanders each the phalanx placed under him. In this battle, he pointed out, they were going to fight, not as they had before, for Lowland-Syria or Phoenicia, nor for Egypt, but the sovereignty of all Asia was there and then to be decided. There was then no need for him to stir them to noble deeds by a long speech — such valour was inborn in them — but rather that each in his own heart would think of discipline in danger, and complete silence when they must go forward in silence, and of a ringing cheer when it was right to cheer, and of the most frightful battle-cry when it was time to raise it; and that each should smartly obey orders, and pass on smartly too the orders to the ranks; one and all remembering, and the army as a whole, that in his own neglect there was universal danger, and in his own diligent achievement universal success.

[1] ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα οὐ πολλὰ παρακαλέσας τε καὶ ἀντιπαρακληθεὶς πρὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ σφίσι, δειπνοποιεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε τὸν στρατόν. Παρμενίων δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀφικόμενος παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν, νύκτωρ παρήνει ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Πέρσiais: ἀπροσδοκήτοις τε γὰρ καὶ ἀνατεταραγμένοις καὶ ἅμα ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερωτέροις ἐπιθήσεσθαι. [2] ὁ δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀποκρίνεται, ὅτι καὶ ἄλλοι κατήκουον τῶν λόγων, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι κλέψαι τὴν νίκην, ἀλλὰ φανερώς καὶ ἄνευ σοφίσματος χρῆναι νικῆσαι Λέξανδρον. καὶ τὸ μεγάλῃορον αὐτοῦ τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπέρογκον μᾶλλον τι ἢ εὐθαρσὲς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐφαίνετο: δοκεῖν δ' ἔμοιγε, καὶ λογισμῷ ἀκριβεῖ ἐχρήσατο ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε: [3] ἐν νυκτὶ γὰρ τοῖς τε ἀποχρώντως καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεῶς πρὸς τὰς μάχας παρεσκευασμένοις πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου ξυμβάντα τοὺς μὲν ἔσφηλε, τοὺς κρείσσονας, τοῖς χείροσι δὲ παρὰ τὰ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐλπισθέντα τὴν νίκην παρέδωκεν. αὐτῷ τε κινδυνεύοντι τὸ πολὺ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις σφαλερὰ ἢ νύξ κατεφαίνετο, καὶ ἅμα ἡσησθέντι τε αὐτῷ Δαρεῖῳ τὴν ξυγχώρησιν τοῦ χείροσι ὄντι χειρόνων ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ λαθραία τε καὶ νυκτερινὴ ἐκ σφῶν ἐπίθεσις ἀφηρεῖτο, [4] εἴ τί τι ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου πταῖσμα σφίσι ξυμπέσοι, τοῖς μὲν πολέμοις τὰ κύκλῳ φίλια καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς χώρας ἔμπειροι, σφεῖς δὲ ἄπειροι ἐν πολέμοις τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὧν οὐ μικρὰ μοῖρα οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἦσαν, ξυνεπιθησόμενοι ἐν νυκτὶ μὴ ὅτι πταίσασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ μὴ παρὰ πολὺ νικῶντες φαίνοντο. τούτων τε τῶν λογισμῶν ἔνεκα ἐπαίνῳ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὸ φανερόν ὑπερόγκου οὐ μείον.

X. With these and similar words, though brief, he exhorted them, and was in turn urged by the commanders to rely on them. So he bade his army take their meal and rest. It is related that Parmenio came to him to his tent and advised him to attack the Persians at night, for he would thus fall upon them unready and confused and more open to panic in the night-time. Alexander, however, replied — since others were listening — that it was a low thing to steal the victory, and that Alexander must win his victory openly and without sleight. This loftiness of his did not seem mere excess of vanity, but rather

confidence amid dangers; and as I fancy he reasoned well in this matter; for at night many unforeseen occurrences have happened as much to those who were well prepared as to those who were ill prepared for battle, and have caused failure to the stronger and thrown the victory into the hands of the weaker, contrary to the expectations of both. Alexander as a rule ran risks in his battles, but yet he thought night was too risky, and besides, given one more defeat of Dareius, the secret attack by the Greeks under cover of night would excuse Dareius from any confession of being a worse general with worse troops; while should any unexpected disaster happen to themselves, the enemy had a friendly country round them, with which they were familiar, while they themselves were in an unknown country full of enemies, and of these a good number were prisoners who would be sure to make an onslaught at night, not only in case of failure but even if they did not clearly win a preponderating victory. For these reasons I commend Alexander, and equally so for his bold resolve for a daylight action.

[1] Δαρείος δὲ καὶ ὁ ζὺν Δαρεῖφ στρατὸς οὕτως ὅπως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐτάξαντο ἔμειναν τῆς νυκτὸς ζυντεταγμένοι, ὅτι οὐτε στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς περιεβέβλητο ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἅμα ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ σφισι νύκτωρ ἐπιθοῖντο οἱ πολέμιοι. [2] καὶ εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκάκωσε τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐν τῷ τότε τὰ πράγματα, ἡ στάσις ἢ πολλὴ ἢ ζὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τὸ δέος, ὃ τι περ φιλεῖ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων γίνεσθαι, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παραντίκα σχεδιασθέν, ἀλλ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ μελετηθέν τε καὶ τὰς γνώμας αὐτοῖς δουλωσάμενον. ἐτάχθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ ὧδε: [3] ἐάλω γὰρ ὕστερον ἡ τάξις, ἥντινα ἔταξε Δαρεῖος, γεγραμμένη, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστοβούλος. τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον αὐτῷ κέρας οἱ τε Βάκτριοι ἱππεῖς εἶχον καὶ φὺν τούτοις Δάαι καὶ Ἀραχωτοί: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Πέρσαι ἐτετάχато, ἱππεῖς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πεζοὶ ἀναμειγμένοι, καὶ Σουσίοι ἐπὶ Πέρσαις ἐπὶ δὲ Σουσίοις Καδούσιοι. [4] αὕτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρως ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς πάσης φάλαγγος τάξις ἦν: κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν οἱ τε ἐκ Κοίλης Συρίας καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν ἐτετάχато, καὶ Μῆδοι ἔτι κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν, ἐπὶ δὲ Παρθυαῖοι καὶ Σάκαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Τόπειροι καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Σακεσ[ε]ῖναι, οὗτοι μὲν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς πάσης φάλαγγος. [5] κατὰ τὸ μέσον δέ, ἵνα ᾗ βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, οἱ τε συγγενεῖς οἱ βασιλέως ἐτετάχато καὶ οἱ μηλοφόροι Πέρσαι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Κᾶρες οἱ ἀνάσπαστοι καλούμενοι καὶ οἱ Μάρδοι τοξόται: Οὕξιοι δὲ καὶ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ καὶ Σιττακηνοὶ εἰς βάθος ἐπιτεταγμένοι ἦσαν. [6] προετετάχато δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου οἱ τε Σκύθαι ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν Βακτριανῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατόν. οἱ δὲ ἐλέφαντες ἔστησαν κατὰ τὴν Δαρείου ἴλην τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ ἄρματα ἐς πεντήκοντα. [7] τοῦ δὲ δεξιοῦ οἱ τε Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καππαδοκῶν ἱππεῖς προετετάχато καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα πεντήκοντα. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες οἱ μισθοφόροι παρὰ Δαρεῖον τε αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ τοὺς ἅμα αὐτῷ Πέρσας κατὰ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὡς μόνον δὴ ἀντίρροποι τῇ φάλαγγι ἐτάχθησαν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἡ στρατιὰ ἐκοσμήθη ὧδε. [8] τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν αὐτῷ εἶχον τῶν ἱππέων οἱ ἐταῖροι, ὧν προετέτακτο ἡ ἴλη ἢ βασιλική, ἥς Κλεῖτος ὁ Δρωπίδου

ιλάρχης ἦν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἡ Γλαυκίου Ἰλη, ἐχομένη δ' αὐτῆς ἡ Ἀρίστωνος, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Σωπόλιδος τοῦ Ἑρμοδώρου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὲ ἡ Δημητρίου τοῦ Ἀλθαιμένους, ταύτης δὲ ἐχομένη ἡ Μελεάγρου, τελευταία δὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἰλῶν ἦς Ἡγέλοχος ὁ Ἱπποστράτου ἱλάρχης ἦν. ξυμπάσης δὲ τῆς ἵππου τῶν ἐταίρων Φιλώτας ἦρχεν ὁ Παρμενίωνος. [9] τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐχόμενον τῶν ἱππέων πρῶτον τὸ ἄγμα ἐτέτακτο τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπασπισταί: ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος: τούτων δὲ ἐχομένη ἡ Κοίνου τοῦ Πολεμοκράτους τάξις ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἡ Περδίκκου τοῦ Ὀρόντου, ἔπειτα ἡ Μελεάγρου τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Πολυπέρχοντος τοῦ Σιμμίου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Φιλίππου: ταύτης δὲ ἡγεῖτο Σιμμία, ὅτι Ἀμύντας ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας ἐς ξυλλογὴν στρατιᾶς ἐσταλμένος ἦν. [10] τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡ Κρατεροῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τάξις εἶχε, καὶ αὐτὸς Κρατερὸς ἐξῆρχε τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πεζῶν: καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐχόμενοι αὐτοῦ οἱ ζύμμαχοι, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἐριγύιος ὁ Λαρίχου: τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἦρχε Φίλιππος ὁ Μενελάου. ξύμπαν δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἡγε Παρμενίων ὁ Φιλῶτα, καὶ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῶν Φαρσαλίων ἱππεῖς οἱ κράτιστοί τε καὶ πλεῖστοι τῆς Θεσσαλικῆς ἵππου ἀνεστρέφοντο. ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ μετώπου τάξις Ἀλεξάνδρου ὧδε κεκόσμητο:

XI. Dareius and his army remained during the night marshalled in the order which they had drawn up at first; for they had no proper entrenched camp surrounding them, and also they feared all along that the enemy would make a night attack. This more than anything else hampered the fortunes of the Persians at this crisis, their long stand under arms and their fear, such as usually comes before great dangers, not suddenly created from the crisis of the moment, but long dwelt on, and having long since unnerved their minds.

The army was drawn up thus; for, as Aristobulus tells us, the written arrangements as Dareius arranged it were afterwards captured. The left wing the Bactrian cavalry held, and with them the Dahans and the Arachotians; next to them were arrayed Persians, cavalry and infantry mixed, and after the Persians Susians, and after the Susians Cadusians. This was the disposition of the left wing up to the centre of the entire phalanx. On the right were marshalled the troops from Lowland-Syria and Mesopotamia; and next, on the right, were Medes, and within them Parthyaean and Sacians, then Tapurians and Hyrcanians, and then Albanians and Sacasinians, right up to the centre of the entire phalanx. In the centre, where was King Dareius, were posted the king's kinsmen, the Persians whose spears are fitted with golden apples, (The "apples" were possibly pomegranates or quinces. Apples, however, were symbols of the sun.) Indians, the "transplanted" Carians, as they were called, and the Mardian bowmen. The Uxians, Babylonians, Red Sea tribes, and Sitacenians were in deep formation behind them. Then, in advance, on the left wing, facing Alexander's right, were the Scythian cavalry, some thousand Bactrians, and a hundred scythe-chariots. The elephants were posted ahead of Dareius' royal squadron, and fifty chariots. In front of the right wing were

posted the Armenian and Cappadocian cavalry and fifty scythe-chariots. The Greek mercenaries, close by Dareius, and his Persian troops, on either side, were stationed exactly opposite the Macedonian phalanx as being the only troops able to meet the phalanx.

Alexander's army was marshalled thus: his right wing was held by the mounted Companions, the royal squadron being in advance of them; it was commanded by Cleitus son of Dropides; next came Glaucias' squadron, next Aristo's, next that of Sopolis son of Hermodorus, next that of Heracleides son of Antioch us, then that of Demetrius son of Althaemenes, next Meleager's, and finally of the royal squadrons that commanded by Hegelochus son of Hippostratus. Of the mounted Companions as a whole Philotas son of Parmenio was commander-in-chief. Of the Macedonian infantry phalanx, next to the cavalry was stationed first the picked corps of the bodyguards and then the rest of the bodyguards; they were under Nicanor son of Parmenio; after them came the brigade of Coenus son of Polemocrates, next that of Perdiccas son of Orontes, then that of Meleager son of Neoptolemus, then that of Polysperchon son of Simmias, next that of Amyntas son of Andromenes; this was led by Simmias, since Amyntas had been sent to Macedonia to collect troops. The left of the Macedonian phalanx was held by the brigade of Craterus son of Alexander, Craterus himself commanding the left of the infantry. Following on them came the allied cavalry, under Erigyius son of Larichus; beyond them, right up to the left wing, were the Thessalian cavalry under Philippus son of Menelaus. The commander of the entire left was Parmenio son of Philotas, and round him rode the Pharsalian cavalry, the finest and most numerous of the Thessalian horsemen.

[1] ἐπέταξε δὲ καὶ δευτέραν τάξιν ὡς εἶναι τὴν φάλαγγα ἀμφίστομον. καὶ παρηγγέλλετο τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων, εἰ κυκλομένους τοὺς σφῶν πρὸς τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος κατίδοιεν, ἐπιστρέψαντας ἐς τὸ ἔμπαλιν δέχεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους: [2] ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν δέ, εἴ που ἀνάγκη καταλαμβάνοι ἢ ἀναπτύξαι ἢ ζυγκλεῖσαι τὴν φάλαγγα, κατὰ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἐχόμενοι τῆς βασιλικῆς ὕλης τῶν Ἀγριάνων ἐτάχθησαν οἱ ἡμίσεις, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἄτταλος, καὶ μετὰ τούτων οἱ Μακεδόνες οἱ τοξόται, ὧν Βρίσων ἦρχεν, ἐχόμενοι δὲ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καλούμενοι ξένοι καὶ ἄρχων τούτων Κλέανδρος. [3] προετάχθησαν δὲ τῶν τε Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ τε πρόδρομοι ἵππεις καὶ οἱ Παῖονες, ὧν Ἀρέτης καὶ Ἀρίστων ἡγοῦντο. ζυμπάντων δὲ προτεταγμένοι ἦσαν οἱ μισθοφόροι ἵππεις, ὧν Μενίδας ἦρχε. τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων προτεταγμένοι ἦσαν τῶν τε Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ ἡμίσεις, καὶ οἱ Βαλάκρου ἀκοντισταί: οὗτοι κατὰ τὰ ἄρματα τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἐτετάχατο. [4] Μενίδα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν παρήγγελλτο, εἰ περιῦπεύοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι τὸ κέρας σφῶν, ἐς πλαγίους ἐμβάλλειν αὐτοὺς ἐπικάμπαντας. τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως οὕτως ἐτέτακτο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ: κατὰ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν οἱ τε Θρᾶκες ἐτετάχατο, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σιτάκης, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἵππεις, ὧν ἦρχε Κοίρανος, ἐπὶ δὲ οἱ Ὀδρύσαι ἵππεις, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀγάθων ὁ Τυρίμμα. [5] ζυμπάντων δὲ ταύτῃ προετάχθη ἡ

ξενικὴ ἵππος ἢ τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὧν Ἀνδρόμαχος ὁ Ἰέρωνος ἦρχεν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σκευοφόροις οἱ ἀπὸ Θράκης πεζοὶ ἐς φυλακὴν ἐτάχθησαν. ἦν δὲ ἡ πᾶσα στρατιὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς ἑπτακτοχίλους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς τέσσαρας μυριάδας.

XII. This was the order in which Alexander had arranged his front; but he posted a second line so as to duplicate his phalanx. The commanders of this reserve line had been ordered, if they should see their own front line being surrounded by the Persian host, to wheel round and receive the Persian attack. In case, however, need should arise either to extend out the phalanx or to contract it, the half of the Agrianes under Attalus next to the royal squadron, on the right wing, along with them the Macedonian archers under Briso, were posted at a slightly inclined angle; next to the archers were so-called old guard of the mercenaries under Cleander. In advance of the Agrianes and the archers were the mounted scouts and the Paeonians, under Aretes and Aristo. In front of the entire body were the mercenary cavalry under Menidas. In advance of the royal squadron and the other Companions were stationed half the Agrianes and archers, and the javelin men of Balacrus who were opposed to the scythed chariots. Menidas and his troops had been ordered, if the enemy should try to ride round their wing, to wheel and attack them on the flank. This was the disposition of Alexander's right wing: on the left had been posted, also at an inclined angle, the Thracians under Sitalces, and next the allied cavalry, under Coeranus, and then the Odrysian cavalry, under Agathon son of Tyrimmes. In front of the whole body, at this point, was posted the paid foreign cavalry under Andromachus son of Hiero. The Thracian foot had been posted to guard the baggage animals. The entire army of Alexander numbered 7000 cavalry and about 40,000 infantry.

[1] ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐγίνετο, ὥφθη Δαρεῖός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν, οἱ τε μηλοφόροι Πέρσαι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Κᾶρες οἱ ἀνάσπαστοι καὶ οἱ Μάρδοι τοξόται, κατ' αὐτόν Ἀλέξανδρον τεταγμένοι καὶ τὴν ἵλην τὴν βασιλικήν. ἦγε δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος μάλλον, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντιπαρῆγον, υπερφαλαγγοῦντες πολὺ ἐπὶ τῷ σφῶν εὐωνύμῳ. [2] ἤδη τε οἱ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱππεῖς παριππεύοντες ἤπτοντο τῶν προτεταγμένων τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τάξεως καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι ὅμως ἦγεν ἐπὶ δόρυ, καὶ ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ ἐξαλλάσσειν τὸν ὁδοποιημένον πρὸς τῶν Περσῶν χῶρον. ἔνθα δὴ δέσας Δαρεῖος μὴ προχωρησάντων ἐς τὰ οὐχ ὁμαλὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀχρεΐα σφισι γένηται τὰ ἄρματα, κελεύει τοὺς προτεταγμένους τοῦ εὐωνύμου περιῖππευεῖν τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, ἧ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦγε, τοῦ μηκέτι προσωτέρῳ αὐτοὺς ἐξάγειν τὸ κέρας. [3] τούτου δὲ γενομένου Ἀλέξανδρος ἐμβάλλειν κελεύει ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἱππέας, ὧν Μενίδας ἡγεῖτο. ἀντεκδραμόντες δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ τε Σκύθαι ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν Βακτρίων οἱ ξυντεταγμένοι τοῖς Σκύθαις τρέπουσιν ὀλίγους ὄντας πολλῶ πλείονες. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοῦ περὶ Ἀρέτην τε, τοὺς Παίονας, καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐκέλευσε: [4] καὶ ἐγκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι. Βάκτριοι δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι πελάσαντες τοῖς Παίοσι τε καὶ ξένοις τοὺς τε σφῶν φεύγοντας ἤδη ἀνέστρεψαν ἐς τὴν μάχην καὶ τὴν

ἵππομαχίαν ξυστῆναι ἐποίησαν. καὶ ἐπιπτον μὲν πλείονες τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, τῷ τε πλήθει τῶν βαρβάρων βιαζόμενοι καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς ἀκριβέστερον εἰς φυλακὴν πεφραγμένοι ἦσαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς τὰς τε προσβολὰς αὐτῶν ἐδέχοντο οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ βία κατ' ἵλας προσπίπτοντες ἐξώθουν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως. [5] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ἄρματα τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἐφῆκαν οἱ βάρβαροι κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὥς ἀναταράζοντες αὐτῷ τὴν φάλαγγα. καὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα ἐνεύσθησαν: τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ὥς προσεφέρετο κατηκόντισαν οἱ τε Ἀγριαῖνες καὶ οἱ ξὺν Βαλάκρῳ ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ προτεταγμένοι τῆς ἵππου τῶν ἐταίρων: τὰ δὲ τῶν ῥυτῆρων ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι τοὺς τε ἀναβάτας κατέσπων καὶ τοὺς ἵππους περιϋστάμενοι ἔκοπτον. [6] ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ διεξέπεσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων: διέσχον γάρ, ὥσπερ παρήγγελτο αὐτοῖς, ἵνα προσέπιπτε τὰ ἄρματα: καὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα ξυνέβη αὐτὰ τε σῶα καὶ οἷς ἐπὶ πλάθῃ ἀβλαβῶς διελεθῆν: ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οἱ τε ἵπποκόμοι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιᾶς καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἐκράτησαν.

XIII. When the armies now were nearing one another, Dareius and his immediate followers were in full sight; there were the Persian “spearmen of the Golden Apples,” Indians, Albanians, the “transplanted” Carians, and the Mardian archers, all ranged over against Alexander and the royal squadron; Alexander, however, led off his men rather in the direction of his right, on which the Persians moved accordingly, their left far outflanking the Greeks. Already the Scythian cavalry, riding parallel with the Greeks, found touch with the troops posted in front of Alexander’s main body; but Alexander still continued steadily his march towards his right, and was nearly clear of the ground which had been trampled level by the Persians. On this Dareius, afraid lest — if the Macedonians reached the uneven ground — his chariots would be of no service, ordered the troops which were in advance of his left wing to wheel round the Greek right which Alexander was leading, so that the Greeks might not prolong their wing any farther. Upon this Alexander ordered his mercenary cavalry under Menidas to charge them. At once the Scythian cavalry, and the Bactrian which was brigaded with the Scythian, dashed out to meet them, and by sheer weight of numbers drove them back. But Alexander ordered Aristo’s brigade, the Paeonians, and the mercenaries to charge the Scythians, on which the Persians wavered. The rest of the Bactrians, however, joining up with the Paeonians and the foreign troops, at once restored to the battle those of their own men who were turning to flight, and thus made the cavalry engagement a close one. Alexander’s men fell in greater numbers, overwhelmed with the number of the Persians, and also because the Scythians, riders and horses alike, were better protected by defensive armour. Yet even so the Macedonians stood up against their onsets, and falling on them stoutly, squadron after squadron, broke their formation.

Meanwhile the Persians launched their scythe-chariots direct upon Alexander, in the hope of throwing his phalanx also out of formation; but in this they failed signally. For in the first place, as soon as they approached, the Agrianes and the javelin-men under Balacrus who had been stationed forward

to screen the Companions' cavalry met them with volleys; and secondly, they snatched at the reins, pulled down the drivers, and crowding round the horses cut them down. One or two did pass right through the Greek lines, for, as they had been ordered, they parted asunder where the chariots attacked; and thereby it fell out that the chariots passed through unscathed and the troops against which they were driven were unscathed also. These chariots too were afterwards overpowered by the grooms of Alexander's army and the royal bodyguards.

[1] ὥς δὲ Δαρεῖος ἐπῆγεν ἤδη τὴν φάλαγγα πᾶσαν, ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀρέτην μὲν κελεύει ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς περιῦπεύουσι τὸ κέρας σφῶν τὸ δεξιὸν ὥς ἐς κύκλωσιν: [2] αὐτὸς δὲ τῶς μὲν ἐπὶ κέρως τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτόν ἦγε, τῶν δὲ ἐκβοηθησάντων ἱππέων τοῖς κυκλουμένοις τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν παραρρηξάντων τι τῆς πρώτης φάλαγγος τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιστρέψας κατὰ τὸ διέχον καὶ ὥσπερ ἔμβολον ποιήσας τῆς τε ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τῆς ταύτης τεταγμένης ἦγε δρόμῳ τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ ὥς ἐπὶ αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον. [3] καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ὀλίγον ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο: ὥς δὲ οἱ τε ἱππεῖς οἱ ἄμφι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος εὐρώστως ἐνέκειντο ὀθισμοῖς τε χρώμενοι καὶ τοῖς ξυστοῖς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν Περσῶν κόπτοντες, ἡ τε φάλαγξ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ πυκνὴ καὶ ταῖς σαρίσσαις πεφρικυῖα ἐμβεβλήκει ἤδη αὐτοῖς, καὶ πάντα ὁμοῦ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ πάλαι ἤδη φοβερῶ ὄντι Δαρεῖω ἐφαίνετο, πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐπιστρέψας ἔφευγεν: ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ περιῦπεύοντες τῶν Περσῶν τὸ κέρας ἐμβαλόντων ἐς αὐτοὺς εὐρώστως τῶν ἄμφι Ἀρέτην. [4] ταύτη μὲν δὴ τῶν Περσῶν φυγὴ καρτερὰ ἦν, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐφεπόμενοι ἐφόνεον τοὺς φεύγοντας. οἱ δὲ ἄμφι Σιμμίαν καὶ ἡ τούτου τάξις οὐκέτι ξυνεξορμῆσαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δυνατοὶ ἐγένοντο ἐς τὴν δίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήσαντες τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτοῦ ἠγωνίζοντο, ὅτι τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Μακεδόνων πονεῖσθαι ἠγγέλλετο. [5] καὶ ταύτη παραρραγείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς τάξεως κατὰ τὸ διέχον διεκπαίουσι τῶν τε Ἰνδῶν τινες καὶ τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου ὥς ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα τῶν Μακεδόνων: καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐκεῖ καρτερόν ἐγίνετο. οἱ τε γὰρ Πέρσαι θρασέως προσέκειντο ἀνόπλοις τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ οὐ προσδοκίησασιν ἐπὶ σφᾶς διεκπεσεῖσθαι τινὰς διακόψαντας διπλὴν τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι βάρβαροι ἐμβαλόντων τῶν Περσῶν ξυνεπέθεντο καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ. [6] τῶν δὲ ἐπιτεταγμένων τῇ πρώτῃ φάλαγγι οἱ ἡγεμόνες ὀξέως μαθόντες τὸ γινόμενον μεταβαλόντες, ἥπερ παρήγγελλτο αὐτοῖς, τὴν τάξιν ἐπιγίγνονται κατὰ νότου τοῖς Πέρσαις, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτοῦ ἄμφι τοῖς σκευοφόροις ξυνεχομένους ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγκλίναντες ἔφευγον. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν Περσῶν οὐπω τῆς φυγῆς τῆς Δαρείου ἥσθημένοι περιῦπεύσαντες τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐώνυμον κατὰ κέρας τοῖς ἄμφι τὸν Παρμενίωνα ἐνέβαλλον.

XIV. When now Dareius brought on his complete phalanx, Alexander ordered Aretes to charge the Persian cavalry which was wheeling round the Greek right wing to enclose it; he himself for a short time led on his army in column; but when the cavalry who had been sent off to attack the Persians, wheeling round the Greek right, had broken in some degree the front of the

Persian phalanx, he wheeled towards the gap, and making a wedge of the Companion cavalry and the part of the phalanx which was at this point, he led them on at the double, and, with a loud battle cry, straight at Dareius. Now for some little time it became a hand-to-hand fight; but when the cavalry with Alexander, and Alexander himself, stoutly fell on the enemy, actually hustling the Persians, and striking their faces with their spears, and the Macedonian phalanx, solid and bristling with its pikes, had now got to close quarters with them, and Dareius, nervous as he had been all along, saw nothing but terrors all around, he was himself the first to turn and ride away. Those too of the Persians who were trying to envelop the Greek right took fright at the vigorous charge of Aretes and his men.

At this place indeed the Persians' rout was complete, and the Macedonians following up kept slaughtering the fugitives. But Simmias' staff and the brigade under him were unable to join up with Alexander for the pursuit, but halted their phalanx where it was and continued the struggle, since the Macedonian left was reported to be in difficulties. And at this point the Greek formation was broken, and into the gap there thrust some of the Indians and of the Persian cavalry right up to the Macedonians' baggage animals; and there the action was becoming severe. For the Persians boldly fell upon their adversaries, being mostly unarmed men, and having never dreamt that anyone would make a cleavage through the phalanx, doubled as it was, and force their way right up to them; what is more, the Persian captives themselves, as the Persians broke in, joined with them in the action and fell upon the Macedonians. However, the commanders of the troops which formed the reserve to the first phalanx, learning what had happened, smartly turned about face, according to previous orders, and so appeared in the rear of the Persians and slew large numbers of them, crowded together as they were round the baggage animals. Some, however, gave way and so escaped. The Persians of the right wing, meanwhile, not having wind yet of Dareius' flight, wheeling round Alexander's left, were making a flank attack on Parmenio's troops.

[1] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀμφιβόλων τὰ πρῶτα γενομένων τῶν Μακεδόνων πέμπει Παρμενίων παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον σπουδῇ ἀγγελοῦντα, ὅτι ἐν ἀγῶνι ξυνέχεται τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς καὶ βοηθεῖν δεῖ. ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τοῦ μὲν διώκειν ἔτι ἀπετράπετο, ἐπιστρέψας δὲ ζὺν τῇ ἵπῳ τῶν ἐταίρων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν βαρβάρων ἤγε δρόμῳ. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς φεύγουσι τῶν πολεμίων ἵππεῦσι, τοῖς τε Παρθυαίοις καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔστιν οἷς καὶ Πέρσαις τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ κρατίστοις ἐμβάλλει. [2] καὶ ἵππομαχία αὕτη καρτερωτάτη τοῦ παντὸς ἔργου ξυνέστη. ἐς βάθος τε γὰρ οἷα δὴ ἰληδὸν τεταγμένοι ἀνέστρεφον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀντιμέτωποι τοῖς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ζυμπεσόντες οὔτε ἀκοντισμῷ ἔτι οὔτ' ἐξελιγμοῖς τῶν ἵππων, ἥπερ ἵππομαχίας δίκη, ἐχρῶντο, ἀλλὰ διεκπαῖσαι πᾶς τις τὸ καθ' αὐτόν, ὡς μόνην ταύτην σωτηρίαν σφίσιν οὔσαν, ἐπειγόμενοι ἔκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐκόπτοντο ἀφειδῶς, οἷα δὴ οὐχ ὑπὲρ νίκης ἀλλοτρίας ἔτι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας οἰκείας ἀγωνιζόμενοι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πίπτουσι μὲν ἀμφὶ ἐξήκοντα τῶν ἐταίρων τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τιτρώσκεται Ἡφαιστίων τε αὐτὸς

καὶ Κοῖνος καὶ Μενίδας· ἀλλὰ ἐκράτησε καὶ τούτων Ἀλέξανδρος. [3] καὶ τούτων μὲν ὅσοι διεξέπαισαν διὰ τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἔφευγον ἀνὰ κράτος· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦν προσμῖξαι ἤδη τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἱππεῖς λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι οὐχ ὑπελείποντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ ἔργου· ἀλλὰ ἔφευγον γὰρ ἤδη οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅποτε Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοῖς ξυνέμιξεν, ὥστε ἀποτραπόμενος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὸ διώκειν αὐτοὺς Δαρεῖον ἐξώρμησε· καὶ ἐδίωξεν ἔστε φάος ἦν· [4] καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Παρμενίωνα τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς διώκοντες εἶποντο. ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν διαβὰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Λύκον κατεστρατοπέδευσε αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀναπαῦσαι ὀλίγον τοὺς τε ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους· Παρμενίων δὲ τὸ τε στρατόπεδον τῶν βαρβάρων εἶλε καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὰς καμήλους. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱππείας ἔστε ἐπὶ μέσας νύκτας προὔχῳρει αὐτοὺς κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπ' Ἀρβηλα, ὡς Δαρεῖόν τε αἰρήσων ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλικήν. καὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς Ἀρβηλα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ διώξας τοὺς πάντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης σταδίους μάλιστα ἐς ἑξακοσίους. καὶ Δαρεῖον μὲν οὐ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Ἀρβήλοις, ἀλλὰ ἔφευγεν οὐδέν τι ἐλινύσας Δαρεῖος· τὰ χρήματα δὲ ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ ἡ κατασκευὴ πᾶσα, καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ Δαρείου αὐτοὺς ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ ἡ ἄσπις αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐάλω. [6] ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἄνδρες μὲν ἐς ἑκατὸν μάλιστα, ἵπποι δὲ ἕκ τε τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ τῆς κακοπαθείας τῆς ἐν τῇ διώξει ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους, καὶ τούτων τῆς ἐταιρικῆς ἵππου σχεδὸν τι οἱ ἡμίσεις. τῶν βαρβάρων δὲ νεκρῶν μὲν ἐλέγοντο ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας, ἐάλωσαν δὲ πολὺ πλείονες τῶν ἀποθανόντων καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων ὅσα μὴ κατεκόπη ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. [7] τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις Ἀριστοφάνους μηνὸς Πυανεσιῶνος· καὶ Ἀριστάνδρῳ ξυνέβη ἡ μαντεία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μηνί, ἐν ᾧ τῷ ἡ σελήνῃ ἐκλιπὴς ἐφάνη, τὴν τε μάχην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τὴν νίκην γενέσθαι.

XV. At this, since at first the Macedonians were between two fires, Parmenio sent to Alexander a despatch rider to report with all haste that his troops were in a desperate position and needed help. Alexander receiving this message turned back from further pursuit, and wheeling round with the mounted Companions came galloping down on the Persian right and charged first such of the enemy's cavalry as were in flight, the Parthyaecans, some Indians, and the main host (and the strongest) of the Persians. Here raged the fiercest cavalry engagement of the whole action. For being drawn up by squadrons, and so in column, the Persians wheeled round and clashed with Alexander's troops front to front: there was no javelin-throwing and no manoeuvring of horses, such as are usual in a cavalry engagement, but each tried to break his way through whatever opposed him, pressing on as if this were their one hope of safety. So they continued beating and battered, with no quarter given, as men now no longer fighting for someone else's victory, but for their own very lives. There about sixty of the Companions of Alexander fell, and Hephaestion himself, Coenus, and Menidas were wounded.

Yet even these foes did Alexander overcome, and those of the Persians who

contrived to pass through Alexander's troops took to headlong flight. But Alexander was now ready to come to blows with the enemy's right wing, and here the Thessalian cavalry, who fought gloriously, had been no whit behind Alexander in the action, in fact those on the enemy's right were already taking to their heels when Alexander approached them, so Alexander turned back again and began once more his pursuit of Darius, and he pursued as long as the light held; and Parmenio's troops followed, pursuing their late opponents. But Alexander crossed the river Lycus and there encamped, to rest a little both his men and horses, but Parmenio took the Persian camp with the baggage trains, elephants, and camels.

Alexander rested his cavalry till towards midnight, and hurried on to Arbela, hoping to seize Darius there and his treasure and all the other royal belongings. He arrived at Arbela next day, having covered in all, since the battle, six hundred stades in the pursuit. However, he did not catch Darius at Arbela, for Darius had continued his flight without delaying; yet the treasure was captured there and the other belongings, including the chariot of Darius, which was again captured, and his spear too and bow and arrows were taken a second time.

Of Alexander's troops upwards of a hundred perished, but of horses, from wounds and distress in the pursuit, over a thousand, and among these nearly half of the Companions' horses. Of the Persian dead were counted some three hundred thousand, but even a greater number of prisoners were made than the slain, and the elephants and such chariots as had not been destroyed in the battle were also captured.

So ended this battle, in the archonship at Athens of Aristophanes and in the month Pyanepsion. Thus Aristander's prophecy came true, that in the selfsame month in which the moon was eclipsed Alexander's battle and victory should occur.

[1] Δαρείος μὲν δὴ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης παρὰ τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἀρμενίων ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Μηδίας, καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ οἱ τε Βάκριοι ἱππεῖς, ὥς τότε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ζυνετάρχησαν, ἔφευγον καὶ Περσῶν οἱ τε συγγενεῖς οἱ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν μηλοφόρων καλουμένων οὐ πολλοί. [2] προσεγένοντο δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ξένων ἐς δισχιλίους, οὓς Πάτρων τε ὁ Φωκεὺς καὶ Γλαῦκος ὁ Αἰτωλὸς ἦγον. ταύτη δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ φυγὴ ἐπὶ Μηδίας ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἐδόκει τὴν ἐπὶ Σούσων τε καὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἥξειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ὅτι οἰκουμένη τε ἐκείνη πᾶσα ἦν καὶ ὁδὸς τοῖς σκευοφόροις οὐ χαλεπὴ, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἄθλον ἡ Βαβυλὼν καὶ τὰ Σοῦσα ἐφαίνετο: ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ Μηδίας μεγάλῳ στρατεύματι οὐκ εὐπορος. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη Δαρείος. [3] Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἐξ Ἀρβήλων ὀρμηθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος εὐθὺς προύχῳρει. ἤδη τε οὐ πόρρῳ Βαβυλῶνος ἦν καὶ δύναμιν ζυντεταγμένην ὥς ἐς μάχην ἦγε, καὶ οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι πανδημεὶ ἀπὴντων αὐτῷ ζὺν ἱερεῦσι τε σφῶν καὶ ἄρχουσι, δῶρά τε ὥς ἕκαστοι φέροντες καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντες καὶ τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. [4] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα τὰ ἱερὰ, ἃ Ξέρξης

καθεῖλεν, ἀνοικοδομεῖν προσέταξε Βαβυλωνίους, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ Βήλου τὸ ἱερόν, ὃν μάλιστα θεῶν τιμῶσι Βαβυλώνιοι. σατράπην δὲ κατέστησε Βαβυλῶνος Μαζαῖον, Ἀπολλόδωρον δὲ τὸν Ἀμφιπολίτην στρατηγὸν τῶν μετὰ Μαζαίου ὑπολειπομένων στρατιωτῶν, καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδωρον τὸν Φίλωνος τοῦς φόρους ἐκλέγειν. [5] κατέπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἀρμενίαν Μιθρήνην σατράπην, ὃς τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐνέδωκεν. ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις ἐνέτυχεν, καὶ ὅσα ἐδόκει Χαλδαίοις ἀμφὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ Βαβυλῶνι ἐπραξε, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ Βήλῳ καθ' ἃ ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγοῦντο ἔθυσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Σούσων ἐστέλλετο: [6] καὶ ἐντυγχάνει αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὃ τε παῖς τοῦ Σουσίων σατράπου καὶ παρὰ Φιλοξένου ἐπιστολεύς. Φιλόξενον γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ Σούσων ἐστάλκει Ἀλέξανδρος. τῇ δὲ ἐπιστολῇ τῇ παρὰ Φιλοξένου ἐνεγέγραπτο, ὅτι τὴν τε πόλιν οἱ Σούσιοι παραδεδώκασιν καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα σῶά ἐστιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [7] ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς Σούσα Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐν ἡμέραις εἴκοσι: καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὰ τε χρήματα παρέλαβεν ὄντα ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐς πεντακισμῦρια καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλικήν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατελήφθη αὐτοῦ, ὅσα Ξέρξης ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄγων ἦλθε, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος χαλκαῖ εἰκόνες. [8] καὶ ταύτας Ἀθηναίους ὀπίσω πέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ νῦν κεῖνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ αἱ εἰκόνες, ἧ ἄνιμεν ἐς πόλιν, καταντικρὺ μάλιστα τοῦ Μητρώου, οὐ μακρὰν τῶν Εὐδανέμων τοῦ βωμοῦ: ὅστις δὲ μεμύηται ταῖν θεαῖν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, οἶδε τοῦ Εὐδανέμου τὸν βωμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου ὄντα. [9] ἐνταῦθα θύσας τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ λαμπάδα ποιήσας καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικόν, καταλιπὼν σατράπην μὲν τῆς Σουσιανῆς Ἀβουλίτην ἄνδρα Πέρσην, φρούραρχον δὲ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Σούσων Μάζαρον τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Θεοδώρου, προὔχῳρει ὥς ἐπὶ Πέρσας: ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ κατέπεμψεν ὑπαρχον Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας Μένητα. [10] καὶ τούτῳ ἔδωκεν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐς τρισχίλια φέρειν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποστεῖλαι παρ' Ἀντίπατρον ὅσων ἂν δέηται Ἀντίπατρος ἐς τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀνδρομένους ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἀφίκετο, ἣν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἦγε. [11] καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἱππείας ἐς τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐταιρικὴν κατέταξεν Ἀλέξανδρος, τοὺς πεζοὺς δὲ προσέθηκεν ταῖς τάξεσι ταῖς ἄλλαις, κατὰ ἔθνη ἐκάστους ξυντάξας. κατέστησε δὲ καὶ λόχους δύο ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἴλῃ, οὐ πρόσθεν ὄντας λόχους ἱππικούς, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησε τοὺς κατ' ἄρετὴν προκριθέντας ἐκ τῶν ἐταίρων.

XVI. As for Dareius, he fled straight from the battle by the Armenian mountains towards Media, and with him the Bactrian cavalry, as they had been posted to him in the battle; and also of the Persians the royal kinsmen and the greater number of the "spearmen of the Golden Apple." There joined him during the flight also some two thousand of the foreign mercenaries led by Paron the Phocian and Glaucus the Aetolian. The reason why he fled towards Media was because he imagined that Alexander after the battle would take the road to Susa and Babylon, since all that part was inhabited and the road itself was easy for the baggage trains, and besides, Babylon and Susa

naturally seemed to be the prize of the war. The road to Media, on the contrary, was not good for a large force.

Darius was not mistaken, for Alexander leaving Arbela at once took the road to Babylon. He was now not far from Babylon, and was leading his force in battle order, when the Babylonians came to meet him in mass, with their priests and chief men, each section of the inhabitants bringing gifts and offering surrender of the city, the citadel, and the treasure. Alexander entering Babylon bade the Babylonians build up again the temples which Xerxes destroyed, and especially the temple of Bel, whom the Babylonians honour before all gods. He appointed Mazaeus satrap of Babylon and Apollodorus of Amphipolis guard of the troops left behind with Mazaeus, and Asclepiodorus son of Philo to collect the taxes. He sent also as satrap to Armenia Mithrines, who had given up the acropolis of Sardis to Alexander. It was at Babylon he came across the Chaldaeans, and he carried out at Babylon all that the Chaldaeans suggested in regard to sacrifices, sacrificing especially to Bel, according to their instructions.

He himself, however, set out towards Susa, and there met him on the way the son of the satrap of Susa and a letter-carrier from Philoxenus, whom Alexander had sent to Susa directly after the battle. In Philoxenus' letter it was stated that the people of Susa had yielded up the city and that all the treasure was in safe-keeping for Alexander. In twenty days from Babylon Alexander arrived at Susa; he entered the city and took over the treasure, about fifty thousand talents of silver, and all the rest of the royal belongings. A good deal else was captured there, all that Xerxes brought back from Greece, and among this bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. These Alexander sent back to the Athenians, and they are now set up at Athens in the Cerameicus, on the way by which one ascends the Acropolis, just opposite the Metroön, not far from the altar of the Eudanemi. Anyone who has been initiated into the mysteries of the Twain Goddesses at Eleusis is aware that the altar of Eudanemos is in the plain.

There Alexander sacrificed with the traditional ceremonial, and held a torch race and an athletic contest. He left behind as satrap of the district of Susa Abulites a Persian, and as garrison commandant in the citadel of Susa, Mazarus one of the Companions, and, as general, Archelaus son of Theodorus; and then he advanced towards the Persians. Seaward he sent Menes as governor of Syria, Phoenicia and Cilicia. He gave him upwards of three thousand silver talents to take to the sea, and to send of these as much as Antipater should require for the Lacedaemonian war. There too Amyntas son of Andromenes arrived with his force which he was bringing from Macedon. Of these Alexander detailed the cavalry to join the Companions' cavalry, but the infantry he distributed among the various brigades, arranging them racially. He also formed two companies in each squadron of cavalry; there had formerly been no cavalry companies; and as captains he appointed those of the Companions distinguished for valour.

[1] ἄρας δὲ ἐκ Σούσων καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Πασιτίγριν ποταμὸν ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὴν Οὐξίων γῆν. Οὐξίων δὲ οἱ μὲν τὰ πεδία οἰκοῦντες τοῦ τε σατράπου τῶν Περσῶν ἤκουον καὶ τότε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σφᾶς ἐνέδοσαν· οἱ δὲ ὄρειοι καλούμενοι Οὐξιοὶ Πέρσαις τε οὐχ ὑπήκοοι ἦσαν καὶ τότε πέμψαντες παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἄλλως παρήσειν ἔφασαν τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἰόντα ζὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἢ λαβεῖν, ὅσα καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇ παρόδῳ ἐλάμβανον. [2] καὶ τούτους ἀποπέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἥκειν κελεύσας ἐπὶ τὰ στενά, ὧν κρατοῦντες ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐδόκουν τὴν πάροδον εἶναι τὴν ἐς Πέρσας, ἵνα καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λάβοιεν τὰ τεταγμένα. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς σωματοφύλακας τοὺς βασιλικούς καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους τῆς νυκτὸς ἦει ἄλλην ἢ τὴν φανεράν ἡγησαμένων αὐτῷ τῶν Σουσίων. [3] καὶ διελθὼν ὁδὸν τραχεῖαν καὶ δύσπορον ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιπίπτει ταῖς κόμαις τῶν Οὐξίων, καὶ λείαν τε πολλὴν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτῶν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς ὄντων πολλοὺς κατέκτεινεν· οἱ δὲ ἀπέφυγον ἐς τὰ ὄρη. αὐτὸς δὲ ἦει σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰ στενά, ἵνα ἀπαντήσεσθαι οἱ Οὐξιοὶ πανδημεῖ ἐδόκουν ληψόμενοι τὰ τεταγμένα. [4] κρατερόν δὲ ἔτι πρόσθεν ἀπέστειλε τὰ ἄκρα καταληψόμενον, ἔνθα ᾤετο βιαζομένους τοὺς Οὐξίους ἀποχωρήσειν. αὐτὸς δὲ πολλῷ τάχει ἦει· καὶ φθάνει τε κρατήσας τῶν παρόδων καὶ ζυντεταγμένους τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων χωρίων ἐπῆγεν ὥς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους. [5] οἱ δὲ τῷ τε τάχει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις, οἷς μάλιστα δὴ ἐπεποιθήσαν, πλεονεκτούμενοι ἔφυγον οὐδὲ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρημνώδη οὖσαν· οἱ πλεῖστοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἀναφεύγοντες ἐμπίπτουσιν ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κρατερόν καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπώλοντο. [6] ταῦτα τὰ γέρα παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου λαβόντες χαλεπῶς εὗροντο δεόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν τὴν σφῶν ἔχοντες φόρους ὅσα ἔτη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀποφέρειν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου λέγει τὴν Δαρείου μητέρα δεηθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου δοῦναί σφισι τὴν χώραν οἰκεῖν. ὁ φόρος δὲ ὁ συνταχθεὶς ἦν ἵπποι ἐς ἑτὸς ἑκατὸν καὶ ὑποζύγια πεντακόσια καὶ πρόβατα τρισμύρια. χρήματα γὰρ οὐκ ἦν Οὐξίοις οὐδὲ ἡ γῆ οἷα ἐργάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νομεῖς αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ ἦσαν.

XVI. Leaving Susa and crossing the river Pasitigres, Alexander invaded the land of the Uxians. Of these some, who dwelt in the plain lands, had obeyed the Persian satrap, and now surrendered to Alexander; but the Uxian hillmen, as they are called, had not owned allegiance to Persia, and on this occasion sent to Alexander and stated that they would on no other terms permit him to pass that way towards the Persians with his army unless they should receive what they usually received from the Persian king whenever he made a progress that way. Alexander sent them away, bidding them come to the pass; which, while they held it, made them feel that the way through into Persia was in their hands, there to receive the accustomed payment from himself also. Then he, taking with him the royal bodyguards, and the other guards, and some eight thousand of the rest of the army, during the night marched by another than the obvious road, being guided by the Susians; then passing along a rough and difficult path in one day, he fell upon the Uxian

villages, captured a great deal of plunder, and slew many of them, being yet in their beds; the rest escaped to the hills. Then he marched swiftly to the pass where the Uxians were likely to oppose him in full force, in order to exact the customary toll. But he sent Craterus even further in advance, to seize the heights, whither he imagined the Uxians, if forced away, would retreat; but he himself came on at full speed and got first to the pass and held it, and with his men in due battle order he led them from a commanding position to attack the Uxians. They, however, astounded at Alexander's swiftness, and overmastered at the very position in which they had chiefly put their trust, fled without so much as coming to close quarters. Some of them were slain by Alexander's troops in the flight, and many also beside the road, which was precipitous. The greater number, however, escaped to the hills, where they encountered Craterus' force and were by this destroyed. These then were the "gifts" they received from Alexander; and it was only with difficulty that they obtained their request from him that they might retain their own territory and pay tributes to Alexander every year. Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, however, tells us that the mother of Dareius implored Alexander on their account to give them back their territory to dwell in. The tribute appointed was a hundred horses every year with five hundred transport animals and thirty thousand sheep. For the Uxians had no money nor arable land, but they were for the most part herdsmen.

[1] ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους τοὺς ξένους καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τοῦ στρατεύματος βαρύτερον ὥπλισμένοι ξὺν Παρμενίωνι ἐκπέμπει ὥς ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἄγειν κατὰ τὴν ἀμαξιτὸν τὴν ἐς Πέρσας φέρουσαν. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε Μακεδόνας τοὺς πεζοὺς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐταιρικὴν καὶ τοὺς προδρόμους ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἤει σπουδῇ τὴν διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν. ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τὰς Περσίδας ἀφίκετο, καταλαμβάνει αὐτοῦ Ἀριοβαρζάνην τὸν Περσῶν σατράπην πεζοὺς μὲν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους ἔχοντα, ἱππέας δὲ ἐς ἑπτακοσίους, διατετειχικότα τὰς πύλας καὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῇ τείχει ἐστρατοπεδευκότα, ὥς εἵργειν τῆς παρόδου Ἀλέξανδρον. τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο: [3] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ξυντάζας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆγε τῇ τείχει. ὥς δὲ ἄπορόν τε διὰ δυσχωρίαν ἐφαίνετο αἰρεθῆναι καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐλάμβανον ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τε χωρίου καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βαλλόμενοι, τότε μὲν ἀποχωρεῖ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον: [4] τῶν δὲ αἰχμαλώτων φρασάντων ἄλλην ὁδὸν περιάξειν αὐτόν, ὥς εἴσω παρελθεῖν τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπεὶ τραχεῖαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ στενὴν ἐπύθετο, Κρατερὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλείπει ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Μελεάγρου καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ὀλίγους καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐς πεντακοσίους, καὶ προστάττει αὐτῷ, [5] ἐπειδὴν ἐκπεριελυθότα αὐτὸν αἰσθήσεσθαι δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς, σημαίνει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰς σάλπιγγας, τότε δὲ προσβαλεῖν τῇ τείχει: αὐτὸς δὲ προὐχώρει νύκτωρ καὶ διελθὼν ὅσον ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀναλαμβάνει τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου τάξιν καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς κουφοτάτους καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τὴν ἴλην

τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ τετραρχίαν πρὸς ταύτη μίαν ἱππικὴν, καὶ ξὺν τούτοις ἦει ἐπικάμιντας ὥς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἵν' οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἦγον. [6] Ἀμύνταν δὲ καὶ Φιλώταν καὶ Κοῖνον τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον ἄγειν καὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ὃν ἔχρην περᾶσαι ἐόντα ἐπὶ Πέρσας, γεφυροῦν ἐκέλευσεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἦει ὁδὸν χαλεπὴν καὶ τραχεῖαν καὶ ταύτην δρόμῳ τὸν πολὺ ἦγε. τὴν μὲν δὴ πρώτην φυλακὴν τῶν βαρβάρων πρὶν φάους ἐπιπεσὼν διέφθειρε καὶ τῶν δευτέρων τοὺς πολλοὺς· [7] τῆς τρίτης δὲ οἱ πλείους διέφυγον, καὶ οὐδὲ οὗτοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἀριοβαρζάνου ἔφυγον, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν ὥς εἶχον ἐς τὰ ὄρη πεφοβημένοι, ὥστε ἔλαθεν ὑπὸ τὴν ἑὴ ἐπιπεσὼν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ἅμα μὲν προσέβαλλε τῇ τάφρῳ, ἅμα δὲ αἱ σάλπιγγες ἐσήμαινον τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν, καὶ Κρατερὸς προσῆγε τῷ προτειχίσματι. [8] οἱ πολέμιοι δὲ πάντοθεν ἀμφίβολοι γινόμενοι οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν γὰρ εἵργοντο, τῇ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπικειμένου, ἄλλῃ δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν παραθεόντων, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ τεῖχη ἀποστρέψαντες φεύγειν· εἶχετο δὲ καὶ τὰ τεῖχη πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἥδη. [9] Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὅπερ ξυνέβη ὑποτοπῆσας Πτολεμαῖον ἀπολελοιπεί αὐτοῦ, ἔχοντα τῶν πεζῶν ἐς τρισχιλίους, ὥστε οἱ μὲν πλείστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν χερσὶ πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ φοβερὰ γενομένη κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ρίψαντες ἀπώλοντο· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνης ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσιν ἐς τὰ ὄρη ἀπέφυγεν. [10] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σπουδῇ αὐθις ἦγεν ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ταμὸν καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἥδη πεποιημένην ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γέφυραν καὶ διαβαίνει ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ εὐπετῶς. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ αὐθις σπουδῇ ἤλαυνεν ἐς Πέρσας, ὥστε ἔφθῃ ἀφικέσθαι πρὶν τὰ χρήματα διαρπάσασθαι τοὺς φύλακας. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Πασαργάδαις χρήματα ἐν τοῖς Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου θησαυροῖς. [11] σατράπην μὲν δὴ Περσῶν κατέστησε Φρασαόρτην τὸν Ῥεομίθρου παῖδα· τὰ βασιλεία δὲ τὰ Περσικὰ ἐνέπρησε, Παρμενίωνος σώζειν συμβουλευόντος, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι οὐ καλὸν αὐτοῦ κτήματα ἥδη ἀπολλύναι καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ὡσαύτως προσέξουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἄνθρωποι, ὥς οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἐγνωκότι κατέχειν τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ ἐπελθεῖν μόνον νικῶντα. [12] ὁ δὲ τιμωρήσασθαι ἐθέλειν Πέρσας ἔφασκεν ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλάσαντες τὰς τε Ἀθήνας κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κακὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰργάσαντο, ὑπὲρ τούτων δίκας λαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ σὺν νῷ δρᾶσαι τοῦτο γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδὲ εἶναι τις αὕτη Περσῶν τῶν πάλοι τιμωρία.

XVII. After this, Alexander sent off the baggage trains, the Thessalian cavalry, the allies, the mercenaries, and all the other heavier-armed troops of his army with Parmenio, to lead them against the Persians by the main road which leads into their country. He himself took with him the Macedonian foot, the Companions' cavalry, the mounted scouts, the Agrianes and the archers, and marched at full speed through the hills. When he arrived at the Persian Gates he found there Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Persia, (Persia here = the Province of Persia.) with not less than forty thousand infantry and seven hundred horse, having already built a wall across the Gates and encamped there by the wall, to bar Alexander's progress.

For the time being Alexander encamped there, but next day he marshalled his troops and led them to the assault of the wall. But as it appeared to be difficult to attack by reason of the awkwardness of the ground, and as his troops were suffering much damage, being assailed by volleys from commanding heights and even from catapults, he for the moment fell back on his camp. His prisoners, however, undertook to lead him round by a different road, so that he could make his way within the gates; but gathering from enquiry that this road was rough and narrow he left Craterus there in charge of the camp with his own brigade and Meleager's, a few of the archers, and about five hundred horse, bidding him, so soon as he should perceive that he himself had managed to get right round and was nearing the Persian camp (of this Craterus would easily be aware, for the buglers would signal it to him), to fall upon the Persian wall. So he advanced by night, and after traversing some hundred stades, brought up the bodyguard, with Perdikkas' brigade, the lightest armed of the archers, the Agrianes, the royal squadron of the Companions, and over and above this one double squadron of cavalry, and with them made a turning movement towards the gates, by the way in which the prisoners guided him. Amyntas, meanwhile, and Philotas and Coenus he had instructed to march the remainder of the army towards the plain, and to bridge the river which he must cross to enter Persia; but he himself traversed a difficult and rough path, and yet for the most part took it at full speed. He fell upon the first Persian guard before dawn, and destroyed both this and the greater part of the second; most of the third fled, yet not even these fled to Ariobarzanes' camp, but ran in terror from the spot just as they were to the hills; so that quite unobserved, just at dawn, he assaulted the enemy's camp. At the same moment as he attacked the trench, the bugles sounded, notifying Craterus' troops, and Craterus assaulted the wall. So the enemy, caught on all sides, never so much as came to blows, but fled; even so they were hemmed in on all sides; Alexander was pressing hard upon them here, Craterus' troops were hastening up there, so that the greater number of the Persians were forced to turn back to the walls and seek escape there. But by this time the walls themselves were in Macedonian hands. For Alexander had expected to happen just that which did happen; and so had left Ptolemy there with some three thousand infantry, so that the greatest part of the Persians were cut down by the Macedonians at close quarters. Even those who were attempting flight, and the flight had become a panic, threw themselves over the cliffs and perished; but Ariobarzanes himself with a handful of horsemen escaped to the hills.

Alexander once more at full speed led on towards the river; and he found there the bridge already made, and crossed without difficulty with his host. Thence once more at full speed he hurried on towards the Persians and arrived there before the garrison had plundered the treasure. He captured also the treasure which had been at Pagarsadae in the treasury of Cyrus the First. As satrap of Persepolis he appointed Phrasaortes the son of Rheomithras. The

Persian palace he set on fire; though Parmenio urged him to save it, arguing, among other things, that it was not seemly to destroy what was now his own property, and that the Asians would not thus be induced to join him, if he seemed determined not to hold fast the sovereignty of Asia, but merely to pass through it in triumph. Alexander, on the contrary, replied that he proposed to punish the Persians in recompense for what they had done in their invasion of Greece; for their wrecking of Athens, their burning of the temples, and for all the other cruel things they had done to the Greeks; for these, he said, he took vengeance. Yet I do not myself think that Alexander was politic in doing this; nor can I regard it as any retribution upon the Persians of earlier days.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραζάμενος προὔχῳρει ἐπὶ Μηδίας: ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι Δαρεῖον. γνώμην δὲ πεποιήτο Δαρεῖος, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ Σούσων καὶ Βαβυλῶνος μένοι Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτοῦ προσμένειν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Μήδοις, εἰ δὴ τι νεωτερισθεῖη τῶν ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον: εἰ δ' ἐλαύνει ἐπ' αὐτόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄνω ἰέναι τὴν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Ὑρκανίαν ἔστε ἐπὶ Βάκτρα, τὴν τε χώραν φθείρων πᾶσαν καὶ ἄπορον ποιῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν πρόσω ὁδόν. [2] τὰς μὲν δὴ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ἔτι ἄμφ' αὐτόν κατασκευὴν καὶ τὰς ἄρμαμάζας ἐπὶ τὰς Κασπίας καλουμένας πύλας: πέμπει, αὐτὸς δὲ ζὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἥτις ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ξυνεῖλεκτο αὐτῷ, προσέμενεν ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις. ταῦτα ἀκούων Ἀλέξανδρος προὔχῳρει ἐπὶ Μηδίας. καὶ Παραιτάκας μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐμβάλων κατεστρέψατο καὶ σατραπεύειν ἔταξεν αὐτῶν Ὀξ[ο]θήρην τὸν Ἀβουλίτου τοῦ [πρότερον] Σούσων σατράπου παῖδα. αὐτὸς ἀπαντᾷ τε κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, [3] ὅτι ἐγνωκῶς εἶη Δαρεῖος ἀπαντᾷ τε αὐτῷ ὥς ἐς μάχην καὶ αὐθις διακινδυνεύειν, Σκύθας τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἦκειν καὶ Καδουσίους συμμάχους, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια καὶ τοὺς τούτων φύλακας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἔπεσθαι ἐκέλευσε, τὴν στρατιὰν δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἀναλαβὼν ἤγεν ἐσταλμένους ὥς ἐς μάχην. καὶ ἀφικνεῖται δωδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς Μηδίαν. [4] ἔνθα ἔμαθεν οὐκ οὔσαν ἀξιόμαχον δύναμιν Δαρεῖω οὐδὲ Καδουσίους ἢ Σκύθας αὐτῷ συμμάχους ἦκοντας, ἀλλ' ὅτι φεύγειν ἐγνωκῶς εἶη Δαρεῖος: ὁ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἤγε σπουδῇ. ὥς δὲ ἀπείχεν Ἐκβατάνων ὅσον τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντα αὐτῷ Βισθάνης ὁ Ὀχου παῖς τοῦ πρὸ Δαρείου βασιλεύσαντος Περσῶν: [5] καὶ οὗτος ἀπήγγειλεν, ὅτι Δαρεῖος ἐς πέμπτην ἡμέραν εἶη πεφευγὼς ἔχων τὰ τε χρήματα τὰ ἐκ Μήδων ἐς ἑπτακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ στρατιὰν ἱππέας μὲν ἐς τρισχιλίους, πεζοὺς δὲ ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς μὲν Θετταλοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμμάχους ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, τὸν τε μισθὸν ἀποδοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐντελῇ τὸν ξυντεταγμένον καὶ δισχίλια παρ' αὐτοῦ τάλαντα ἐπιδούς: [6] ὅστις δὲ ἰδία βούλοιο ἔτι μισθοφορεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ, ἀπογράφεσθαι ἐκέλευσε: καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἀπογραφάμενοι οὐκ ὀλίγοι. Ἐπόκιλλον δὲ τὸν Πολυειδοῦς ἔταξε καταγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἱππέας ἄλλους ἔχοντα ἐς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν: οἱ γὰρ Θεσσαλοὶ τοὺς ἵππους αὐτοῦ ἀπέδοντο. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Μένητι, ἐπειδὴν ἀφίκωνται ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως ἐπὶ τριήρων κομισθῇσονται ἐς Εὐβοίαν. [7] Παρμενίωνα δὲ προσέταξε τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐκ Περσῶν κομιζόμενα εἰς τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις καταθέσθαι καὶ Ἀρπάλῳ παραδοῦναι:

Ἄρπαλον γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπέλιπε καὶ φυλακὴν τῶν χρημάτων Μακεδόνας ἐς ἐξακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας καὶ ψιλοὺς ὀλίγους· αὐτὸν δὲ Παρμενίωνα τοὺς ξένους ἀναλαβόντα καὶ τοὺς Θρᾶκας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἱππεῖς ἔξω τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς παρὰ τὴν χώραν τὴν Καδουσίων ἐλαύνειν ἐς Ὑρκανίαν, [8] Κλείτω δὲ τῷ τῆς βασιλικῆς ὕλης ἡγεμόνι ἐπέστειλεν, ἐπειδὴν ἐκ Σούσων εἰς Ἐκβάτανα ἀφίκηται, κατελέλειπτο γὰρ ἐν Σούσοις ἀρρωστῶν, ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς Μακεδόνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων τότε ὑπολειφθέντας ἶναί τὴν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἤξῃεν ἔμελλεν.

XVIII. After this success Alexander marched towards Media, for he had learnt that Dareius was there. Dareius had determined, if Alexander should remain at Susa and Babylon, to wait there himself also, in Media, in case there should be some new move of Alexander's. But should Alexander march straight against him, he proposed to go inland towards the Parthyaecans and Hyrcania, as far as Bactra, ravaging all the country and making any further progress impossible to Alexander. The women and all the belongings he had still with him and the closed waggons he sent to what are called the Caspian gates; then he, with the force he had collected from what he had left, waited in Ecbatana. Alexander, learning this, also advanced towards Media, and subdued the Paraetacae, invading their territory, and appointed satrap over them Oxathres son of Abulites, the [former] satrap of Susa. Then he himself, learning on the road that Dareius had decided to give battle to him and fight it out again — for he had had an accession of Scythians and Cadusians as allies — bade the baggage trains and their keepers and all the rest of the stores to follow; and taking the rest of the army he led them marshalled for battle. On the twelfth day he reached Media. There he learned that Dareius' force was not worth fighting with and that the Cadusians and Scythians had not arrived to help him, but that Dareius had resolved on flight. On this Alexander led on all the more rapidly. But when he was about three days' journey from Ecbatana there came to meet him Bistanes son of Ochus, the predecessor of Dareius as King of Persia; and he reported that Dareius had fled five days back, with his treasure from Media of seven thousand talents and a cavalry force of three thousand and infantry about six thousand.

Arriving at Ecbatana, Alexander sent back to the sea the Thessalian cavalry and the rest of the allies, paying each the agreed pay in full, and himself making a largess of two thousand talents; but anyone who would continue to serve him for pay on his own account he ordered to be enlisted, and a great number were so enrolled. He appointed Epocillus son of Polyeides to lead the remainder seaward, with cavalry besides to guard them, for the Thessalians had sold their horses on the spot. He instructed Menes also, so soon as they should reach the coast, to see to their being embarked on transports for Euboea. Parmenio also he ordered to convoy the Persian treasure to the citadel in Ecbatana and hand it over to Harpalus; for he had left Harpalus in charge of the treasure, and with him as guard over the treasure some six thousand Macedonians, with cavalry and a few light auxiliaries; Parmenio himself he

instructed to take the mercenaries and the Thracians and any other cavalry besides the territorial cavalry through the land of the Cadusians and march into Hyrcania. Cleitus also, the commander of the royal squadron, he ordered, so soon as he should reach Ecbatana from Susa — for he had been left at Susa sick — to take the Macedonians who had been left to guard the treasure and go towards the Parthaeans, where he himself also proposed to go.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τε ἵππον τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ τοὺς προδρόμους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἱππέας, ὧν Ἐριγύϊος ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τὴν Μακεδονικὴν ἔξω τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι ταχθέντων καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἤλαυνεν ὡς ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον. καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπουδῇ γιγνομένην τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν πολλοὶ κάμνοντες ὑπελείποντο καὶ ἵπποι ἀπέθνησκον: [2] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἦγε, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ῥάγας ἑνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. διέχει δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν Κασπίων πυλῶν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἐλαύνοντι ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦγε. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐφθάκει ἤδη παρεληλυθὼς εἰς τὴν πυλῶν τῶν Κασπίων. τῶν δὲ συμφευγόντων Δαρεῖω πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπολιπόντες αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ἀπεχώρουν, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σφᾶς ἐνεδίδουσιν. [3] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀπέγνω κατὰ πόδας αἰρήσειν Δαρεῖον, μείνας αὐτοῦ πέντε ἡμέρας καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὸν στρατὸν Μηδίας μὲν σατράπην ἀπέδειξεν Ὁξυδάτην Πέρσῃ ἄνδρᾳ, ὃς ἐτύγγανε πρὸς Δαρεῖον ξυνειλημμένος καὶ ἐν Σούσοις εἰργόμενος: τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἐς πίστιν ἦν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον: αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους ἦγε. [4] καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ πρὸς ταῖς Κασπίαις πύλαις ἐστρατοπέδευσε, τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ εἰς τὴν παρῆλθε τῶν πυλῶν ἔστε οἰκούμενα ἦν. ἐπισιτισάμενος δὲ αὐτόθεν, ὅτι ἔρημον τὴν πρόσω χώραν ἤκουεν, ἐς προνομὴν ἐκπέμπει Κοῖνον ξὺν ἵππευσί τε καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ὀλίγοις.

XIX. Alexander then taking the Companions' cavalry and the mounted scouts and the mercenary horse under Erigyius, and the Macedonian phalanx, save those detailed to guard the treasure, and the archers and the Agrianes, began his march against Dareius; and by reason of the speed of his march many of his troops were left behind, worn out, and many horses died; but Alexander went on undeterred, and reached Rhagae in eleven days. This territory is one day's journey from the Caspian gates for anyone marching as Alexander did. Dareius, however, had contrived to pass already within the Caspian gates. Of those who shared his flight, many had deserted him during the flight, and had gone away to their homes, and a good number had surrendered to Alexander. Seeing, however, that he should not now catch Dareius by hot pursuit, Alexander remained there five days and rested his force; he appointed Oxodates satrap of Media, a Persian who had been arrested by Dareius and imprisoned at Susa; this caused Alexander to rely upon him. Alexander then marched towards the Parthaeans, and the first day he encamped by the Caspian gates, but on the second he passed within the gates as far as the district was inhabited. Then in order to get provisions thence, since he heard that the country beyond was desert, he sent Coenus to forage with the cavalry and a few foot-soldiers.

[1] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀφικνεῖται παρ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαρεῖου στρατοπέδου

Βαγιστάνης Βαβυλώνιος ἀνὴρ τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ ξὺν τούτῳ Ἀντίβηλος τῶν Μαζαίου παίδων. οὗτοι ἀπήγγειλαν ὅτι Ναβαρζάνης τε, χιλιάρχης τῶν ξὺν Δαρεῖῳ φευγόντων ἱππέων, καὶ Βῆσσος ὁ Βακτρίων σατράπης καὶ Βαρσαέντης ὁ Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ Δραγγῶν σατράπης ξυνηλιφότες εἶεν Δαρεῖον. [2] ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἤγε σπουδῇ, τοὺς ἐταίρους μόνους ἔχων ἄμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς προδρόμους ἱππέας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς εὐρωστοτάτους τε καὶ κουφοτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄμφι Κοῖνον προσμείνας ἐκ τῆς προνομῆς ἐπανελθεῖν. τοῖς δὲ ὑπολειπομένοις ἐπιστήσας Κρατερόν προστάττει ἔπεσθαι μὴ μακρὰς ὁδοὺς ἡμερῶν σιτία. [3] ἐλθὼν δὲ τὴν τε νύκτα μόνον καὶ δύο ἡμερῶν σιτία. ἐλθὼν δὲ τὴν τε νύκτα ὅλην καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας μέχρι μεσημβρίας ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναπαύσας τὸν στρατὸν αὐθις ἦε ὅλην νύκτα, καὶ ἅμα ἡμέρα ὑποφαινούσῃ παρῆν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅθεν ἀφωρμῆκει ὀπίσω Βαγιστάνης. [4] καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους οὐ κατέλαβε, Δαρεῖου δὲ περὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτὸν μὲν συνειλημμένον ἄγεσθαι ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης, Βῆσσω δὲ ἀντὶ Δαρεῖου εἶναι τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡγεμόνα ὠνομάσθαι Βῆσσον πρὸς τε τῶν Βακτρίων ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι βάρβαροι ξυνέφευγον Δαρεῖῳ, πλὴν Ἀρταβάζου καὶ τῶν Ἀρταβάζου παίδων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μισθοφόρων: τούτους δὲ πιστοὺς εἶναι Δαρεῖῳ, καὶ εἶργειν μὲν τὰ γινόμενα οὐ δυνατοὺς εἶναι, ἐκτραπέντας δὲ ἔξω τῆς λεωφόρου ὁδοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἰέναι κατὰ σφᾶς, οὐ μετέχοντας τοῖς ἄμφι Βῆσσον τοῦ ἔργου. γνώμην δὲ πεποιῆσθαι τοὺς ξυλλαβόντας Δαρεῖον, [5] εἰ μὲν διώκοντα σφᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον πυνθάνοιντο, παραδοῦναι Δαρεῖον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ σφίσι τι ἀγαθὸν εὐρίσκεσθαι: εἰ δὲ τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἐπανεληλυθότα μάθοιεν, τοὺς δὲ στρατιάν τε ξυλλέγειν ὅσῃν πλείστην δύναιντο καὶ διασώζειν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν τὴν ἀρχήν. Βῆσσον δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐξηγεῖσθαι κατ' οἰκειότητά τε τὴν Δαρεῖου καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ σατραπείᾳ τὸ ἔργον ἐγίνετο. [6] ταῦτα ἀκούσαντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀνὰ κράτος διωκτέα ἐφαίνετο. καὶ ἤδη μὲν ἐξέκαμνον οἱ τε ἄνδρες καὶ οἱ ἵπποι ὑπὸ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ τῇ ξυνεχεῖ: ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἦγε, καὶ διελθὼν ὁδὸν πολλὴν τῆς τε νυκτὸς καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἡμέρας ἔστε ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τινα κώμην, ἵνα τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἐστρατοπεδεύκεσαν οἱ Δαρεῖον ἄγοντες. [7] ἐνταῦθα ἀκούσας ὅτι νυκτὸς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν ἐγνωσμένον εἶη τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἤλεγχε τοὺς προσχώρους, εἰ δὴ τινα εἶδεῖεν ἐπιτομωτέραν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας. οἱ δὲ εἰδέναι μὲν ἔφασαν, ἐρήμην δὲ εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἀνυδρίαν. ὁ δὲ ταύτην ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε: καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι οὐχ ἔψονται οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ σπουδῇ ἐλαύνοντι τῶν μὲν ἱππέων ἐς πεντακοσίους κατεβίβασεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας δὲ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιλεξάμενος τοὺς κρατιστεῦνοντας ἐπιβῆναι τῶν ἵππων ἐκέλευσεν οὕτως ὅπως οἱ πεζοὶ ὠπλισμένοι ἦσαν. [8] Νικάνορα δὲ τὸν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἡγεμόνα καὶ Ἄτταλον τὸν τῶν Ἀγριάνων κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἦντινα οἱ ἄμφι Βῆσσον προῦκεχωρήκεσαν, τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τούτους ὡς κουφότατα ἐσταλμένους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πεζοὺς ἐν τάξει ἔπεσθαι. [9] αὐτὸς δὲ ἄμφι δειλὴν ἄγειν ἀρξάμενος δρόμῳ ἠγεῖτο: διελθὼν δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς σταδίους ἐς τετρακοσίους ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀτάκτως ἰοῦσι καὶ ἀνόπλοις, ὥστε ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες αὐτῶν ὡς ἀμυνόμενοι ὥρμησαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ εὐθὺς ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν

κατεῖδον οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἔφευγον· καὶ οἱ τραπέντες ἐς ἄλκην ὀλίγων πεσόντων καὶ οὗτοι ἔφυγον. [10] Βῆσσοι δὲ καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ τέως μὲν ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης Δαρεῖον μετὰ σφῶν ἐκόμιζον· ὥς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, Δαρεῖον μὲν Σατιβαρζάνης καὶ Βαρσαέντης κατατρώσαντες αὐτοῦ ἀπέλιπον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔφυγον φὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἀποθνήσκει ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων πρὶν ὀφθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

XX. Meanwhile there arrived to visit him one Bagistanes from Dareius' camp, a Babylonian and a noble, and with him Antibelus, one of Mazaeus' sons. They reported that Nabarzanes, commander of the cavalry which had shared Dareius' flight, and Bessus satrap of Bactria and Barsaentes satrap of the Arachotians and the Drangians, had arrested Dareius. On learning this Alexander pressed on faster than ever, with only the Companions, the mounted scouts, and the strongest and lightest of the infantry, carefully selected, and he did not await even Coenus and his men to return from their foraging. He posted Craterus to command those left behind and ordered him to follow, but not by forced marches. His own men had nothing but their arms and two days' rations.

Travelling all night and the next day till noon, he rested his troops a short time and then again hurried on all night, and at dawn he reached the camp, whence Bagistanes had come. But he did not catch the enemy; about Dareius he learnt that he had indeed been arrested and was being carried in a closed waggon, and that Bessus had been given the sovereignty in place of Dareius and had been saluted as leader by the Bactrian cavalry and the other Persians who had fled with Dareius, save Artabazus and his sons and the Greek mercenaries. These, he learnt, remained faithful to Dareius, but being unable to prevent what had occurred had turned off the main road and were making for the hills by themselves, refusing to participate in the action of Bessus and his followers. Those who had seized Dareius had decided that if they should learn that Alexander was pursuing them they would give up Dareius to Alexander and make good terms for themselves. Should they learn that Alexander had turned back they would collect as large an army as they could and join in preserving their empire. Bessus was in command for the time being both from his relationship to Dareius and because this event took place in his satrapy.

Learning this, Alexander decided that he must pursue with the utmost vigour. Already his men and horses were growing utterly wearied beneath this continued exertion; none the less, Alexander pressed on, and accomplishing a great distance during the night and the following day till noon, he arrived at a village where the day before Dareius' conductors had bivouacked. Hearing there that the Persians had determined to continue their journey by night, he enquired of the inhabitants whether they knew of any shorter way to take him to the fugitives. They replied that they did; but that the road was desolate, having no water. But he bade them lead on by this road, and seeing that his infantry would not keep up with him if he pushed on at full speed, he

dismounted some five hundred horsemen, and selecting from the officers of the infantry and the rest those whose strength was best maintained, he bade them mount the horses, carrying their usual infantry arms. Nicanor the commander of the bodyguard, and Attalus commander of the Agrianes, he ordered to lead those who were left behind along the road by which Bessus and his party had already proceeded; these were to travel in the lightest possible order, and the rest of the infantry was to follow in ordinary formation. Alexander then himself started off at dusk, and led on his troops at full speed; during the night he traversed some four hundred stades, and just at dawn came upon the Persians marching at ease and without arms, so that only a few of them turned to hinder his passage, but the greater part, as soon as ever they saw Alexander himself, not waiting to come to close quarters, took to flight; those who turned to make a fight of it, on losing a few of their number, also fled. Bessus and his immediate followers for a time took Dareius with them in the closed waggon; but when Alexander was now right upon them, Nabarzanes and Barsaentes wounded him and left him where he was, themselves escaping with six hundred horsemen. Dareius died of his wound soon after, and before Alexander had seen him.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Δαρείου ἐς Πέρσας ἀπέπεμψε, θάψαι κελεύσας ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ πρὸ Δαρείου βασιλεῖς· σατράπην δὲ ἀπέδειξε Παρθυαίων καὶ Ὑρκανίων Ἀμμινάπην Παρθυαῖον· ἦν δὲ οὗτος τῶν Αἴγυπτον ἐνδόντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ Μαζάκου. Τληπόλεμος δὲ Πυθοφάνους τῶν ἐταίρων ζυνετάχθη αὐτῷ σκοπεῖν τὰ ἐν Παρθυαίοις τε καὶ Ὑρκανίοις. [2] τοῦτο τὸ τέλος Δαρεῖω ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίους Ἀριστοφώντος μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ἀνδρὶ τὰ μὲν πολέμια, εἴπερ τινὶ ἄλλῳ, μαλθακῷ τε καὶ οὐ φρενήρει, εἰς δὲ τὰλλα οὐδὲν ἀνεπιεικὲς ἔργον ἀποδειξαμένῳ ἢ οὐδὲ ἐγγενόμενον αὐτῷ ἀποδειξασθαι, ὅτι ὁμοῦ μὲν ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθεῖν, ὁμοῦ δὲ προσπολεμῆσθαι πρὸς τε Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ζυνέβη. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ ἐθέλοντι ἐξῆν ἔτι ὑβρίζειν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ ἥπερ ἐκεῖνοι καθεστηκότι. [3] ζῶντι μὲν δὴ ξυμποραὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλαι ἐπ' ἄλλαις ζυνηνέχθησαν, οὐδέ τις ἀνακωχὴ ἐγένετο ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρῆλθεν· ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς μὲν τὸ τῶν σατραπῶν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ πταῖσμα ζυνέβη τὸ ἱππικόν, εὐθὺς δὲ Ἰωνία τε καὶ Αἰολίς εἶχοντο καὶ Φρύγες ἀμφοτέρω καὶ Λυδία καὶ Κᾶρες πλὴν Ἀλικαρνασσέων· [4] ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσὸς ἐξήρητο, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ παραλία πᾶσα ἔσπε ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν· ἔνθεν δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ ἐπ' Ἰσσοῦ ἦσσε, ἵνα τὴν τε μητέρα αἰχμαλωτισθεῖσαν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέιδεν· ἐπὶ τῷδε Φοινίκη τε ἀπώλετο καὶ Αἴγυπτος πάσα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀρβήλοισι ἔφυγέ τε ἐν πρώτοις αἰσχροῶς καὶ στρατιὰν πλείστην παντὸς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ γένους ἀπώλεσε· [5] φυγὰς τε ἐκ τούτου τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς πλανώμενος καὶ τελευτῶν πρὸς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα προδοθεὶς, βασιλεύς τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ δεσμώτης ζὼν ἀτιμία ἀγόμενος, τέλος δὲ πρὸς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀπώλετο. [6] ζῶντι μὲν Δαρεῖω τοιαῦτα ζυνηνέχθη, τελευτήσαντι δὲ ταφὴ τε ἡ βασιλικὴ καὶ τῶν παίδων ὁποῖα καὶ βασιλεύοντος αὐτοῦ τροφὴ τε παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ παιδευσις, καὶ

γαμβρὸς Ἀλέξανδρος. ὁπότε δὲ ἐτελεύτα, ἐγγόνει ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη.

XXI. Alexander sent Dareius' body to Persepolis, ordering it to be buried in the royal tomb, as were the other kings before Dareius. He appointed as satrap of the Parthyaecans and Hyreanians, Amminaspes, a Parthyaean; he was one of those who, with Mazacus, had surrendered Egypt to Alexander. Tlepolemus son of Pythophanes, one of the Companions, was appointed overseer of Parthyaecaea and Hyrcania.

Thus died Dareius, when Aristophon was archon at Athens and in the month Hecatombaeon. (330 B.C., July.) He was a man above all weak and incapable in warfare; but in other regards he had given proof of no harsh act, or perhaps had no chance to do so, since the moment of his accession was also the moment of the declaration of war by Macedon and Greece. Even had he desired, therefore, he had no chance to play the tyrant over his subjects, being set in the midst of greater dangers than they. His life was one series of disasters, nor, from his accession, had he any respite; at once there befell the cavalry disaster of his satraps on the Granicus, and then at once Ionia and Aeolis were in the enemy's hands, with Greater and Lesser Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria save Halicarnassus; soon followed the capture of Halicarnassus, and over and above all the coast-line as far as Cilicia. Next came his defeat at Issus, where he beheld his mother made captive with his wife and children; then Phoenicia and all Egypt was lost; and then again followed his own flight at Arbela, a shameful flight among the foremost, and his loss of the greatest host of all the Persian Empire; and now a fugitive from his own kingdom, and a vagabond, at last he was betrayed by his own guards to the worst of fates, both king and prisoner, hurried off with every mark of shame and finally perishing by conspiracy of those who were most bound in duty to him. These were the tragedies of Dareius' life. His lot in death was the royal tomb, his children nurtured and educated by Alexander as if he were still on the throne, and Alexander for his daughter's bridegroom. At his death he had reached about fifty years of age.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ διώξει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἐς Ὑρκανίαν προῦχώρει. κεῖται δὲ ἡ Ὑρκανία χώρα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ Βάκτρα φερούσης· καὶ τῇ μὲν ὁρεσιν ἀπείργεται δασέσι καὶ ὑψηλοῖς, τὸ πεδῖον δὲ αὐτῆς καθήκει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ταύτη θάλασσαν. ταύτην δὲ ἦγεν, ὅτι ταύτη τοὺς ξένους τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δαρεῖον διαπεφευγέναι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ταπύρων ὄρη ἐπύθετο καὶ αὐτοὺς ἅμα τοὺς Ταπούρους χειρωσόμενος. [2] τριχῇ δὴ διελὼν τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν ἐπιτομωτάτην καὶ χαλεπωτάτην ἡγήσατο, τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ ἅμα τὸ κουφότατον τῆς δυνάμεως ἄγων· κρατερὸν δὲ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὖς, καὶ ὀλίγους τῶν ἱππέων ἐπὶ Ταπύρων ἔστειλεν· Ἐριγυῖον δὲ τοὺς τε ξένους καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἵππον ἀναλαβόντα τὴν λεωφόρον τε καὶ μακροτέραν ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε, τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄμιλον ἄγοντα. [3] ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὰ πρῶτα ὄρη καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας αὐτοῦ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς κουφοτάτους καὶ τῶν

τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὗς ἤει χαλεπὴν ὁδὸν καὶ δύσπορον, φύλακας τῶν ὁδῶν καταλιπὼν, ἵνα σφαλερόν τι αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, ὥς μὴ τοῖς ἐπομένοις κατ' ἐκεῖνα ἐπιθοῖντο οἱ τὰ ὄρη ἔχοντες τῶν βαρβάρων. [4] αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν τοξοτῶν διελθὼν τὰ στενὰ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς ποταμῷ οὐ μεγάλῳ. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὄντος αὐτοῦ Ναβαρζάνης τε ὁ Δαρείου χιλιάρχης καὶ Φραταφέρνης ὁ Ὑρκανίας τε καὶ Παρθυαίων σατράπης καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἀμφὶ Δαρεῖον Περσῶν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι ἀφικόμενοι παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτοῦς. [5] ὑπομείνας δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ἀνέλαβε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀσφαλῶς διελθόντας, τοῖς δὲ Ἀγριαῖσιν ὀπισθοφυλακοῦσιν ἐπέθεντο οἱ ὄρειοι τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ μείον ἔχοντες τῷ ἀκροβολισμῷ ἀπηλλάγησαν. [6] ἄρας δὲ ἐντεῦθεν προῆει ὥς ἐφ' Ὑρκανίαν εἰς Ζαδράκαρτα πόλιν Ὑρκανίων. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ περὶ Κρατερὸν ξυνέμιζαν αὐτῷ, τοῖς μὲν ξένοις τοῖς Δαρείου οὐκ ἐντετυχηκότες, τὴν χώραν δὲ ὅσῃν διαπεπορευμένοι ἦσαν τὴν μὲν βία, τὴν δὲ ἐνδιδόντων τῶν κατοικούντων προσπεποιημένοι. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐριγύϊος ἦκε σὺν τοῖς σκευοφόροις καὶ ταῖς ἀμάξαις. [7] ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον Ἀρτάβαζος ἀφίκετο παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ Κωφὴν καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης καὶ Ἀρσάμης καὶ ξὺν τούτοις παρὰ τῶν ξένων τῶν ξὺν Δαρείῳ πρέσβεις καὶ Αὐτοφραδάτης ὁ Ταπούρων σατράπης. Αὐτοφραδάτῃ μὲν δὴ τὴν σατραπείαν ἀπέδωκεν, Ἀρτάβαζον δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἅμα οἱ ἐν τιμῇ ἦγε, τά τε ἄλλα ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις Περσῶν ὄντας καὶ τῆς ἐς Δαρεῖον πίστεως ἔνεκα. [8] τοῖς πρέσβεσι δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεομένοις σπείσασθαι σφισιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ξενικοῦ ἀπεκρίνατο ὁμολογίαν μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν· ἀδικεῖν γὰρ μεγάλα τοὺς στρατευομένους ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις παρὰ τὰ δόγματα τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἐκέλευσε δὲ ἡκεῖν ξύμπαντας καὶ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέποντας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χρῆσθαι ὃ τι βούλοιο, ἢ σώζεσθαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο. [9] οἱ δὲ ἐπιτρέπουν ἔφασαν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· ξυμπέμπειν τε ἐκέλευον τὸν ἡγησόμενον αὐτοῖς, ὥς ἀσφαλῶς διακομισθεῖεν παρ' αὐτόν· εἶναι δὲ ἐλέγοντο ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος πέμπει Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Ἀγέρρου καὶ Ἀρτάβαζον παρ' αὐτοὺς.

XXII. Alexander, taking over those of his force who had been left behind in the pursuit, advanced into Hyrcania. This country lies on the left of the road leading to Bactria; on the one hand it is bounded by high and wooded mountains, but the plain land in it stretches to the Great Sea which lies this way. (The Caspian) Alexander marched in this direction because he found out that the mercenaries who had been with Dareius had escaped this way to the Tapurian hills; besides, he intended also to subdue the Tapurians themselves. He divided his army into three parts, and himself led on by the shortest and hardest road with the greater part, and the lightest armed also, of his force; but Craterus with his own brigade and that of Amyntas, some of the archers, and a few horsemen, he sent against the Tapurians. Erigyus, on the other hand, he ordered to take the mercenaries and the rest of the cavalry and bring them along the highroad, which was longer, convoying the waggons, the baggage trains, and the rest of the host.

After he had crossed the first hills and had encamped there, Alexander took the bodyguard and the lightest armed of the Macedonian phalanx and some of the archers, and marched along a rough and difficult road, leaving behind troops to guard the roads where he thought there was danger, so that the enemy who held the heights might not at any such spot attack those who were coming after. He himself with the archers crossed the pass and camped in the plain by a small river. While he was there, Nabarzanes, Dareius' cavalry general, and Phrataphernes the satrap of Hyrcania and Parthya and other most highly placed Persian officers of Dareius, came and gave themselves up. After waiting four days in the camp, he picked up those who had been left behind on the march, most of whom crossed with safety; the native hillmen, however, had attacked the Agriani, who were the rearguard, but getting the worst of a long range skirmish withdrew.

Moving thence Alexander advanced towards Hyrcania to Zadracarta, a city of the Hyrcanians. Meanwhile Craterus and his troops had joined him; they had not fallen in with Dareius' mercenaries, but they had, partly by force and partly by the surrender of the natives, taken over all such territory as they had traversed. There also Erigyus arrived with the baggage trains and the waggons. Soon after, Artabazus came to join Alexander, and of his sons Cophen and Ariobarzanes and Arsames' and with them envoys from the mercenaries who had been with Dareius and Autophradates, satrap of the Tapurians. To Autophradates Alexander handed over the satrapy; but Artabazus and his sons he kept by him in honourable positions, especially as they were among the highest of the Persians and because of their loyalty towards Dareius. To the envoys of the Greeks, however, who begged him to grant them terms for the whole mercenary force, he replied that he would make no compact with them whatever; those who fought with foreigners against Greeks were doing grievous wrong, and flying in the face of Greek traditions. But he bade them come in a body and surrender themselves, leaving it to him, Alexander, to do what he would with them, or, if not, take what steps they could for their own safety. They replied that they placed themselves and the rest in Alexander's hands; and bade him send an officer to lead them, that they might have safe conduct to his camp. They were reckoned to be about one thousand five hundred. Alexander sent Andronicus, son of Agerrhus, and Artabazus to them.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ προῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Μάρδους, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν Κοΐνου καὶ Ἀμύντου τάξιν καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστάς· ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἱππακοντισταὶ τάξεις ἦσαν. [2] ἐπελθὼν δὲ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς χώρας τῶν Μάρδων πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν φεύγοντας, οὓς δὲ τινὰς ἐς ἀλκὴν τετραμμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις χρόνου ἐμβεβλήκει ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διὰ τε δυσχωρίαν καὶ ὅτι πένητες οἱ Μάρδοι καὶ μάχιμοι ἐπὶ τῇ πενίᾳ ἦσαν. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμβαλεῖν ἂν ποτε δεῖσαντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ προκεχωρηκότα ἤδη ἐς τὸ πρόσω, ταύτῃ μᾶλλον

τι ἀφύλακτοι ἤλίσκοντο. [3] πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη κατέφυγον, ἃ δὴ ὑπερύψηλά τε καὶ ἀπότομα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστίν, ὥς πρὸς ταῦτά γε οὐχ ἦζοντα Ἀλέξανδρον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτη προσῆγεν, οἱ δὲ πέμπαντες πρέσβεις σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ἐνέδοσαν καὶ τὴν χώραν: καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀφῆκεν, σατράπην δὲ ἀπέδειξεν αὐτῶν Αὐτοφραδάτην, ὄνπερ καὶ Ταπούρων. [4] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔνθενπερ ὠρμήθη ἐς τῶν Μάρδων τὴν γῆν, κατέλαβε τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἦκοντας καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις, οἱ παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐπρέσβευον, Καλλιστρατίδαν τε καὶ Παύσιππον καὶ Μόνιμον καὶ Ὀνόμαντα, καὶ Ἀθηναίων Δρωπίδην. τούτους μὲν δὴ ξυλλαβὼν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχε, τοὺς Σινωπέων δὲ ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι Σινωπεῖς οὔτε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετεῖχον, ὑπὸ Πέρσαις τε τεταγμένοι οὐκ ἀπεικότα ποιεῖν ἐδόκουν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν πρεσβεύοντες. [5] ἀφῆκεν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοι πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης τε καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Μακεδόνας γενομένης παρὰ Πέρσαις ἐμισθοφόρουν, καὶ Καλχηδονίων Ἡρακλείδην τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀφῆκεν: τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ξυστρατεύεσθαι οἱ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσε: καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς Ἀνδρόνικον, ὅσπερ ἡγαγέ τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔνδηλος γέγονει οὐ φαῦλον ποιούμενος σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

XXIII. Then he himself proceeded against the Mardians, taking the bodyguards, the archers, the Agrianes, the brigades of Coenus and Amyntas, half of the Companions' cavalry, and the mounted javelin-men, for by this time he had a brigade of these. Passing through the greater part of the Mardian country, he slew many of them attempting to escape, and some turning to bay; a great number he captured alive. For no one had for a long time invaded their country, owing to the difficulties of transit, and because the Mardians were both poor and, besides being poor, warlike. So they never imagined that Alexander would have invaded their country, especially as he had already marched far out of his course, and thus were all the more caught unprepared. But many of them took refuge in the hills also, which are very lofty and precipitous in their country; feeling sure that Alexander would not reach so far as that. But when he did approach even in this direction, they sending envoys surrendered themselves and their country; and Alexander dismissed them, and appointed as their satrap Autophradates, also made satrap of the Tapurians.

He himself returned to the camp whence he had set out to the Mardian territory, and received the mercenary Greeks who had arrived, and the Lacedaemonians' envoys who were on an embassy to the court of King Dareius, namely, Callicratides, Pausippus, Monimus, and Onomas, and, of the Athenians, Dropides. These he seized and kept under arrest. The envoys from Sinope he dismissed since the Sinopeans were not part of the Greek comity of nations, but being subject to Persia did not appear to have done anything outrageous in going as envoys to their own suzerain. Of the remaining Greeks he dismissed so many as before the peace and the conclusion of the alliance with Macedon had been serving with the Persian force; he dismissed also Heracleides, envoy of the Calchedonians; the rest he commanded to serve under him at the same rate of pay; and he set Andronicus over them, who had

led them and had made it evident that he had made it a matter of considerable moment to preserve his men.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἤγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Ζαδράκαρτα, τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν τῆς Ὑρκανίας, ἵνα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τοῖς Ὑρκανίοις ᾦν. καὶ ἐνταῦθα διατρίψας ἡμέρας πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ποιήσας ὡς ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους ἤγεν· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀρείας ὄρια καὶ Σουσίαν, πόλιν τῆς Ἀρείας, ἵνα καὶ Σατιβαρζάνης ἦκε παρ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν Ἀρείων σατράπης. [2] τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τὴν σατραπείαν ἀποδοὺς ξυμπέμπει αὐτῷ Ἀνάξιππον τῶν ἐταίρων δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππακοντιστῶν ἐς τεσσαράκοντα, ὡς ἔχοι φύλακας καθιστάναι τῶν τόπων, τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἀρείους πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς κατὰ τὴν πάροδον. [3] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν τινες, οἱ ἡγγελλον Βῆσσον τὴν τε τιάραν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν Περσικὴν στολὴν φοροῦντα Ἀρτοξέρξην τε καλεῖσθαι ἀντὶ Βῆσσου καὶ βασιλέα φάσκειν εἶναι τῆς Ἀσίας· ἔχειν τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν τε τοὺς ἐς Βάκτρα διαφυγόντας καὶ αὐτῶν Βακτριανῶν πολλοὺς· προσδοκᾶσθαι δὲ ἤξειν αὐτῷ καὶ Σκύθας ξυμμάχους. [4] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἔχων τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν ἦει ἐπὶ Βάκτρων, ἵνα καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μενελάου παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο ἐκ Μηδίας, ἔχων τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους ἱππέας, ὧν ἡγεῖτο αὐτός, καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς ὑπομείναντας καὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς Ἀνδρομάχου. Νικάνωρ δὲ ὁ Παρμενίωνος ὁ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἄρχων τετελευτήκει ἤδη νόσῳ. [5] ἰόντι δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν ἐπὶ Βάκτρα ἐξηγγέλθη Σατιβαρζάνης ὁ Ἀρείων σατράπης Ἀνάξιππον μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστάς τοὺς ζῶντας αὐτῷ ἀπεκτονῶς, ὀπλίζων δὲ τοὺς Ἀρείους καὶ ξυνάγων εἰς Ἀρτακόανα πόλιν, ἵνα τὸ βασίλειον ᾦν τῶν Ἀρείων· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὅτι ἔγνωκεν, ἐπειδὴν προκεχωρηκότα Ἀλέξανδρον πύθεται, ἰέναι ζῶν τῇ δυνάμει παρὰ Βῆσσον, ὡς ζῶν ἐκείνῳ ἐπιθησόμενος ὅπῃ ἂν τύχη τοῖς Μακεδόσι. [6] ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη αὐτῷ, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ Βάκτρα ὁδὸν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς τε ἐταίρους ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου τε καὶ Κοίνου τάξιν, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ Κρατερὸν ἡγεμόνα, σπουδῇ ἤγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Σατιβαρζάνην τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀρείους καὶ διελθὼν ἐν δυσὶν ἡμέραις σταδίου ἐς ἐξακοσίους πρὸς Ἀρτακόανα ἦκεν. [7] Σατιβαρζάνης μὲν οὖν ὡς ἔγνω ἔγγυς ὄντα Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ ὀξύτητι τῆς ἐφόδου ἐκπλαγεὶς ζῶν ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσι τῶν Ἀρείων ἔφυγε· πρὸς γὰρ τῶν πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν κατελείφθη ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, ὡς κἀκεῖνοι ἔμαθον προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ὅσους ξυναιτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως κατέμαθε καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπολελοιπότας τὰς κόμας, τούτους δὲ ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη, ὀξείας τὰς διώξεις ποιησάμενος, τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἠνδραπόδισε· σατράπην δὲ Ἀρείων ἀπέδειξεν Ἀρσάκην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην. [8] αὐτὸς δὲ ζῶν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν ὑπολελειμμένοις, ὁμοῦ οὖσιν ἤδη, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ζαραγγαίων χώραν ἤγε· καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἵνα τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Ζαραγγαίων ᾦν. Βαρσαέντης δέ, ὃς τότε κατεῖχε τὴν χώραν, εἷς ὢν τῶν ξυνεπιθεμένων Δαρείῳ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, προσιόντα Ἀλέξανδρον μαθὼν ἐς Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔφυγε. ξυλλαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπέστειλαν, καὶ ἀποθνήσκει πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς ἐς Δαρεῖον ἀδικίας ἔνεκα.

XXIV. When he had put all this in order he marched towards Zadracarta, the greatest city of Hyrcania, where was also the Hyrcanian palace. There he spent fifteen days, and sacrificed to the gods as custom directed, and held an athletic contest, and then he marched towards the Parthyaean, and thence to the borders of Areia and Sousia, a city of Areia, where also Satibarzanes met him, the satrap of the Areians. Alexander confirmed him in his satrapy, and sent with him Anaxippus of the Companions, giving him about forty of the mounted javelin-men, so that he might have guards to set at various places, and that the Areians might not suffer harm from the army on the passage.

Meanwhile certain Persians met Alexander, reporting that Bessus was wearing his cap royal fashion and clothing himself in Persian royal garb, called himself Artaxerxes instead of Bessus, and gave out that he was King of Asia. He had about him, they said, those Persians who had fled safe to Bactria and a good number of the Bactrians themselves; and he expected that Scythian allies would also join him.

Alexander with his whole force now reassembled advanced to Bactria, where Philip son of Menelaus met him from Media with the mercenary cavalry led by himself and the Thessalian volunteers, who had remained behind, and those under Andromachus.

Nicanor, however, son of Parmenio, commander of the bodyguards, had already died of sickness. But as Alexander advanced towards Bactria, news was brought that Satibarzanes, satrap of Areia, had massacred Anaxippus and the mounted javelin-men with him, and was arming the Areians and leading them in a body to the city Artacoana, where was the palace of the Areians; and that he had decided, on learning that Alexander had advanced forward, to go thence with his troops to Bessus, and with him to attack the Macedonians where opportunity should offer. When this was reported to Alexander he did not continue his march to Bactria; but he took the Companions' cavalry, the mounted javelin-men, the archers, the Agrianes, and Amyntas' and Coenus' brigades, and leaving behind there the rest of the army and Craterus in charge, he advanced swiftly against Satibarzanes and the Areians, and traversing in two days the distance of six hundred stades arrived at Artacoana.

Satibarzanes for his part, learning of Alexander's proximity and astounded at the swiftness of his approach, fled with a few Areian horsemen; for in his flight he had been deserted by the majority of his soldiers, since they too learnt that Alexander was pressing on towards him. So many as Alexander found to have had a hand in the revolt and had at the time deserted their villages, with swift pursuits, he slew some here, some there, others he enslaved. As satrap of Areia he appointed Arsames a Persian. He then with the force left under Craterus, which had now joined him, marched towards the territory of the Zarangaeans; and arrived where their palace was. But Barsaentes who then held the country, being one of those who had joined in attacking Dareius on the flight, learning that Alexander was approaching, fled

to the Indians on this side of the river Indus; but the Indians seized him and sent him to Alexander, who put him to death for his treachery to Dareius.

[1] ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν Φιλῶτα ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἔμαθεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος, ὅτι προσηγγελμένη μὲν ἦν ἤδη οἱ καὶ πρότερον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οὐ μέντοι πιστὴ γε ἐφάνη τῆς τε φιλίας τῆς πάλαι ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐς Παρμενιῶνά τε τὸν πατέρα τὸν Φιλῶτα τιμῆς καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Φιλῶταν πίστεως. [2] Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου λέγει εἰσαχθῆναι εἰς Μακεδόνas Φιλῶταν καὶ κατηγορῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρῶς Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀπολογησασθαι δὲ αὐτὸν Φιλῶταν: καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμνηντάς τοῦ ἔργου παρελθόντας ἐξελέγξει Φιλῶταν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄρφ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοις τε ἐλέγχους οὐκ ἀφανέσι καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ὅτι αὐτὸς Φιλῶτας πεπύσθαι μὲν ἐπιβουλὴν τινα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρασκευαζομένην συνέφη, ἐξηλέγχετο δὲ κατασιωπῆσας ταύτην πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, καίτοι δις ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ὁσημέραι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου φοιτῶν. [3] καὶ Φιλῶταν μὲν κατακοντισθῆναι πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετέσχον αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς; ἐπὶ Παρμενίωνα δὲ σταλῆναι Πολυδάμαντα, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, γράμματα φέροντα παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τοὺς ἐν Μηδίᾳ, Κλέανδρόν τε καὶ Σιτάλκην καὶ Μεν[v]ίδαν: οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἥς Παρμενίων ἦρχε, τεταγμένοι ἦσαν: [4] καὶ πρὸς τούτων ἀποθανεῖν Παρμενίωνα, τυχὸν μὲν ὅτι οὐ πιστὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλῶτα ἐπιβουλεύοντος μὴ ζυμμετασχεῖν Παρμενίωνα τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ βουλεύματος, τυχὸν δὲ ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μὴ ζυμμετέσχε, σφαλερὸς ἦδη ἦν περιῶν Παρμενίων τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνηρημένου, ἐν τοσαύτῃ ὧν ἀξιώσει παρὰ τε αὐτῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, μὴ ὅτι τὸ Μακεδονικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων, ὧν πολλάκις καὶ ἐν μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος κατὰ πρόσταξιν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ζῆν χάριτι ἐξηγεῖτο.

XXV. It was there that Alexander learnt also of the conspiracy of Philotas son of Parmenio. Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus say that some report of it had been already made to him in Egypt, but he did not think it credible, both because of their long friendship with him and because of the honour he had shown to Parmenio, Philotas' father, and the trust he had reposed in Philotas himself. Ptolemaeus son of Lagus states as follows; Philotas was summoned before the Macedonians, and Alexander vigorously accused him, Philotas making his defence; and then those who had reported the plot came forward and convicted Philotas and his fellows with many manifest proofs, and chiefly this, that while Philotas himself agreed that he had heard of some sort of plot being laid against Alexander, he was proved guilty of having uttered no hint of it to Alexander, though he visited Alexander's tent twice daily. Philotas for his part was shot down by javelins by the Macedonians, and with him the other conspirators; but as for Parmenio, Polydames, one of the Companions, was sent to him with a letter from Alexander to the generals in Media, Cleander and Sitalces and Menidas; for they had been posted to the force which Parmenio commanded. By them Parmenio was put to death, possibly because Alexander could not believe that when Philotas was conspiring Parmenio had no share in his own son's conspiracy; or possibly because, even

supposing he had no such share in it, Parmenio was already a grave danger, if he survived when his own son had been put to death, being so highly thought of both by Alexander himself and throughout all the army, and that not only the Macedonian army, but the mercenaries also, whom he had so often commanded both in his ordinary turn of duty and also in extraordinary commands by Alexander's express order and with Alexander's approbation.

[1] λέγουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀνδρομένους κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὑπαχθῆναι ἐς κρίσιν καὶ Πολέμωνα καὶ Ἄτταλον καὶ Σιμμίαν τοὺς Ἀμύντου ἀδελφούς, ὡς ξυμμετασχόντας καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρου κατὰ πίστιν τε καὶ ἐταιρίαν τὴν Φιλῶτα. [2] καὶ ἐδόκει πιστοτέρα ἢ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος, ὅτι Πολέμων, εἷς τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν Ἀμύντου, ξυλληφθέντος Φιλῶτα ἔφυγεν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' Ἀμύντας γε ξὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὑπομείνας τὴν δίκην καὶ ἀπολογησάμενος ἐν Μακεδόσι καρτερῶς ἀφίεται τῆς αἰτίας: καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς ἀπέφυγεν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἠξίωσεν ἐφεθῆναι οἱ ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον: [3] καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ξυγχωροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν Πολέμωνα ἐπανήγαγε: καὶ ταύτῃ πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν ἔξω αἰτίας ἐφάνη Ἀμύντας. ἀλλὰ ὀλίγον γὰρ ὕστερον κώμην τινὰ πολιορκῶν τοξευθεὶς ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥστε οὐδὲν πλέον αὐτῷ γίγνεται τὴν κρίσιν ἀποφυγόντι ὅτι μὴ ἀγαθῷ νομιζομένῳ ἀποθανεῖν. [4] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, καταστήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἱπάρχας δύο, Ἥφαιστίωνα τε τὸν Ἀμύντορος καὶ Κλεῖτον τὸν Δρωπίδου, καὶ δίχα διελὼν τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἐταίρων, ὅτι οὐδὲ φύλατον ἂν ἠβούλετο ἓνα τοσοῦτων ἱππέων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν κρατίστων τοῦ παντός ἱππικοῦ κατὰ τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν, ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τοὺς πάλοι μὲν Ἀριάσπας καλουμένους, ὕστερον δὲ Εὐεργέτας ἐπονομασθέντας, ὅτι Κύρῳ τῷ Καμβύσου ξυνεπελάβοντο τῆς ἐς Σκύθας ἐλάσεως. [5] καὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος ὦν τε ἐς Κῦρον ὑπῆρξαν οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτῶν τιμήσας καὶ αὐτοὺς καταμαθὼν ἄνδρας οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους πολιτεύοντας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δικαίου ἴσα καὶ τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεταποιουμένους, ἐλευθέρους τε ἀφῆκεν καὶ χώραν τῆς ὁμόρου ὅσῃν αὐτοὶ σφίσιν ἤτησαν, οὐ πολλὴν δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἤτησαν, προσέθηκεν. ἐνταῦθα θύσας τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι Δημήτριον μὲν ἓνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ὑποπτεύσας μετασχεῖν Φιλῶτα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ξυνέλαβε: σωματοφύλακα δὲ ἀντὶ Δημητρίου ἀπέδειξε Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου.

XXVI. It is said that Amyntas son of Andromenes was brought to trial about the same time, with Polemon and Attalus and Simmias, brothers of Amyntas, on a charge of having joined also in the conspiracy against Alexander, through their faith in Philotas and their friendship with him; and the conspiracy won more credence among the multitude because Polemon, one of Amyntas' brothers, as soon as Philotas was arrested, deserted to the enemy. But Amyntas at any rate with his brothers stood his trial, and made a vigorous defence before the Macedonians, and was acquitted of the charge; and the moment he was acquitted, he asked leave to go to his brother and bring him back again to Alexander; this the Macedonians permitted. He

departed, therefore, that very day and brought back Polemon; and thus Amyntas seemed more clear of guilt than before. Soon after, however, when besieging some village he received an arrow wound, of which he died; so that all he gained from his acquittal was that he died with his good name unsmirched.

Alexander now appointed two officers over the Companions, Hephæstion son of Amyntor and Cleitus son of Dropides, and dividing the Companions' brigade in two parts, since he did not wish any single man, even of his friends, to command so large a body of cavalry, especially as it was the best of all his mounted force in reputation and valour, he arrived among the people called formerly Ariaspians, but later surnamed also Benefactors, because they assisted Cyrus son of Cambyses in his Scythian expedition. Alexander showed regard for this people, both for the services their forefathers had done to Cyrus, and from his own observation that they were not governed like the other tribesmen of these parts, but also claimed to practise justice, like the best of the Greeks; he therefore let them go free and gave them as much as they asked for themselves of the neighbouring country; and yet they only asked for a modest portion. There he sacrificed to Apollo; and also arrested Demetrius, one of the bodyguards, suspecting that he had a hand in Philotas' conspiracy; and in his place he appointed as bodyguard Ptolemaeus son of Lagus.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος προῆι ὡς ἐπὶ Βάκτρα τε καὶ Βῆσσον, Δράγγας τε καὶ Γαδρωσοὺς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ παραστησάμενος, παρεστήσατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀραχώτας καὶ σατράπην κατέστησεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Μένωνα. ἐπῆλθε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς προσχώρους Ἀραχώταις, ζύμπαντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη διὰ χιόνος τε πολλῆς καὶ ζὺν ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταλαιπωρία ἐπῆλθε. [2] μαθὼν δὲ τοὺς Ἀρείους αὐθις ἀφεστάναι, Σατιβαρζάνου ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐμβαλόντος σὺν ἱππεῦσι δισχιλίαις, οὓς παρὰ Βήσσου ἔλαβεν, ἀποστέλλει παρ' αὐτοὺς Ἀρτάβαζον τε τὸν Πέρσην καὶ Ἐριγύιον καὶ Κάρανον τῶν ἐταίρων. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ Φραταφέρνῃν τὸν τῶν Παρθυαίων σατράπην ξυνεμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς Ἀρείους. [3] καὶ γίγνεται μάχη τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἐριγύιον καὶ Κάρανον πρὸς Σατιβαρζάνην καρτερά, οὐδὲ πρόσθεν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐνέκλιναν πρὶν Σατιβαρζάνην ξυμπεσόντα Ἐριγυῖα πρὸς Ἐριγυῖου πληγέντα δόρατι ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἀποθανεῖν. τότε δὲ ἐγκλίναντες οἱ βάρβαροι προτροπάδην ἔφευγον. [4] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τὸν Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ἦγεν, ἵνα καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ ὠνόμασεν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν: καὶ θύσας ἐνταῦθα τοῖς θεοῖς ὅσοις νόμος αὐτῷ ὑπερέβαλε τὸ ὄρος τὸν Καύκασον, σατράπην μὲν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπιτάξας Προέξην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην, τῶν δὲ ἐταίρων Νειλόξενον τὸν Σατύρου ἐπίσκοπον ζὺν στρατιᾷ ἀπολιπῶν. [5] τὸ δὲ ὄρος ὁ Καύκασος ὑψηλὸν μὲν ἐστίν ὥσπερ τι ἄλλο τῆς Ἀσίας, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, ψιλὸν δὲ τὸ πολὺ, αὐτοῦ τό γε ταῦτη. μακρὸν γὰρ ὄρος παρατέταται ὁ Καύκασος, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος, ὃς δὴ τὴν Κιλικίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν ἀπείργει, ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ ἄλλα ὄρη μεγάλα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου διακεκριμένα ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐπωνυμία κατὰ ἥθη

τὰ ἐκάστων. [6] ἀλλὰ ἔν γε τούτῳ τῷ Κανκάσῳ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τέρμινθοι πεφύκασι καὶ σίλφιον, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐπρωκεῖτο πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ πρόβατα πολλὰ καὶ κτήνη ἐνέμοντο, ὅτι καὶ χαίρουσι τῷ σιλφίῳ τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ εἰ ἐκ πολλοῦ πρόβατον σιλφίου αἰσθοῖτο, καὶ θεῖ ἐπ' αὐτὸ καὶ τό τε ἄνθος ἐπινέμεται καὶ τὴν ῥίζαν ἀνορύττον καὶ ταύτην κατεσθίει. [7] ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐν Κυρήνῃ ὡς μακροτάτῳ ἀπελαύνουσι τὰς ποίμνας τῶν χωρίων, ἵνα αὐτοῖς τὸ σίλφιον φύεται. οἱ δὲ καὶ περιφράσσουσι τὸν χῶρον, τοῦ μηδὲ εἰ πελάσειεν αὐτῷ πρόβατα, δυνατὰ γενέσθαι εἶσω παρελθεῖν, ὅτι πολλοὺ ἄξιον Κυρηναίοις τὸ σίλφιον. [8] Βῆσσος δὲ ἔχων ἄμφ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν τε τοὺς μετασχόντας αὐτῷ τῆς Δαρείου συλλήψεως καὶ αὐτῶν Βακτρίων ἕς ἐπτακισχιλίους καὶ Δάας τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ ἐποικοῦντας ἔφθειρε τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Κανκάσῳ, ὡς ἐρημία τε τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπεΐρξων Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦ μὴ ἐλαύνειν πρόσω. [9] ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤλαυνεν οὐδὲν μεῖον, χαλεπῶς μὲν διὰ τε χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ ἐνδείας τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἦι δὲ ὅμως. Βῆσσος δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐξηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ οὐ πόρρω ἤδη ὢν Ἀλέξανδρος, διαβὰς τὸν Ὅξον ποταμὸν τὰ μὲν πλοῖα ἐφ' ὧν διέβη κατέκαυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Ναύτακα τῆς Σογδιανῆς χώρας ἀπεχώρει. [10] εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ τε ἄμφι Σπιταμένην καὶ Ὁξυάρτην, ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σογδιανῆς ἵππεις, καὶ Δάαι οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταναΐδος. οἱ δὲ τῶν Βακτρίων ἵππεις ὡς φεύγειν ἐγνώκοντα ἔμαθον Βῆσσον, ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐπὶ τὰ σφῶν ἕκαστοι ἀπηλλάγησαν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐς Δράνακα ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀναπαύσας

XXVII. After setting all this in order Alexander proceeded towards Bactria and against Bessus, reducing on the way the Drangians and Gadrosians, (Both lived in the south-easternmost corner of the Persian Empire, towards the Indus.) and also the Arachotians, appointing Menon satrap over them. He reached also the Indians who were nearest to the Arachotians. All these various tribes he invaded through deep snow, with lack of provisions, and with much distress of his men. But learning that the Areians had again revolted, since Satibarzanes had invaded their country with two thousand horse, whom he received from Bessus, he sent to them Artabazus the Persian and two Companions, Erigyius and Caranus; he ordered Phrataphernes also, the satrap of Parthyaëa, to help them in their attack on the Areians. A severe battle took place between the troops of Erigyius and Caranus against Satibarzanes; indeed, the Persians did not give way till Satibarzanes in single combat with Erigyius was struck in the face with a spear and killed. Then the tribesmen turned and fled headlong.

Meanwhile Alexander led his army to Mount Caucasus, (The Indian Caucasus, or "Hindu-Koosh.") and founded there a city which he called Alexandreia. There he sacrificed to the gods to whom he usually sacrificed, and then crossed Mount Caucasus, appointing as satrap of the district Proexes, a Persian, and Neiloxenes son of Satyrus, one of the Companions, overseer; and left him there with a force.

Mount Caucasus is, according to Aristobulus, as high as any in Asia; most

of it is bare, at least on this side. For Caucasus is a long mountain range, so that they say that even Mount Taurus, which is the boundary of Cilicia and Pamphylia, is really a part of Mount Caucasus as well as other great mountains which have been distinguished from Mount Caucasus by various nomenclatures according to their geographical positions. In this Mount Caucasus, however, there grows nothing save terebinths and asafœtida, according to Aristobulus. But even so it was inhabited by a large number of people and many flocks and herds grazed there, since the flocks like the asafœtida, and if they are aware of it ever so far away they hurry to it and nibble off its flower, and also dig up and eat the root. For this reason in Cyrene they drive their flocks as far as possible from the places where this plant grows; some even hurdle off the place, so that the flocks even if they approach cannot get in, since the plant is very valuable to the Cyrenaeans.

But Bessus with such of the Persians about him as had joined in the arrest of Dareius, some seven thousand of the Bactrians themselves, and the Dahae who dwell on this side of the river Tanais, ravaged the country lying under Mount Caucasus, hoping by this desolation of the country lying between himself and Alexander and by want of provisions to keep Alexander from proceeding farther. But Alexander came on none the less, with difficulty indeed, through thick snow and owing to want of necessities, but still he came on. But Bessus, as soon as he was told that Alexander was now not far off, crossed the river Oxus and burned the boats on which he had crossed, but himself moved off towards Nautaka of the country of Sogiana. There went with him the troops of Spitamenes and Oxyartes, and with them the horsemen from Sogdiana, and Dahae from the Tanais. But the Bactrian cavalry when they learnt that Bessus had determined on flight went off, each party their own way to their homes.

[1] τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς Ἀορνόν τε ἦγε καὶ Βάκτρα, αἱ δὲ μέγισταί εἰσι πόλεις ἐν τῇ Βακτρίῳ χώρᾳ. καὶ ταύτας τε ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβε καὶ φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῆς Ἀορνου ἀπέλιπε καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Ἀνδρόκλου τῶν ἐταίρων: τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις Βακτρίοις οὐ χαλεπῶς προσχωρήσασιν ἐπέταξε σατράπην Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Πέρσῃν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὄξον ποταμόν. [2] ὁ δὲ Ὄξος ῥέει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Καυκάσου, ἔστι δὲ ποταμῶν μέγιστος τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ὅσους γε δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ οἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπῆλθον, πλὴν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν: οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ πάντων ποταμῶν μέγιστοί εἰσιν. ἐξίησι δὲ ὁ Ὄξος ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ Ὑρκανίαν. [3] διαβάλλειν δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν πάντῃ ἄπορον ἐφαίνετο: τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὖρος ἦν ἐς ἑξ μάλιστα σταδίου, βάθος δὲ οὐ πρὸς λόγον τοῦ εὖρους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ δὴ τι βαθύτερος καὶ ψαμμώδης καὶ ῥεῦμα ὀξύς, ὡς τὰ καταπηγνύμενα πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥοῦ ἐκστρέφεσθαι ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὐ χαλεπῶς, οἷα δὲ οὐδὲ βεβαίως κατὰ τῆς ψάμμου ἰδρυμένα. [4] ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπορία ὕλης ἐν τοῖς πόνοις ἦν καὶ τριβὴ πολλή ἐφαίνετο, εἰ μακρόθεν μετίοιεν ὅσα ἐς γεφύρωσιν τοῦ πόρου. ξυναγαγὼν οὖν τὰς διφθέρας, ὑφ' αἷς ἐσκίγγουν οἱ στρατιῶται, φορυτοῦ ἐμπλῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ξηροτάτου καὶ καταδιῆσαι τε καὶ ξυρράψαι ἀκριβῶς, τοῦ μὴ ἐσδύεσθαι ἐς

αὐτὰς τοῦ ὕδατος. ἐμπλησθεῖσαι δὲ καὶ ξυρραφεῖσαι ἱκαναὶ ἐγένοντο διαβιβᾶσαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις. [5] πρὶν δὲ διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν τε Μακεδόνων ἐπiléξας τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ ἥδη ἀπολέμους καὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς καταμεινάντας ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπέστειλεν. ἐκπέμπει δὲ καὶ Στασάνορα, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐς Ἀρείους, προστάξας Ἀρσάκην μὲν τὸν σατράπην τῶν Ἀρείων ξυλλαβεῖν, ὅτι ἐθελοκακεῖν αὐτῷ Ἀρσάκης ἔδοξεν, αὐτὸν δὲ σατράπην εἶναι ἀντ' ἐκείνου Ἀρείων. [6] περάσας δὲ τὸν Ὅξον ποταμὸν ἤγε κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἵνα Βῆσσον εἶναι ζῶν τῇ δυνάμει ἐπυνθάνετο. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀφικνοῦνται παρὰ Σπιταμένους καὶ Δαταφέρνην πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγγέλλοντες, ὅτι Σπιταμένης καὶ Δαταφέρνης, εἰ πεμψθεῖη αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀλίγη στρατιὰ καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ξυλλήψονται Βῆσσον καὶ παραδώσουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ: ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀδέσμῳ φυλακῇ φυλάσσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν Βῆσσον. [7] ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναπαύων ἤγε τὴν στρατιὰν σχολαίτερον ἢ πρόσθεν, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Λάγου ἀποστέλλει τῶν τε ἐταίρων ἱππαρχίας τρεῖς ἄγοντα καὶ τοὺς ἱπακοντιστὰς ζύμπαντας, πεζῶν δὲ τὴν τε Φιλώτα τάξιν καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν χιλιαρχίαν μίαν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας πάντας καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας, σπουδῇ ἐλαύνειν κελεύσας ὡς Σπιταμένην τε καὶ Δαταφέρνην. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἦει ὡς ἐτέτακτο, καὶ διελθὼν ἐν ἡμέραις τέτταρσι σταθμοὺς δέκα ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὗ τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὑἱλισμένοι ἦσαν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σπιταμένην βάρβαροι.

XXVIII. Alexander now arrived at Drapsaca, and after he had rested his army led them on to Aornos and Bactra, the greatest cities of Bactria. These he took at his first attempt, and left a garrison in the citadel of Aornos, and in charge of it Archelaus son of Androcles, one of the Companions. Over the rest of the Bactrians, who readily gave in, he set as satrap Artabazus the Persian.

He then marched towards the river Oxus. The Oxus flows from Mount Caucasus and is the greatest of those Asian rivers which Alexander and his army reached, except the rivers of India; they are the greatest of all rivers. The Oxus flows, however, into the Great Sea (The Caspian.) which is in Hyrcania. When Alexander attempted to cross the river it appeared impossible to pass in any direction. For its breadth was about six stades, and its depth disproportionately great for its breadth, with sandy bed, and a swift current, so that piles fixed into the bed were easily twisted out of their ground by the stream alone, not getting a firm hold on the sand. Apart from this there was want of timber in the district, and it was clear that there would be much delay if they went to fetch from a distance enough for the bridging of the stream. He therefore collected the hides which the troops used for tent covers and ordered them to be filled with the driest possible chaff, and then to be tied down and stitched neatly together so as to be watertight. When they were filled and stitched together they were efficient enough to take the army across in five days.

Before crossing the river Alexander selected from the Macedonians the oldest men who were no longer fit for service and the Thessalian volunteers who had remained behind and sent them on their way home. He sent also

Stasanor, one of the Companions, to Areia, bidding him arrest Arsames satrap of the Areians because Arsames appeared to have ill-will towards him; and he bade Stasanor take over the satrapy of Areia in Arsames' place.

Then after crossing the river Oxus he marched rapidly to where he had learned Bessus and his force to be. Meantime there met him messengers from Spitamenes and Dataphernes telling him that they two, if quite a small force were sent them, and a man to command it, would seize Bessus and hand him over to Alexander; in fact they had Bessus already under open arrest. On hearing this, Alexander for his own part rested his army and led it on more leisurely than before. But he sent Ptolemaeus son of Lagus with three regiments of the Companions' cavalry and all the mounted javelin-men, from the infantry, the brigade of Philotas and a regiment of the bodyguard, all the Agrianes, and half the archers, bidding him lead them rapidly to Spitamenes and Dataphernes. Ptolemaeus went as he was ordered, and traversing ten days' marches within the space of four days he arrived at the camp where on the former day the Persians with Spitamenes had bivouacked.

[1] ἐνταῦθα ἔμαθε Πτολεμαῖος ὅτι οὐ βεβαία τῷ Σπιταμένει καὶ Δαταφέρνῃ ἡ γνώμη ἐστὶν ἀμφὶ τῇ παραδόσει τοῦ Βῆσσου. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πεζοὺς κατέλιπε, προστάζας ἔπεσθαι ἐν τάξει, αὐτοὺς δὲ ζῆν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐλάσας ἀφίκετο πρὸς κώμην τινά, ἵνα ὁ Βῆσσος ἦν ζῆν ὀλίγοις στρατιώταις. [2] οἱ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σπιταμένην μετακεχωρήκεσαν ἤδη ἐκεῖθεν, καταιδεσθέντες αὐτοὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν Βῆσσον. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ περιστήσας ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς κώμης τοὺς ἱππείας ἦν γὰρ τι καὶ τεῖχος περιβεβλημένον καὶ πύλαι κατ' αὐτό· ἐπεκηρυκεύετο τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ βαρβάροις ἀπαθεῖς σφᾶς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι παραδόντας Βῆσσον. οἱ δὲ ἐδέχοντο τοὺς ζῆν Πτολεμαίῳ ἐς τὴν κώμην. [3] καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ξυλλαβὼν Βῆσσον ὀπίσω ἐπανῆει. προπέμψας δὲ ἤρετο Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅπως χρή ἐς ὅσιν ἄγειν Ἀλεξάνδρου Βῆσσον. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος γυμνὸν ἐν κλοιῷ δήσαντα οὕτως ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ καταστήσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἧ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρελεύσεσθαι ἔμελλε. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος οὕτως ἐποίησεν. [4] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν Βῆσσον ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἄρμα ἤρετο ἀνθ' ὅτου τὸν βασιλέα τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅμα καὶ οἰκεῖον καὶ εὐεργέτην γενόμενον Δαρεῖον τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ξυνέλαβε καὶ δήσας ἤγεν, ἔπειτα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ ὁ Βῆσσος οὐ μόνον οἷ ταῦτα δόξαντα πρᾶξαι ἔφη, ἀλλὰ ζῆν τοῖς τότε ἀμφὶ Δαρεῖον οὖσιν, ὥς σωτηρίαν σφίσιν εὐρέσθαι παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε μαστιγοῦν ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιλέγειν τὸν κήρυκα ταῦτα ἐκεῖνα ὅσα αὐτὸς τῷ Βῆσσῳ ἐν τῇ πύστει ὠνείδισε. Βῆσσος μὲν δὴ οὕτως αἰκισθεὶς ἀποπέμπεται ἐς Βάκτρα ἀποθανούμενος. καὶ ταῦτα Πτολεμαῖος ὑπὲρ Βῆσσου ἀνέγραψεν: Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην τε καὶ Δαταφέρνῃ Πτολεμαίῳ ἀγαγεῖν Βῆσσον καὶ παραδοῦναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γυμνὸν ἐν κλοιῷ δήσαντας. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπληρώσας τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐκ τῶν αὐτόθεν ἵππων ἄπολλοι γὰρ αὐτῷ ἵπποι ἔν τε τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ Καυκάσου καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὄξον τε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὄξου πορεῖα ἐξέλειπον· ὥς ἐπὶ Μαράκανδα ἤγε: τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ βασιλεία τῆς Σογδιανῶν χώρας. ἔνθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Τάναϊν ποταμὸν προῆει. [7] τῷ δὲ Τανάϊδι τούτῳ, ὃν δὴ καὶ Ὀρξάντην ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων

βαρβάρων καλεῖσθαι λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, αἱ πηγαὶ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Καυκάσου ὄρους καὶ αὐτῷ εἰσιν: ἐξήσῃ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν θάλασσαν [8] ἄλλος δὲ ἂν εἴη Τάναϊς ὑπὲρ ὅτου λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ὁ λογοποιὸς ὄγδοον εἶναι τῶν ποταμῶν τῶν Σκυθικῶν Τάναϊν, καὶ ῥέειν μὲν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ἀνίσχοντα, ἐκδιδόναι δὲ ἐς μεῖζω ἔτι λίμνην, τὴν καλουμένην Μαιῶτιν: καὶ τὸν Τάναϊν τοῦτον εἰσὶν οἱ ὅρον ποιοῦσι τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, [9] οἷς δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ἡ λίμνη τε ἡ Μαιῶτις καὶ ὁ ἐς ταύτην ἐξεῖς ποταμὸς ὁ Τάναις οὗτος διείργει τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, καθάπερ ἡ κατὰ Γάδειρά τε καὶ τοὺς ἀντιπέρας Γαδεύρων Λίβυας τοὺς Νομάδας: θάλασσα τὴν Λιβύην αὖ καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην διείργει, οἷς γε δὴ ἡ Λιβύη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς ἄλλης τῷ Νεῖλῳ ποταμῷ διακέκριται. [10] ἐνταῦθα ἀποσκεδασθέντες τινὲς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς προνομὴν κατακόπτονται πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ δὲ δράσαντες τὸ ἔργον ἀπέφυγον ἐς ὄρος τραχύτατον καὶ πάντῃ ἀπότομον: ἦσαν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τρισμυρίους, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς κουφοτάτους τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν. [11] ἐνθα δὴ προσβολαὶ πολλαὶ ἐγίνοντο τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐς τὸ ὄρος: καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀπεκρούοντο βαλλόμενοι ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τραυματῖαι ἐγένοντο καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὴν κνήμην τοξεύεται διαμπαῖς καὶ τῆς περόνης τι ἀποθραύεται αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ τοξεύματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἔλαβέ τε τὸ χωρίον, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ κατεκόπησαν πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν ῥίψαντες σφᾶς ἀπέθανον, ὥστε ἐκ τρισμυρίων οὐ πλείους ἀποσωθῆναι ὀκτακισχιλίων.

XXIX. There Ptolemaeus learnt that Spitamenes and Dataphernes had not quite made up their mind about the surrender of Bessus. He therefore left the infantry behind, bidding them follow in ordinary marching order, and he himself rode off with the cavalry, and arrived at a village where Bessus and a few soldiers were. For Spitamenes and his men had already withdrawn thence, their conscience not permitting them to be themselves the betrayers of Bessus. But Ptolemaeus stationing the cavalry in a cordon round the village — it had some sort of wall thrown round it, and gates in the wall — made a proclamation to the Persians in the village that they would be allowed to depart unscathed if they yielded up Bessus; and they received Ptolemaeus and his troops into the village, and Ptolemaeus seized Bessus and retired. Then he sent a messenger ahead and asked Alexander in what way he should bring Bessus into his presence. Alexander bade him bring Bessus bound, naked, and wearing a wooden collar, and thus conduct him, stationing him on the right of the road by which he and his army were about to pass. And so Ptolemaeus did.

But Alexander on seeing Bessus stopped his car and asked him why he had first seized Dareius, who had been his king, his relative, and his benefactor, then led him about in chains, and then murdered him? Bessus replied that he had done this not by any private decision of his own but in union with all the attendants of Dareius at that time, that they might themselves win safe-conduct from Alexander. But Alexander at this bade them scourge him and the

herald to proclaim during the scourging these same reproaches he had directed to Bessus in his enquiry. Bessus then after this torture was sent to Bactra to be put to death. This is Ptolemaeus' account of Bessus; Aristobulus, however, affirms that it was the followers of Spitamenes and Dataphernes who led Bessus naked and bound, wearing a wooden collar, and so handed him over to Alexander.

But Alexander, when he had brought his cavalry to full strength with the horses in the vicinity, for a good many horses had fallen from exhaustion during the crossing of Mount Caucasus and on the marches both to and from the Oxus, led his troops towards Maracanda, the royal city of that part of Sogdiana. Thence he advanced to the river Tanais. The springs of the Tanais too, which Aristobulus says is called by the natives another name, the Jaxartes, rise on Mount Caucasus; and this river also flows out into the Hyrcanian Sea. (Arrian (with Strabo) is here in error.) The Tanais, of which Herodotus the historian tells us that it is the eighth of the Scythian rivers, rises and flows out of a great lake, and runs into a greater lake, called Maeotis, will be a different Tanais. Some authorities regard this Tanais as the boundary between Asia and Europe; they imagine that from this corner of the Euxine Sea upwards the Lake Maeotis and this river Tanais which runs into the lake do actually part Asia and Europe, just as the sea near Gadeira and the nomad Libyans opposite Gadeira (The Straits of Gibraltar.) parts Libya and Europe; imagining also that Libya is parted from the rest of Asia by the river Nile.

It was here that some of the Macedonians who had scattered for foraging were cut down by the natives. Those who did this deed took refuge in a very rugged and completely precipitous mountain, being in number about thirty thousand. Alexander took his lightest troops and led them to attack the fugitives. Then the Macedonians attempted several assaults upon the mountain; and at first they were driven back by the volleys from the natives, and a great many were wounded; notably Alexander himself was shot right through the leg with an arrow, and a part of the small bone of the leg was broken. But even so he captured the position, and of the tribesmen some were cut down there and then by the Macedonians, but many perished by throwing themselves down the rocks, so that from thirty thousand not more than eight thousand saved themselves.

BOOK IV.

[1] οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πρέσβεις παρὰ τε Σκυθῶν τῶν Ἀβίων καλουμένων, 'οὓς καὶ Ὅμηρος δικαιοτάτους ἀνθρώπους εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει ἐπήνεσεν: οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ οὗτοι αὐτόνομοι, οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ πενίαν τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Σκυθῶν, οἱ δὴ τὸ μέγιστον ἔθνος [Σκυθικὸν] ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐποικοῦσιν. [2] καὶ τούτοις ξυμπέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν ἐταίρων, πρόφασιν μὲν κατὰ πρεσβείαν φιλίαν ξυνηγομένους, ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς πομπῆς ἐς κατασκοπὴν τι μᾶλλον ἔφερε φύσεώς τε τῆς χώρας τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ πλήθους αὐτῶν καὶ νομαίων καὶ ὀπλίσεως, ἥντινα ἔχοντες στέλλονται ἐς τὰς μάχας. [3] αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τῷ Τανάϊδι ποταμῷ ἐπενόει πόλιν οἰκίσαι, καὶ ταύτην ἑαυτοῦ ἐπώνυμον. ὁ τε γὰρ χῶρος ἐπιτήδειος αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο αὐξῆσαι ἐπὶ μέγα τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐν καλῷ οἰκισθῆσθαι τῆς ἐπὶ Σκύθας, εἵποτε ξυμβαῖνοι, ἐλάσεως καὶ τῆς προφυλακῆς τῆς χώρας πρὸς τὰς καταδρομὰς τῶν πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐποικούντων βαρβάρων. [4] ἐδόκει δ' ἂν καὶ μεγάλη γενέσθαι ἡ πόλις πλήθει τε τῶν ἐς αὐτὴν ξυνοικιζομένων καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῇ λαμπρότητι. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ πρόσχωροι τῷ ποταμῷ βάρβαροι τοὺς τε τὰ φρούρια ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι σφῶν ἔχοντας στρατιώτας τῶν Μακεδόνων ξυλλαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐς ἀσφάλειάν τινα μᾶλλον ὠχύρουν. [5] ξυνεπελάβοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τῶν Σογδιανῶν οἱ πολλοί, ἐπαρθέντες πρὸς τῶν ξυλλαβόντων Βῆσσον, ὥστε καὶ τῶν Βακτριανῶν ἔστιν οὓς σφισιν οὗτοι ξυναπέστησαν, εἴτε δὴ καὶ δεῖσαντες Ἀλέξανδρον, εἴτε καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει διδόντες, ὅτι ἐς ἓνα ζύλλογον ἐπηγγέλκει Ἀλέξανδρος ξυνηλθεῖν τοὺς ὑπάρχους τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης εἰς Ζαρίασπα, τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν, ὥς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ οὐδενὶ τοῦ ζυλλόγου γιγνομένου.

I. NOT many days after, envoys came to Alexander from the Abian Scythians, as they are called, of whom Homer spoke highly in his epic, calling them "justest of men"; they dwell in Asia, independent, chiefly through their poverty and their sense of justice. Envoys came too from the European Scythians, who are the greatest nation dwelling in Europe. With these Alexander sent some of the Companions, giving out that they were, by way of an embassy, to conclude a friendly agreement with them; but the real idea of the mission was rather to spy out the nature of the Scythians' territory, their numbers, their customs, and the arms they use on their warlike expeditions.

He himself was minded to found a city on the Tanais, and to call it after his own name. For the site seemed to him suitable for considerable development of the city; he also thought that it would be built in an excellent position for his invasion of Scythia, should that ever take place, and for an outpost of the country against the raids of the tribesmen dwelling on the other side of the river. He felt also that such a city would become great both from the number of settlers and the splendour of its name. Meanwhile the tribesmen near the river seized the Macedonian troops who garrisoned their cities and slew them,

and then began to strengthen the cities more than before, for their security. There joined with them in this revolt the mass of the people of Sogdiana, stirred up to do so by the party which had arrested Bessus, so that these drew into their revolt some of the Bactrians too; it may be that the Bactrians were terrified of Alexander, or it may be that their seducers gave as a reason for their revolt that Alexander had instructed the chief men of that country to come to a joint conference at Zariaspa the capital; and that this conference boded no good.

[1] ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, παραγγείλας τοῖς πεζοῖς κατὰ λόχους κλίμακας ποιεῖσθαι ὅσαι ἐκάστω λόχῳ ἐπηγγέλθησαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρῶτην ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὀρμηθέντι πόλιν προὐχῶρει, ἣ ὄνομα ἦν Γάζα: ἐς γὰρ ἑπτὰ πόλεις ξυμπεφευγέναι ἐλέγοντο οἱ ἐκ τῆς χώρας βάρβαροι: [2] κρατερόν δὲ ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην Κυρούπολιν, ἥπερ μεγίστη πασῶν καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ πλεῖστοι ξυνειλεγμένοι ἦσαν τῶν βαρβάρων. παρήγγελο δὲ αὐτῷ στρατοπεδεῦσαι πλησίον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τάφρον τε ἐν κύκλῳ αὐτῆς ὀρύξαι καὶ χάρακα περιβαλέσθαι καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ὅσαις χρῆσθαι ξυμπηγνύναι, ὡς πρὸς ἅμφί Κρατερόν τὴν γνώμην τετραμμένοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἀδύνατοι ὥσι ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἐπωφελεῖν. [3] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Γάζαν ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο, ὡς εἶχεν ἐξ ἐφόδου σημαίνει προσβάλλειν τῷ τείχει γῆϊν τε καὶ οὐχ ὑψηλῇ ὄντι, προσθέντας ἐν κύκλῳ πάντοθεν τὰς κλίμακας: οἱ δὲ σφενδονῆται αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τοξόται τε καὶ ἀκοντισται ὁμοῦ τῇ ἐφόδῳ τῶν πεζῶν ἐσηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν ἠφίετο, ὥστε ὀξέως μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βελῶν ἐγυμνώθη τὸ τεῖχος τῶν προμαχομένων, ταχεῖα δὲ ἡ πρόσθεσις τῶν κλιμάκων καὶ ἡ ἀνάβασις τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐγίνετο. [4] τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄνδρας πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, οὕτως ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου προστεταγμένον, γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λείαν διήρπασαν. ἔνθεν δὲ εὐθὺς ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἀπ' ἐκείνης πόλιν ὥκισμένην, καὶ ταύτην τῷ αὐτῷ τε τρόπῳ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ λαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς ἀλόντας τὰ αὐτὰ ἔπραξεν. ὁ δὲ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τρίτην πόλιν, καὶ ταύτην τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ εἶλεν. [5] ἐν ᾧ δὲ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς πεζοῖς ἅμφί ταῦτα εἶχε, τοὺς ἰππέας ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὰς δύο τὰς πλησίον πόλεις προστάξας παραφυλάττειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἔνδον, μήποτε τὴν ἄλῳσιν αἰσθόμενοι τῶν πλησίον πόλεων καὶ ἅμα τὴν αὐτοῦ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἔφοδον οἱ δὲ ἐς φυγὴν τραπέντες ἄποροι αὐτῷ διώκειν γένωνται. καὶ ξυνέβη τε οὕτως ὅπως εἶκασε, καὶ ἐν δέοντι ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ἡ πομπὴ τῶν ἰππέων. [6] οἱ γὰρ τὰς δύο τὰς οὐπω ἐλωκυίας πόλεις ἔχοντες τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς καπνόν τε εἶδον ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸ[ς] σφῶν πόλεως ἐμπιπραμένης καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ διαφυγόντες αὐτάγγελοι τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐγένοντο, ὡς τάχους ἕκαστοι εἶχον ἀθρόοι ἐκ τῶν πόλεων φεύγοντες ἐμπίπτουσιν ἐς τὸ στίφος τῶν ἰππέων ξυντεταγμένον καὶ κατεκόπησαν οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν.

II. When this was reported to Alexander, he ordered the infantry, section by section, to make so many ladders as were appointed to each section; and then he advanced to the first city you meet with on leaving the camp, called Gaza; for the tribesmen were said to have taken refuge in seven cities. Then he sent

Craterus to that called Cyropolis; it was the greatest of them all, and the greatest number of refugees had collected there. Craterus was ordered to encamp near the city and to dig a ditch and to build a stockade round it, then to fix together such siege engines as he required, so that the defenders of this city might have their minds fully occupied with Craterus and his troops and so be unable to help those in the other cities. When Alexander himself, meanwhile, arrived at Gaza, on his first approach he at once ordered his men to attack the wall, which was made of earth and of no great height, and to place their ladders against it on all sides; while his slingers and archers and javelin-men, at the moment of the infantry attack, showered volleys upon the first line of defence on the walls, and missiles were hurled from the catapults, so that the wall was soon cleared of defenders by the great shower of missiles, and thus the setting up of the ladders and the ascent of the Macedonians to the wall were rapidly accomplished. They put to the sword all the men, according to Alexander's orders; they carried off the women, and children, and the general plunder. Thence Alexander led on at once to the second city, which lay next to this one; it too he captured in the same fashion and on the same day, and treated his captives likewise. He advanced then to the third city, and this he took next day at the first assault.

While he himself was thus busied with his infantry, he despatched the cavalry to the two next cities, bidding them watch the inhabitants carefully lest learning of the capture of the neighbouring cities, and also of his own impending approach, they might take to flight, and pursuit might be impracticable. It fell out just as he anticipated, and the despatch of the cavalry came none too soon. For those tribesmen who held the two yet untaken cities, seeing the smoke rising from the city next in front of them, when it was fired, and when a few who escaped its catastrophe gave first-hand information of the capture, attempted as fast as they could to escape from these cities in a mass, but ran straight into the close cordon of cavalry, and the greater number of them were cut down.

[1] οὕτω δὴ τὰς πέντε πόλεις ἐν δυσὶν ἡμέραις ἐλὼν τε καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενος ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν μεγίστην αὐτῶν τὴν Κύρου πόλιν. ἡ δὲ τετειχισμένη τε ἦν ὑψηλοτέρῳ τείχει ἥπερ αἱ ἄλλαι, οἷα δὴ ὑπὸ Κύρου οἰκισθεῖσα, καὶ τοῦ πλείστου καὶ μαχιμωτάτου τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων ἐς ταύτην συμπεφευγότος οὐχ ὡσαύτως ῥαδίᾳ ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐλεῖν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐγίνετο. ἀλλὰ μηχανὰς γὰρ προσάγων τῷ τείχει Ἀλέξανδρος ταύτῃ μὲν κατασεῖειν ἐπενόει τὸ τεῖχος καὶ κατὰ τὸ αἰεὶ παραρρηγνύμενον αὐτοῦ τὰς προσβολὰς ποιεῖσθαι. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς κατεῖδε τοὺς ἔκρους τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὃς διὰ τῆς πόλεως χειμάρρους ὧν διέρχεται, ξηροὺς ἐν τῷ τότε ὕδατος καὶ οὐ ξυνεχεῖς τοῖς τεύχεσιν, ἀλλ' οἷους παρασχεῖν πάροδον τοῖς στρατιώταις διαδύναι ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε σωματοφύλακας καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας τετραμμένων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τοὺς ταύτῃ προσμαχομένους λανθάνει κατὰ τοὺς ἔκρους ξὺν ὀλίγοις τὸ πρῶτον παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν: [3] ἀναρρήξας δὲ

ἐνδοθεν τῶν πυλῶν, αἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦσαν, δέχεται καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας εὐπετῶς. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐχομένην ἤδη τὴν πόλιν αἰσθόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ὁμῶς ἐτράπησαν· καὶ γίνεται προσβολὴ αὐτῶν καρτερὰ, καὶ βάλλεται λίθω αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος βιαίως τὴν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν αὐχένα καὶ Κρατερὸς τοξεύματι καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἐξέωσαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοὺς βαρβάρους. [4] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος προσβεβληκότες ἔρημον ἤδη τὸ τεῖχος τῶν προμαχομένων αἰροῦσιν. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πρώτῃ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως ἀπέθανον τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ πάντες ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους μαχίμους οἱ ξυνεληλυθότες καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. καὶ τούτους περιστρατοπεδεύσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμέραν μίαν ἐφρούρησεν· οἱ δὲ ἐνδεία [5] ὕδατος ἐνεχείρισαν σφᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. τὴν δὲ ἐβδόμην πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβε, Πτολεμαῖος μὲν λέγει, ὅτι αὐτοὺς σφᾶς ἐνδόντας, Ἀριστόβουλος δέ, ὅτι βία καὶ ταύτην ἐξεῖλεν καὶ ὅτι πάντας τοὺς καταληφθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπέκτεινε. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ κατανεῖμαι λέγει αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ δεδεμένους κελεῦσαι φυλάσσεσθαι ἔστ' ἂν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαλλάττηται αὐτός, ὥς μηδένα ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν τὴν ἀπόστασιν πραζάντων. [6] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Σκυθῶν στρατιὰ ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τανάϊδος, ἀκούσαντες οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἔστιν οἱ καὶ τῶν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαρβάρων ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεςτᾶσιν, ὥς, εἰ δὴ τι λόγου ὃν ἄξιον νεωτερίζοιτο, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς Μακεδόσι. καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην δὲ ἀπηγγέλησαν ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Μαρακάνδοις καταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ πολιορκοῦσιν. [7] ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην Ἀνδρόμαχόν τε ἀποστέλλει καὶ Μενέδημον καὶ Κάρανον, ἱππέας μὲν ἔχοντας τῶν ἐταίρων ἐς ἐξήκοντα καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὀκτακοσίους, ὃν Κάρανος ἡγεῖτο, πεζοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους ἐς χιλίους πεντακοσίους· ἐπιτάσσει δὲ αὐτοῖς Φαρνούχην τὸν ἐρμηνέα, τὸ μὲν γένος Λύκιον τὸν Φαρνούχην, ἐμπείρως δὲ τῆς τε φωνῆς τῶν ταύτη βαρβάρων ἔχοντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμιλῆσαι αὐτοῖς δεξιὸν φαινόμενον.

III. And thus after capturing the five cities in two days and enslaving the survivors, Alexander marched against the greatest of them, Cyropolis. This was walled with a higher wall than the rest, since Cyrus had founded it; and as the greatest number and the most stalwart of the tribesmen of the district had taken refuge in it, it was not so easy for the Macdonians to capture it straight off. However, Alexander brought up engines to the wall and proposed on this side to batter the wall, and then, as breaches occurred, to make his assaults through them. But when he personally observed that the channels of the river which, being a winter torrent only, runs through the city, were dry at the time, and did not reach up to the wall, but were low enough to permit a passage to soldiers by which to pass into the city, he took the bodyguards and the shield-carrying guards, the archers and the Agrianes, and while the tribesmen were engaged with the siege-engines and those assaulting on this side, he slipped through the channels, at first with only a few men, and penetrated into the city; then breaking open from within the gates which were on that side, he

easily admitted the rest of the troops. Then the tribesmen, seeing that their city was already in the enemy's hands, none the less turned upon Alexander and his force, and they made a vigorous onslaught, and Alexander himself was struck violently with a stone upon his head and his neck; and Craterus was wounded by an arrow and many others of the officers also. Yet none the less they cleared the market-place of the tribesmen. Meanwhile those who had assaulted the wall seized it, now denuded of defenders. In the first capture of the city about eight thousand of the enemy perished; the rest — the whole number gathered together there was some fifteen thousand fighting men — took refuge in the citadel: these Alexander watched, camping about them, the space of one day; and then they, from want of water, surrendered to Alexander.

The seventh city he took without trouble. Ptolemaeus says they surrendered; but Aristobulus, that Alexander captured this also by force, and slew all whom he found within it; but Ptolemaeus also says that he distributed the men among his army and ordered them to be bound and under guard till he should leave their country, so that none of those responsible for the revolt should be left behind.

Meanwhile an army of the Asian Scythians arrived on the banks of the river Tanais; most of these had heard that some of the natives on the far side of the river had revolted from Alexander and had the intention, should any important rising occur, to join themselves also in attacking the Macedonians. News was also brought that Spitamenes and his troops were besieging those who had been left behind in Marakanda in the citadel. On this Alexander sent against the troops of Spitamenes, Andromachus, Menedemas, and Caranus, with sixty horsemen of the Companions and eight hundred of the mercenaries under Caranus, and mercenary infantry up to fifteen hundred; and he attached to these Pharnuches the interpreter, a Lycian by race who knew well the speech of the natives of this country and in all other ways appeared skilful in dealing with them.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ἐπενόει, τειχίσας ἐν ἡμέραις εἴκοσι καὶ ξυνοικίσας ἐς αὐτὴν τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων καὶ ὅστις τῶν προσοικούντων βαρβάρων ἐθελοντῆς μετέσχε τῆς ξυνοικήσεως καὶ τινας καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου Μακεδόνων, ὅσοι ἀπόμαχοι ἤδη ἦσαν, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς νόμος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ποιήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐώρα τοὺς Σκύθας ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ ποταμοῦ, [2] ἀλλ' ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐωρῶντο οὐ πλατὺν ταύτῃ ὄντα, καὶ τινὰ καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου βαρβαρικῶς ἐθρασύναντο, ὡς οὐκ ἂν τολμήσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἄψασθαι Σκυθῶν ἢ μαθόντα ἂν ὅτι περ τὸ διάφορον Σκύθαις τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς βαρβάροις, — ὑπὸ τούτων παροξυνόμενος ἐπενόει διαβαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς διφθέρας παρεσκεύαζεν ἐπὶ τῷ πόρῳ. [3] θυομένῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τὰ ἱερὰ οὐκ ἐγίνετο: ὁ δὲ βαρέως μὲν ἔφερεν οὐ γιγνομένων, ὅμως δὲ ἐκαρτέρει καὶ ἔμενεν. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀνίσταν οἱ Σκύθαι, αὐθις ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει ἐθύετο, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ κίνδυνον αὐτῷ σημαίνεισθαι

Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ μάντις ἔφραζεν· ὁ δὲ κρεῖσσον ἔφη ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου ἐλθεῖν ἢ κατεστραμμένον ξύμπασαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν Ἀσίαν γέλωτα εἶναι Σκύθαις, καθάπερ Δαρεῖος ὁ Ξέρξου πατὴρ πάλαι ἐγένετο. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ σημαινόμενα ἄλλα ἀποδείξεσθαι, ὅτι ἄλλα ἐθέλει ἀκοῦσαι Ἀλέξανδρος. [4] ὁ δέ, ὥς αἶ τε διφθέραι αὐτῷ παρεσκευασμένοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῷ πόρῳ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐξωπλισμένος ἐφειστήκει τῷ ποταμῷ, αἶ τε μηχαναὶ ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος ἐξηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας παριπτεύοντας ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ καὶ ἔστιν οἱ αὐτῶν ἐτιτρώσκοντο ἐκ τῶν βελῶν, εἷς δὲ δὴ διὰ τοῦ γέρρου τε καὶ τοῦ θώρακος διαμπὰξ πληγεῖς πίπτει ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, οἱ μὲν ἐξεπλάγησαν πρὸς τε τῶν βελῶν τὴν διὰ μακροῦ ἄφεςιν καὶ ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς αὐτοῖς τετελευτήκει, καὶ ὀλίγον ἀνεχώρησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης· [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τεταραγμένους πρὸς τὰ βέλη ἰδὼν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος· εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας ἀποβιβάσας σφενδονᾶν τε καὶ ἐκτοξεύειν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας, ὥς μὴ πελάζειν αὐτοὺς τῇ φάλαγγι τῶν πεζῶν ἐκβαινούσῃ, πρὶν τὴν ἵππον αὐτῷ διαβῆναι πᾶσαν. [6] ὥς δὲ ἀθρόοι ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ ἐγένοντο, ἐφῆκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μίαν ἱππαρχίαν τῶν ξένων καὶ τῶν σαρισσοφόρων ἴλας τέσσαρας· καὶ τούτους δεξάμενοι οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ ἐς κύκλους περιῦπεύοντες ἔβαλλόν τε πολλοὶ ὀλίγους καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ χαλεπῶς διεφύγγανον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τε τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψιλοὺς, ὧν Βάλακρος ἦρχεν, ἀναμίξας τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας. [7] ὥς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἐγίνοντο, ἐλάσαι ἐκέλευσεν ἐς αὐτοὺς τῶν τε ἐταίρων τρεῖς ἱππαρχίας καὶ τοὺς ἱπακοντιστὰς ξύμπαντας· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν ἵππον ἄγων σπουδῇ ἐνέβαλεν ὀρθαῖς ταῖς ἴλαις. οὐκ οὐκ ἔτι οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἐξελίσσειν τὴν ἱπασίαν ἐς κύκλους, ὥς πρόσθεν ἔτι· ὁμοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἵππος προσέκειτο αὐτοῖς, ὁμοῦ δὲ οἱ ψιλοὶ ἀναμεμιγμένοι τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οὐκ εἶων τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς ἀσφαλεῖς ποιεῖσθαι. ἔνθα λαμπρὰ ἤδη φυγὴ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἦν· [8] καὶ πίπτουσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ εἷς τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Σατράκης, ἐάλωσαν δὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πενήκοντα. ὥς δὲ ἡ δίωξις ὀξεῖά τε καὶ διὰ καύματος πολλοῦ τालαιπῶρως ἐγίνετο, δίψει τε ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα εἶχετο καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλαύνων πίνει ὅποιον ἦν ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ. [9] καὶ ἦν γὰρ πονηρὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ῥεῦμα ἀθρόον κατασκήπτει αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἡ δίωξις οὐκ ἐπὶ πάντων Σκυθῶν ἐγένετο· εἰ δὲ μή, δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι καὶ πάντες διαφθαρῆναι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, εἰ μὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸ σῶμα ἔκαμεν. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου ἐλθὼν ἐκομίσθη ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ οὕτω ξυνέβη ἡ μαντεία Ἀριστάνδρῳ.

IV. Alexander himself now spent twenty days in building the wall of the city which he proposed to found, and arranged to settle there any of the Greek mercenaries and any of the neighbouring tribesmen who had as volunteers shared in the settlement, with some of the Macedonians too from the camp, so many as were no longer fit for active service. He then sacrificed to the usual gods and held a cavalry and athletic contest; and seeing that the Scythians did not leave the river bank but were observed shooting arrows into the river, which was not very broad here, and besides uttered rough braggart taunts to

insult Alexander, to the effect that Alexander would not dare to touch the Scythians, or, if he did, would learn what was the difference between Scythians and the barbarians of Asia, being much irritated by these he was minded to cross and attack them, and began to get ready the hides for the crossing. However, when he sacrificed with a view to the crossing the sacrifice was not favourable. At this Alexander was much annoyed, but yet he restrained himself and stayed where he was. However, as the Scythians still continued, he sacrificed again with a view to crossing, and once more Aristander the prophet said that danger was signified to him. But Alexander replied that it was better to go to any extremity of danger than, after subduing almost all Asia, to be a laughing-stock to Scythians, as Dareius the father of Xerxes had been long ago. But Aristander refused to declare otherwise than the sacrifices had portended, merely because Alexander desired a different report.

So as soon as the hides had been got ready for him for the crossing, and the army in full marching order was drawn up on the river bank, and after the catapults, when the order was given, had hurled their volleys upon the Scythians who were riding along the bank, some of them being wounded by the missiles, and one actually pierced right through his shield and corslet fell from his horse, the Scythians were amazed at the long-range discharge of the missiles and at the death of one of the best men and retreated a little from the bank. Alexander thereupon, seeing them in disorder because of the missiles, sounded his bugles and began the crossing of the river, himself leading the way; the rest of the army followed him. He disembarked first the archers and slingers, and bade them sling and shoot at the Scythians, to keep them from approaching the phalanx of the infantry as it was disembarked, before the cavalry had all crossed. When they were all in a body on the bank, he launched at the Scythians first a regiment of the mercenaries and four squadrons of spearmen. The Scythians, who were in strong force, awaited them, and then rode round the smaller party of the enemy, which kept shooting at them, while they themselves easily managed to escape by flight. Alexander then massed together his archers, the Agrianes, and the other light troops, under Balacrus, with the cavalry, and led them against the Scythians. Then, when they were quite close, he ordered three regiments of the Companions and all the mounted javelin-men to charge them; and he himself brought up the rest of the cavalry at full speed and charged with his squadrons in column. So the Scythians were no longer able to wheel round in circles as they had been doing just before; for the Greek cavalry was now pressing them at close quarters, and at the same moment the light troops, mingling with the cavalry, prevented their wheeling about to the attack with any security. In fact the flight of the Scythians was by now manifest; there fell of them about a thousand, with one of their commanders, Satraces, while about a hundred and fifty were captured. The pursuit was sharp, and was distressing because of the great heat, so that all the army was consumed by thirst, and Alexander himself

as he rode on drank whatever kind of water there was in that district. The water was, however, unwholesome, and so a constant diarrhoea suddenly seized him; and for this reason the pursuit did not extend to the whole body of Scythians. Otherwise I am inclined to think that they would all have perished in their flight, had not Alexander had this seizure. He fell indeed into serious danger, and was carried back into the camp, and in this way Aristander's prophecy came true.

[1] ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον παρὰ τοῦ Σκυθῶν βασιλέως ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πρέσβεις, ὑπὲρ τῶνπραχθέντων ἐς ἀπολογίαὺν ἐκπεμφθέντες, οἳ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐπράχθη, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἄρπαγὴν ληστρικῶς τρόπῳ σταλέντων, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἳ ἐθέλοι ποιεῖν τὰ ἐπαγγελόμενα. καὶ τοῦτω φιλάνθρωπα ἐπιστέλλει Ἀλέξανδρος, οἳ οὔτε ἀπιστοῦντα μὴ ἐπεξιέναι καλὸν αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, οὔτε κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν ἐν τῷ τότε ἐπεξιέναι. [2] οἳ δὲ ἐν Μαρακάνδοις ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ φρουροῦμενοι Μακεδόνες προσβολῆς γενομένης τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐκ Σπιταμένους τε καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐπεκδραμόντες ἀπέκτεινάν τε τῶν πολεμίων ἔστιν οὗς καὶ ἀπώσαντο ζύμπαντας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαθεῖς ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. [3] ὥς δὲ καὶ οἳ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐσταλμένοι ἐς Μαρακάνδα ἤδη προσάγοντες Σπιταμένει ἐξηγγέλλοντο, τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν ἐκλείπει τῆς ἄκρας, αὐτοὺς δὲ ὥς ἐς τὰ βόρεια τῆς Σογδιανῆς ἀνεχώρει. Φαρνούχης δὲ καὶ οἳ ζῶν αὐτῷ στρατηγοὶ σπεύδοντες ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν παντάπασιν ἐπὶ τε τὰ ὅρια τῆς Σογδιανῆς ζυνείποντο ὑποχωροῦντι καὶ εἰς τοὺς Νομάδας τοὺς Σκύθας οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ ζυνεσβάλλουσιν. [4] ἔνθα δὴ προσλαβὼν ὁ Σπιταμένης τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱππέων ἐς ἐξακοσίους προσεπῆρθη ὑπὸ τῆς ζυμμάχιας τῆς Σκυθικῆς δέξασθαι ἐπιόντας τοὺς Μακεδόνας: παραταξάμενος δὲ ἐν χωρίῳ ὁμαλῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐρήμῳ τῆς Σκυθικῆς ὑπομῆναι μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ αὐτοὺς ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν οὐκ ἤθελε, περιῖππεύων δὲ ἐτόξευεν ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν. [5] καὶ ἐπελαυνόντων μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀμφὶ Φαρνούχην ἔφευγεν εὐπετῶς, οἳ δὴ ὠκυτέρων τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀκμαιοτέρων ὄντων τῶν ἵππων, τοῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀνδρομάχον ὑπὸ τε τῆς ζυνεχοῦς πορείας καὶ ἅμα χιλοῦ ἀπορίας κεκάκωτο ἢ ἵππος: μένουσι δὲ ἢ ὑποχωροῦσιν ἐπέκειντο εὐρώστως οἳ Σκύθαι. [6] ἔνθα δὴ πολλῶν μὲν τιτρωσκομένων ἐκ τῶν τοξευμάτων, ἔστι δὲ ὧν καὶ πιπτόντων, ἐς πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον τάξαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνεχώρουν ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πολυτίμητον, οἳ νάπος ταύτῃ ἦν, ὥς μήτε τοῖς βαρβάροις εὐπετεὺς ἔτι εἶναι ἐκτοξεύειν ἐς αὐτούς, σφίσι τε οἳ πεζοὶ ὠφελιμώτεροι ὦσι. [7] Κάρανος δὲ ὁ ἱπάρχης οὐκ ἀνακοινώσας Ἀνδρομάχῳ μάχῳ διαβαίνειν ἐπεχείρησε τὸν ποταμὸν ὥς ἐς ἀσφαλὲς ταύτῃ καταστήσων τὴν ἵππον: καὶ οἳ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπηκολούθησαν, οὐκ ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ φοβερὰ τε καὶ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἢ ἔσθαι ἢ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ κρημνώδεις τὰς ὄχθας. [8] καὶ οἳ βάρβαροι αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων αὐτοῖς ἵπποις ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν πόρον. καὶ οἳ μὲν τῶν ἤδη διαβεβηκότων καὶ ἀποχωρούντων εἶχοντο, οἳ δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνοντας ἀντιμέτωποι ταχθέντες ἀνείλουν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, οἳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πλαγίων ἐξετόξευον ἐς αὐτούς, [9] οἳ δὲ τοῖς ἔτι ἐσβαίνουσιν ἐπέκειντο, ὥστε ἀπορία πάντοθεν ζυνεχόμενοι οἳ Μακεδόνες ἐς νῆσόν τινα

τῶν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ξυμφεύγουσιν οὐ μεγάλην. καὶ περιστάντες αὐτοὺς οἱ Σκύθαι τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν Σπιταμένει ἱππεῖς ἐν κύκλῳ πάντας κατετόξευσαν: ὀλίγους δὲ ἠνδραποδίσαντο αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτους πάντας ἀπέκτειναν.

V. Soon afterwards envoys reached Alexander from the king of the Scythians; they had been sent to express regret for what had occurred, on the ground that it had not been any united action of the Scythian state, but only that of raiders and freebooters; the king himself, moreover, was desirous to perform what was laid upon him. Alexander gave a polite answer, since it seemed dishonourable not to continue the expedition, if he distrusted the king, and yet it was not exactly the best moment to make the expedition.

The Macedonians, meanwhile, who were being watched in the citadel at Maracanda, on an assault being made on the citadel by Spitamenes and his troops, made a sally and killed some of the enemy, while they drove off the whole body, themselves retiring unharmed to the citadel. As soon, however, as Spitamenes heard that the force sent by Alexander to Maracanda was already drawing near, he left the siege of the citadel and himself retreated as if to the chief city of Sogdiana. (Some error, possibly. Maracanda (Samarkand) was itself the capital.) Pharnuches, however, and the officers with him, hurrying on to drive him off altogether, pursued him as he retreated towards the frontiers of Sogdiana, and unheedingly made a general attack on the nomad Scythians. On this Spitamenes, adding to his force some six hundred Scythian horse, was encouraged by this alliance of the Scythians to await the Macedonians as they came on; he drew up his men on a level space near the Scythian desert, but had no intention of merely awaiting the enemy or himself making a charge upon them, but wheeling round and round shot volleys of arrows into the infantry phalanx. Then when Pharnuches' troops charged them, they had no difficulty in riding off, their horses being swifter and at the moment fresher, while the horses of Andromachus' troops were distressed by the forced march and want of fodder, so that whether they stood their ground or withdrew, the Scythians swooped vigorously upon them. And now as a good number of men were being wounded by the arrows, and some actually falling, the officers formed their men into a square and withdrew towards the river Polytimetus, where was a wooded glen near by, so that the Scythians could no longer easily shoot at them, and they themselves could make more use of their infantry.

Caranus, however, the commander of the cavalry, without notifying Andromachus attempted to cross the river, hoping to get his cavalry into safety on this side, and the infantry followed him, not receiving any instructions to do so, but making a panic-stricken and disorderly descent into the river from the precipitous banks. The Scythians seeing this error of the Macedonians, mounted as they were, dashed from all directions into the stream. Some pressed on after those who had already crossed and were retreating, others ranging themselves athwart pulled down into the river those who were trying to cross, others again from the flanks showered arrows at

them, and others pressed on such as were just entering the river. Then the Macedonians, helpless every way, took refuge in a body on a small island in the river. The Scythians flocking round them, with Spitamenes' cavalry, in a circle, shot them all down; a few they took as prisoners, but killed all these also.

[1] Αριστόβουλος δὲ ἐνέδρα τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφθαρῆναι λέγει, τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐν παραδείσῳ κρυφθέντων, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ἐπεγένοντο τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ: ἵνα τὸν μὲν Φαρνούχην παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῖς ξυμπεμφθεῖσι Μακεδόσιν, ὥς οὐκ ἐμπείρως ἔχοντα ἔργων πολεμικῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ καθομιλῆσαι τοὺς βαρβάρους μᾶλλον τι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐσταλμένον, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας τε εἶναι καὶ ἐταίρους βασιλέως. [2] Ἀνδρόμαχον δὲ καὶ Κάρανον καὶ Μενέδημον οὐ δέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὸ μὲν τι ὥς μὴ δοκεῖν παρὰ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτοὺς τι κατὰ σφᾶς νεωτερίζειν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δεινῷ οὐκ ἐθελήσαντας, εἰ δὴ τι πταίσειαν, μὴ ὅσον κατ' ἄνδρα μόνον μετέχειν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς τὸ πᾶν αὐτοὺς κακῶς ἐξηγησάμενους. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ θορύβῳ τε καὶ τῇ ἀταξίᾳ ἐπιθεμένους αὐτοῖς τοὺς βαρβάρους κατακόψαι πάντας, ὥστε ἱππέας μὲν μὴ πλείονας τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἀποσωθῆναι, πεζοὺς δὲ ἐς τριακοσίους. [3] ταῦτα δὲ ὥς ἠγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἠλγησέ τε τῷ πάθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἔγνω σπουδῇ ἐλαύνειν ὥς ἐπὶ Σπιταμένην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν βαρβάρους. ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τῶν τε ἐταίρων ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμισέας καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς ζύμπαντας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς κουφοτάτους ἦει ὥς ἐπὶ Μαράκανδα, ἵνα ἐπανήκειν Σπιταμένην ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ αὐθις πολιορκεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ. [4] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις διελθὼν χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους τῇ τετάρτῃ ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω προσῆγε τῇ πόλει. Σπιταμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτόν, ὥς ἐξηγγέλθη προσάγων Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐκ ἔμειναν, ἀλλ' ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν φεύγουσιν. [5] ὁ δὲ ἐχόμενος αὐτῶν ἐδίωκεν: ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν χῶρον ἦκεν, οὗ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, θάψας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὥς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων εἵπετο ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον τοῖς φεύγουσιν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναστρέφων ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὰ ἐρύματα καταπεφευγότες τῶν βαρβάρων ἔκτεινεν, ὅτι ξυνεπιθέσθαι ἐξηγγέλλοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι: καὶ ἐπῆλθε πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ὅσῃν ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Πολυτίμητος ἐπάρδων ἐπέρχεται. [6] ἵνα δὲ ἀφανίζεται τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐντεῦθεν ἦδη τὸ ἐπέκεινα ἔρημος ἡ χώρα ἐστίν: ἀφανίζεται δὲ καίπερ πολλοῦ ὦν ὕδατος ἐς τὴν ψάμμον. καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ ὡσαύτως ἐκεῖ ἀφανίζονται μεγάλοι καὶ ἀέ[v]ναιοι, ὃ τε Ἑπαρδος, ὃς ῥέει διὰ Μάρδων τῆς χώρας, καὶ Ἄρειος, ὅτου ἐπώνυμος ἡ τῶν Ἀρείων γῆ ἐστίν, καὶ Ἑτόμανδρος, ὃς δι' Εὐεργετῶν ῥέει. [7] καὶ εἰσὶ ζύμπαντες οὗτοι τηλικούτοι ποταμοὶ ὥστε οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν μείων ἐστὶ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ τοῦ Θεσσαλικοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὃς διὰ τῶν Τεμπῶν ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν: ὁ δὲ Πολυτίμητος πολὺ ἔτι μείζων ἢ κατὰ τὸν Πηνειὸν ποταμὸν ἐστίν.

VI. Aristobulus, however, states that the greater part of this force was destroyed by an ambush, the Scythians having hidden themselves in a park; then they suddenly burst forth upon the Macedonians from their concealment

just at the beginning of the action, just at the moment when Pharnuches was retiring from his command in favour of the Macedonians who had been sent with him, on the ground that he was not skilled in military actions, but had been sent by Alexander rather to treat with the natives than to act as leader in battles, while they were both Macedonians and Companions of the king. Andromachus, however, and Caranus and Menedemus did not accept, the command, partly that they might not appear to take any fresh action on their own account over and above the commands of Alexander; and partly because in the face of this danger they did not wish to take any individual share in defeat, should this happen; much less to bear the blame, as a body, of having proved bad generals. In this confusion and disorder the Scythians charged down and cut them down in large numbers, so that of cavalry not more than forty escaped, and of foot-soldiers about three hundred.

When this was reported to Alexander he was much distressed at this disaster to his men and decided to march at full speed upon Spitamenes and the tribesmen with him. Accordingly, he took half of the Companions' cavalry, the archers and the Agrianes, and, of the phalanx, the lightest-armed, and marched on Maracanda, whither he had learnt that Spitamenes had returned and was again besieging the garrison in the citadel. Alexander traversed fifteen hundred stades in three days, and on the fourth about dawn approached the city. But Spitamenes and his troops, learning that Alexander was drawing near, did not await him but left the city and fled. Alexander pursued him closely; and when he reached the place where the battle took place, he buried the soldiers as best he could and followed the fugitives right up to the desert. Thence he turned back, and ravaged the district, and slew such of the tribesmen as had taken refuge in the forts, because they too were reported to have joined in the attack on the Macedonians. He traversed the entire country which the river Polytimetus waters, but when the water of the river comes to an end, thence beyond the country is all desert: the stream, though of considerable volume of water, vanishes into the sand. Other rivers, great and perennial ones, disappear there in the same way; the Eparodus, which runs through the Mardian country, the Areius, which gives its name to the country Areia, and the Etymandrus, which runs through the country of the Euergetae. All these rivers are of a size such that none is smaller than the Peneius, the river of Thessaly which runs through Tempe and discharges into the sea; the Polytimetus, however, is out of all comparison larger than the Peneius.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραζάμενος ἐς Ζαρίασπα ἀφίκετο: καὶ αὐτοῦ κατέμενεν ἔστε παρελθεῖν τὸ ἀκμαῖον τοῦ χειμῶνος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτὸν Φραταφέρνης τε ὁ Παρθυαίων σατράπης καὶ Στασάνωρ ὁ ἐς Ἀρείου ἀποπεμφθεὶς ὡς Ἀρσάκην ξυλληψόμενος, τὸν τε Ἀρσάκην δεδεμένον ἄγοντες καὶ Βραζάνην, ὅντινα Βῆσσοι τῆς Παρθυαίων σατράπην κατέστησε, καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν τότε ξὺν Βῆσσο ἀποστάντων. [2] ἦκον δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Ἐπόκιλλος καὶ Μελαμνίδας καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῶν Θρακῶν στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, οἱ

τά τε χρήματα τὰ ξὺν Μένητι πεμφθέντα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ὥς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατήγαγον. καὶ Ἀσάνδρος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἦκεν καὶ Νέαρχος, στρατιὰν Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων ἄγοντες, καὶ % Βῆσσός τε ὁ Συρίας σατράπης καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ ὑπαρχος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, καὶ οὗτοι στρατιὰν ἄγοντες. [3] ἔνθα δὴ ξύλλογον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ξυναγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος παρήγαγεν ἐς αὐτοὺς Βῆσσον· καὶ κατηγορήσας τὴν Δαρείου προδοσίαν τὴν τε ῥίνα Βῆσσου ἀποτμηθῆναι καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἄκρα ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα ἄγεσθαι, ὥς ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ Μήδων τε καὶ Περσῶν ξυλλόγῳ ἀποθανούμενον. [4] καὶ ἐγὼ οὕτε τὴν ἄγαν ταύτην τιμωρίαν Βῆσσου ἐπαινῶ, ἀλλὰ βαρβαρικὴν εἶναι τίθεμαι τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων τὴν λώβην καὶ ὑπαχθῆναι Ἀλέξανδρον ξύμφημι ἐς ζῆλον τοῦ Μηδικοῦ τε καὶ Περσικοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους βασιλέας οὐκ ἴσης ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ξυνδιατίσεως, ἐσθιῆτά τε ὅτι Μηδικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς τε καὶ πατρίου Ἡρακλείδης ὦν μετέλαβεν, οὐδαμῇ ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τὴν κίταριν τὴν Περσικὴν τῶν νενικημένων ἀντὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὁ νικῶν πάλαι ἐφόρει ἀμείψαι οὐκ ἐπηδέσθη, [5] οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπαινῶ, ἀλλ' εἵπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλα πράγματα ἐς τεκμηρίωσιν τίθεμαι ὥς οὕτε τὸ σῶμα ὅτῳ εἴη καρτερόν, οὕτε ὅστις γένει ἐπιφανής, οὕτε κατὰ πόλεμον εἰ δὴ τις διευτυχοίη ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐδὲ εἰ τὴν Λιβύην τις πρὸς τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καθάπερ οὖν ἐπενόει ἐκεῖνος, ἐκπεριπλεύσας κατάσχοι, οὐδὲ εἰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τε καὶ Λιβύῃ τρίτην, τούτων πάντων οὐδὲν τι ὄφελος ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὴ σωφρονεῖν ἐν ταύτῳ ὑπάρχοι τούτῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τὰ μεγάλα, ὥς δοκεῖ, πράγματα πράξαντι.

VII. When Alexander had completed this, he arrived at Zariaspa; and there he remained till the depth of winter should pass. Meanwhile there came to him Phrataphemes the satrap of Parthyaëa and Stasanor who had been sent to Areia to arrest Arsames, bringing Arsames in chains, and Barzanes, whom Bessus had made satrap of Parthyaëa; and others also of those who had revolted with Bessus. There arrived at the same time from the seacoast Epocillus and Melamnidas and Ptolemaeus the general of the Thracians; they had escorted the treasure sent with Menes and the allies down to the sea. Asander also came at this time and Nearchus, bringing a Greek mercenary force, and Bessus the satrap of Syria, and Asclepiodorus the deputy, from the sea, they also bringing an army.

Then Alexander summoned a conference of those with him and brought out Bessus before them, and accusing Bessus of treachery towards Dareius and commanded that his nose and tips of the ears should be cut off, and that he should be carried to Ecbatana, there to be put to death in the full gathering of Medes and Persians. This over-punishing of Bessus I cannot approve; I regard as barbaric the mutilation of the extremities, and I agree that Alexander was carried away to the extent both of copying Medic and Persian splendour, and also the fashion of barbaric kings to treat their subjects as lower creatures. Nor do I at all commend his taking to Median garb instead of the Macedonian traditional dress, especially since he was a descendant of Heracles. Moreover, he did not blush to exchange the head-dress he had long worn as a conqueror

for the tiara of the conquered Persians. I commend none of these things, but I hold that Alexander's own splendid achievements prove, if aught can prove, that neither vigorous bodily strength nor splendour of birth nor greater fortune in war than Alexander's own, nor if anyone might sail round Libya and Asia and subdue them both, as Alexander intended, nor if one might add Europe as a third, over and above Libya and Asia — that not one of these things is of any use to make a man's happiness, unless the man that has done, in the eyes of the world, these mighty deeds, has learnt the mastery of himself.

[1] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ Κλείτου τοῦ Δρωπίδου πάθημα καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ξυμφοράν, εἰ καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐπράχθη, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ ἀφηγήσομαι. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἡμέραν ἱερὰν τοῦ Διονύσου Μακεδόσι καὶ θύειν Διονύσῳ ὅσα ἔτη ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀλέξανδρον· [2] τὸν δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου μὲν ἐν τῷ τότε ἀμελῆσαι λέγουσι, Διοσκούροι δὲ θῦσαι, ἐξ ὅτου δὴ ἐπιφρασθέντα τοῖν Διοσκούροι τὴν θυσίαν· πόρρω δὲ τοῦ πότου προϊόντος 'καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῶν πότων ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς τὸ βαρβαρικώτερον νενεωτέριστό ἄλλ' ἐν γε τῷ πότῳ τότε ὑπὲρ τοῖν Διοσκούροι λόγους γίνεσθαι, ὅπως ἐς Δία ἀνηνέχθη αὐτοῖν ἡ γένεσις ἀφαιρεθεῖσα Τυνδάρεω. [3] καὶ τινες τῶν παρόντων κολακεία τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου, οἳ οὐδὲν ἀνδρες διέφθειράν τε αἰεὶ καὶ οὐποτε παύσσονται ἐπιτρίβοντες τὰ τῶν αἰεὶ βασιλέων πράγματα, κατ' οὐδὲν ἀξιοῦν συμβάλλειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργοις τὸν Πολυδεύκην καὶ τὸν Κάστορα. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀπείχοντο ἐν τῷ πότῳ· ἀλλὰ τὸν φθόνον γὰρ ἐμποδῶν ἴστασθαι τοῖς ζῶσι τὸ μὴ οὐ τὰς δικαίας τιμὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ξυνόντων γίνεσθαι. [4] Κλείτον δὲ δῆλον μὲν εἶναι πάλαι ἤδη ἀχθόμενον τοῦ τε Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ ἐς τὸ βαρβαρικώτερον μετακινήσει καὶ τῶν κολακευόντων αὐτὸν τοῖς λόγοις τότε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τοῦ οἴνου παροξυνόμενον οὐκ εἶναι οὔτε ἐς τὸ θεῖον ὑβρίζειν, οὔτε [ἐς] τὰ τῶν πάλαι ἡρώων ἔργα ἐκφραυλίζοντας χάριν ταύτην ἄχαριν προστιθέναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [5] εἶναι γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου οὕτω τι μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά ὥς ἐκεῖνοι ἐπαίρουσιν· οὐκ οὐκ μόνον καταπρᾶξαι αὐτὰ, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολὺ γὰρ μέρος Μακεδόνων εἶναι τὰ ἔργα. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἀνιᾶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον λεχθέντα. οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἐπαινῶ τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ ἱκανὸν γὰρ εἶναι τίθεμαι ἐν τοιαύτῃ παροινία τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν σιγῶντα ἔχειν μηδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς κολακείαν πλημμελεῖν. [6] ὥς δὲ καὶ τῶν Φιλίππου τινὲς ἔργων, ὅτι οὐ μεγάλα οὐδὲ θαυμαστά Φιλίππῳ κατεπράχθη, οὐδεμιᾷ ξὺν δίκῃ ἐπεμνήσθησαν, χαριζόμενοι καὶ οὗτοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τὸν Κλείτον ἤδη οὐκέτι ἐν ἑαυτοῦ ὄντα πρεσβεύειν μὲν τὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου, καταβάλλειν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τὰ τούτου ἔργα, παροινούντα ἤδη τὸν Κλείτον, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πολὺν εἶναι ἐξονειδίζοντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρα ἐσώθη, ὅποτε ἡ ἵππομαχία ἢ ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ ξυνειστῆκει πρὸς Πέρσας· [7] καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν τὴν αὐτοῦ σοβαρῶς ἀνατείναντα, αὕτη σε ἡ χεὶρ, φάναι, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἐν τῷ τότε ἔσωσε. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκέτι φέρειν τοῦ Κλείτου τὴν παροινίαν τε καὶ ὕβριν, ἀλλὰ ἀναπηδᾶν γὰρ ξὺν ὀργῇ ἐπ' αὐτόν, κατέχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ξυμπινόντων. Κλείτον δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέναι ὑβρίζοντα. [8] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐβόα ἄρα καλῶν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς· οὐδενὸς δὲ ὑπακούοντος ἐς ταῦτα ἔφη καθεστηκέναι Δαρεῖω, ὅποτε πρὸς Βῆσσου τε καὶ

τῶν ἀμφὶ Βῆσσαν ξυλληφθεὶς ἤγετο οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ ὄνομα ὦν βασιλῆως. οὐκ οὐκ ἐπὶ οἷους τε εἶναι κατέχειν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐταίρους, ἀλλ' ἀναπηδήσαντα γὰρ οἱ μὲν λόγῃν ἀρπάσαι λέγουσι τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τινὸς καὶ ταύτην παίσαντα Κλεῖτον ἀποκτεῖναι, [9] οἱ δὲ σάρισσαν παρὰ τῶν φυλάκων τινὸς καὶ ταύτην. Ἀριστόβουλος βουλος δὲ ὅθεν μὲν ἡ παροιμία ὠρμήθη οὐ λέγει, Κλεῖτου δὲ γενέσθαι μόνου τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ὃν γε ὠργισμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀναπηδήσαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς διαχρησμένου ἀπαχθῆναι μὲν διὰ θυρῶν ἔξω ὑπὲρ τὸ τεῖχος τε καὶ τὴν τάφρον τῆς ἄκρας, ἵνα ἐγίνετο, πρὸς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τοῦ σωματοφύλακος: οὐ καρτερήσαντα δὲ ἀναστρέψαι αὐθις καὶ περιπετῇ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γενέσθαι Κλεῖτον ἀνακαλοῦντι, καὶ φάναι ὅτι: οὗτός τοι ἐγὼ ὁ Κλεῖτος, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πληγέντα τῇ σαρίσσει ἀποθανεῖν.

VIII. At this point it will not be unseasonable to relate the death of Cleitus son of Dropides and what happened to Alexander after it; even though it actually occurred later. The Macedonians kept a festival of Dionysus and Alexander sacrificed to him yearly on the festival; it is said that only on this particular occasion Alexander neglected Dionysus but sacrificed to the Dioscuri, having for some reason decided thus to sacrifice to the Dioscuri. However, the drinking was prolonged (and, in fact, Alexander had already taken to barbaric ways in drinking), and in the course of the drinking bout talk occurred about the Dioscuri, and how their fatherhood was no longer attributed to Tyndareus but referred to Zeus. Some of the company, that type of men who always have spoiled and always will continue to harm the interests of the reigning monarch, out of flattery to Alexander, gave out as their opinion that there was no comparison between Castor and Pollux and Alexander and Alexander's achievements. Others, being as they were in drink, did not even stop short of Heracles; it was only envy, they said, which stood in the way of those yet living and kept them from receiving their due honours from their contemporaries.

Cleitus, however, had clearly, for some time past, been distressed both with Alexander's change towards the more barbaric style and the expressions of his flatterers; and now under the stimulus of wine he could not permit them to offer these insults to divine beings, or, by belittling the deeds of the heroes of old, to do to Alexander this kindness that was far from kind. He felt that Alexander's achievements were not so great and wonderful as they exaggerated them to be; nay, Alexander had not achieved them by himself, but they were for the great part Macedonian achievements. When he uttered these thoughts, Alexander was deeply hurt. I do not commend Cleitus' words, either; I rather think it enough, amid such drunkenness, for a man to keep his own views to himself, and so avoid the errors of flattery of the rest. However, when some even referred to Philip's achievements, quite unjustly suggesting that Philip had done no great or wonderful deeds, these also trying to gratify Alexander, Cleitus could no longer control himself and spoke up on behalf of Philip's achievements, making little of Alexander and his; and being now heated with wine, among other things he even became voluble in reproaches

to Alexander, that after all Alexander owed his life to him, when the cavalry battle on the Granicus was fought with the Persians; and, what is more, holding out with a superb air his right hand, cried, "This very hand, Alexander, saved you then!" On this Alexander could no longer brook the drunken arrogance of Cleitus, and leapt up in anger to strike him, but was held back by his boon companions. Still Cleitus did not restrain his insults. Thereupon Alexander shouted out, calling on his bodyguard; but as no one obeyed, he cried that he had come to the same pass as Dareius, when he was led prisoner by Bessus and his confederates, and that he had nothing now left of king but the name. No longer could his friends hold him back; but he leapt up and, as some say, snatched a spear from one of the guard and therewith smote and slew Cleitus; but, according to others, a long pike from one of the guard, and with this slew him. But Aristobulus, while not telling us the origin of this drinking bout, holds that the entire fault lay in Cleitus, since he, as Alexander broke into passion and leapt up to slay him, was hurried away through the doors over the wall and ditch of the citadel, where all this happened, by Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, one of the bodyguards; and yet could not control himself, and hurried back; and arriving just as Alexander was calling out "Cleitus!" himself cried, "Behold, here is Cleitus, Alexander!" and there and then was smitten with the pike and so died.

[1] καὶ ἐγὼ Κλεῖτον μὲν τῆς ὕβρεως τῆς ἐς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν αὐτοῦ μεγαλωστὶ μέμφομαι· Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς οἰκτεῖρω, ὅτι δυοῖν κακοῖν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡττημένον ἐπέδειξεν αὐτόν, ὕφ' ὧτων δὴ καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου οὐκ ἐπέοικεν ἄνδρα σωφρονοῦντα ἐξηττάσθαι, ὀργῆς τε καὶ παροινίας. [2] ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε αὖ ἐπαινῶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅτι παραντίκα ἔγνω σχέτλιον ἔργον ἐργασάμενος. καὶ λέγουσιν εἰσὶν οἱ [τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου] ὅτι ἐρείσας τὴν σάρισσαν πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον ἐπιπίπτειν ἐγνώκει αὐτῇ, ὥς οὐ καλὸν αὐτῷ ζῆν ἀποκτείναντι φίλον αὐτοῦ ἐν οἴνῳ. [3] οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ξυγγραφεῖς τοῦτο μὲν οὐ λέγουσιν, ἀπελθόντα δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐνὴν κεῖσθαι ὀδυρόμενον, αὐτόν τε τὸν Κλεῖτον ὀνομαστὶ ἀνακαλοῦντα καὶ τὴν Κλείτου μὲν ἀδελφήν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀναθρεψαμένην, Λανίκην τὴν Δρωπίδου παῖδα, ὡς καλὰ ἄρα αὐτῇ τροφεῖα ἀποτετικῶς εἴη ἀνδρωθεῖς, [4] ἥ γε τοὺς μὲν παῖδας τοὺς ἑαυτῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἐπέιδεν ἀποθανόντας, τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ αὐτῆς αὐτὸς αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἔκτεινε· φονέα τε τῶν φίλων οὐ διαλείπειν αὐτὸν ἀνακαλοῦντα, ἄσιτόν τε καὶ ἄποτον καρτερεῖν ἔστε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ τίνα ἄλλην θεραπείαν θεραπεῦσαι τὸ σῶμα. [5] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν μάντεων τινες μῆνιν ἐκ Διονύσου ἦδον, ὅτι ἡ θυσία ἐξελείφθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἢ τοῦ Διονύσου. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος μόγις πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων πεισθεὶς σίτου τε ἦψατο καὶ τὸ σῶμα κακῶς ἐθεράπευσε· καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὴν θυσίαν ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἄκοντι ἦν ἐς μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ μᾶλλον τι ἢ τὴν αὐτοῦ κακότητα ἀναφέρεσθαι τὴν ξυμφοράν. [6] ταῦτα μεγαλωστὶ ἐπαινῶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὸ μῆτε ἀπαυθαδιάσασθαι ἐπὶ κακῷ, μῆτε προστάτην τε καὶ ξυνήγορον κακίονα ἔτι γενέσθαι τοῦ ἁμαρτηθέντος, ἀλλὰ ξυμφῆσαι γὰρ ἐπταικένοι ἄνθρωπόν γε ὄντα. [7] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγουσιν Ἀνάξαρχον τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐλθεῖν μὲν παρ'

Ἀλέξανδρον κληθέντα, ὡς παραμυθησόμενον: εὐρόντα δὲ κείμενον καὶ ἐπιστένοντα, ἀγνοεῖν, φάναι ἐπιγελάσαντα, διότι ἐπὶ τῷδε οἱ πάλοι σοφοὶ ἄνδρες τὴν Δίκην παρέδρον τῷ Διὶ ἐποίησαν ὡς ὁ τι ἂν πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς κυρωθῇ, τοῦτο ζὺν δίκη πεπραγμένον. καὶ οὖν καὶ τὰ ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου γιγνόμενα δίκαια χρῆναι νομίζεσθαι, πρῶτα μὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλέως, ἔπειτα πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. [8] ταῦτα εἰπόντα παραμυθῆσασθαι μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ τότε, κακὸν δὲ μέγα, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι, ἐξεργάσασθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ μεῖζον ἔτι ἢ ὅτῳ τότε ξυνείχετο, εἶπερ οὖν σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς τήνδε ἔγνω τὴν δόξαν, ὡς οὐ τὰ δίκαια ἄρα χρὴ σπουδῇ ἐπιλεγόμενον πράττειν τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ ὁ τι ἂν καὶ ὅπως οὖν ἐκ βασιλέως πραχθῇ, τοῦτο δίκαιον νομίζειν. [9] ἐπεὶ καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ἐθέλειν Ἀλέξανδρον λόγος κατέχει, ὑπούσης μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἀμφὶ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος πατρὸς μᾶλλον τι ἢ Φιλίππου δόξης, θαυμάζοντα δὲ ἤδη τὰ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων τῆς τε ἐσθῆτος τῇ ἀμείψει καὶ τῆς ἄλλης θεραπείας τῇ μετακοσμήσει. οὐκ ἐνδεῆσαι δὲ οὐδὲ πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτῷ τοὺς κολακείας ἐς αὐτὸ ἐνδιδόντας, ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν Ἀνάξαρχόν τε καὶ Ἅγιν Ἀργεῖον, ἐποποιόν.

IX. I myself strongly blame Cleitus for his insulting behaviour towards his king; Alexander I pity for this mishap, since he showed himself therein the slave of two vices, by neither of which any self-respecting man should be overcome, namely, passion and drunkenness. But for the sequel I commend Alexander, in that he immediately perceived that he had done a foul deed. ‘Some say that Alexander leaned the pike against the wall, intending to fall upon it himself, as no longer worthy to live when he had slain a friend through drunkenness. But most historians do not relate this. They tell us that Alexander took to his bed and lay there lamenting, crying out the name of Cleitus and of Cleitus’ sister, Lanice daughter of Dropides, who had nursed him: “What a fine gift for her nursing had he given her, now come to man’s estate! she had seen her sons die fighting for him, and now with his own hand he had murdered her brother.” He kept again and again calling himself the slayer of his friends, and lay three days without food or drink, and careless of all other bodily needs.

Hereupon some of the prophets kept uttering hints of wrath from Dionysus, because Alexander had neglected the sacrifice to Dionysus. With some difficulty Alexander was brought by his friends to take food, and took some slight care of his person; then he paid the due sacrifice to Dionysus, since indeed he was not unwilling that the disaster should be referred to divine wrath rather than to his own evil nature. In this I have high commendation for Alexander, that he did not brazen out his evil act, nor degrade himself by becoming champion and advocate of his misdeed; but confessed that, being merely human, he had erred.

Some authorities say that Anaxarchus the Sophist came by summons to Alexander, and finding him lying moaning, laughed at him and said that Alexander had not learnt that the old philosophers made Justice to sit by the throne of Zeus just for this reason, that whatsoever is done by Zeus is done

with Justice; even so what is done by a great King should be held just, both by the King himself and by all the world. With these words he consoled Alexander for the time; but I say that he did Alexander a wrong more grievous than the trouble which beset him; if indeed he gave this opinion as that of a philosopher, that the King need not really give all diligence to choose out and do just deeds, but that we must hold whatsoever the King does, in whatsoever way it may be done, to be just. For the tale goes that Alexander even desired people to bow to the earth before him, from the idea that Ammon was his father rather than Philip, and since he now emulated the ways of the Persians and Medes, both by the change of his garb and the altered arrangements of his general way of life. It is said that he had no lack of zealous flatterers who yielded to him in this, and not least among them Anaxarchus, one of the Sophists at his court, and Agis of Argos, an epic poet.

[1] Καλλισθένην δὲ τὸν Ὀλύνθιον Ἀριστοτέλους τε τῶν λόγων διακηκούτα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὄντα ὑπαγροικότερον οὐκ ἐπαινεῖν ταῦτα. τούτου μὲν δὴ ἔνεκα καὶ αὐτὸς Καλλισθένει ξυμφέρομαι, ἐκεῖνα δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπιεικῇ δοκῶ τοῦ Καλλισθένους, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ ξυγγέγραπται, ὅτι ὑφ' αὐτῷ εἶναι ἀπέφαινε καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ξυγγραφῇ Ἀλέξανδρον τε καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα, [2] οὐκ οὖν αὐτὸς ἀφίχθαι ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξαν κτησόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνον εὐκλεᾶ ἐς ἀνθρώπους ποιήσων· καὶ οὖν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μετουσίαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν Ὀλυμπιάς ὑπὲρ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ ψεύδεται ἀνηρτηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυγγράψας ἐξενέγκῃ ἐς ἀνθρώπους. [3] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, ὡς ἄρα ἦρετο αὐτόν ποτε Φιλώτας ὄντινα οἶοιτο μάλιστα τιμηθῆναι πρὸς τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως· τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα, ὅτι τὸν ἕτερον τοῖν τυράννοιον ἔκτειναν καὶ τυραννίδα ὅτι κατέλυσαν. [4] ἐρέσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν Φιλώταν εἰ τῷ τυράννῳ κτείναντι ὑπάρχοι παρ' οὐστinas ἐθέλει τῶν Ἑλλήνων φυγόντα σώζεσθαι· καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐτῷ Καλλισθένην, εἰ καὶ μὴ παρ' ἄλλους, παρὰ γε Ἀθηναίους ὅτι φυγόντι ὑπάρχοι σώζεσθαι. τούτους γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Εὐρυσθέα πολεμῆσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους, τυραννοῦντα ἐν τῷ τότε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. [5] ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς προσκυνήσεως ὅπως ἤναντιώθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ τοῖόσδε κατέχει λόγος. ξυγκεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστάς τε καὶ τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους μνήμην τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε ἐν πότῳ ἐμβαλεῖν· [6] ἄρξαι δὲ τοῦ λόγου Ἀνάξαρχον, ὡς πολὺ δικαιότερον ἂν θεὸν νομιζόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον Διονύσου τε καὶ Ἡρακλέους, μὴ ὅτι τῶν ἔργων ἔνεκα ὅσα καὶ ἡλίκα καταπέπρακται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι Διόνυσος μὲν Θηβαῖος ἦν, οὐδὲν τι προσήκων Μακεδόσι, καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Ἀργεῖος, οὐδὲ οὗτος προσήκων ὅτι μὴ κατὰ γένος τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου· Ἡρακλείδην γὰρ εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρον· [7] Μακεδόνας δὲ ἂν τὸν σφῶν βασιλέα δικαιότερον θείαις τιμαῖς κοσμοῦντας. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο εἶναι ἀμφίλογον ὅτι ἀπελθόντα γε ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὡς θεὸν τιμήσουσι· πόσῳ δὴ δικαιότερον ζῶντα γεραίρειν ἢ περ τελευτήσαντα ἐς οὐδὲν ὄφελος τῷ τιμωμένῳ. λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοιούτων λόγων

X. Callisthenes of Olynthus, however, a pupil of Aristotle, and with

something of the boor in his character, did not approve all this, and herein I agree with Callisthenes. But I think quite out of place the remark of Callisthenes (if correctly reported), that Alexander and his achievements were all dependent on himself and his history. He himself (he said) hoped for no glory in coming to Alexander, but rather to make Alexander famous in the sight of men; and again, that Alexander's share in divinity did not depend on Olympias' fanciful story of his birth, but upon his own account of Alexander which should be given to the world in his history. Some relate too that Philotas once asked him whom he thought to be held in highest honour by the Athenians; and he replied, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, because they slew one of the two tyrants, and destroyed the tyranny. Then Philotas asked him again if a tyrannicide could find a safe refuge among any of the Greeks he wished? and Callisthenes again answered that if not elsewhere, at least if he fled to Athens such a one would be safe, since the Athenians, on behalf of the children of Heracles, had even fought against Eurysthenes, who was tyrant then over Greece.

And as to Callisthenes' opposition to Alexander in the matter of bowing to the ground before him, there is a story as follows. It had been agreed between Alexander and the Sophists and the most illustrious of the Persians and Medes at his court that there should be mention made of this topic at a wine-party; Anaxarchus began the subject, saying that it would be far more just to reckon Alexander a god than Dionysus and Heracles, not so much because of the many great achievements of Alexander, but also because Dionysus was a Theban, and had no connection with Macedon, and Heracles an Argive, also unconnected with Macedon, save by Alexander's descent, for he was a son of Heracles; but that Macedonians were more justified in honouring their own King with divine honours. For in any case there was no doubt that when Alexander had passed away from men they would honour him as a god; how much more just, then, that they should honour him in life rather than when dead, when the honour would profit him nothing.

[1] πρὸς Ἀναξάρχου τοὺς μὲν μετεσχηκότας τῆς βουλῆς ἐπαινεῖν τὸν λόγον καὶ δὴ ἐθέλειν ἄρχεσθαι τῆς προσκυνήσεως, τοὺς Μακεδόνας δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀχθομένους τῷ λόγῳ σιγῇ ἔχειν. [2] Καλλισθένην δὲ ὑπολαβόντα, Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν, εἰπεῖν, ὃ Ἀναξαρχε, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνάξιον ἀποφαίνω τιμῆς ὅσαι ξύμμετροι ἀνθρώπῳ: ἀλλὰ διακεκρίσθαι γὰρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅσαι τε ἀνθρώπιναι τιμαὶ καὶ ὅσαι θεῖαι πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις, καθάπερ νῶν τε οἰκοδομήσει καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἀναστάσει καὶ τεμένῃ ὅτι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξαιρεῖται καὶ θύεται ἐκείνοις καὶ σπένδεται, καὶ ὕμνοι μὲν ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς ποιοῦνται, ἐπαινοὶ δὲ ἐς ἀνθρώπους, — ἀτὰρ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ τῆς προσκυνήσεως νόμῳ. [3] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους φιλεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀσπαζομένων, τὸ θεῖον δέ, ὅτι ἄνω πού ἰδρυμένον καὶ οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι αὐτοῦ θέμις, ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄρα τῇ προσκυνήσει γεραίρεται, καὶ χοροὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἵστανται καὶ παιᾶνες ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ᾄδονται. καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ὅποτε γε καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἄλλοις ἄλλαι τιμαὶ πρόσκεινται, καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ἥρωσιν ἄλλαι, καὶ αὗται

ἀποκεκριμέναι τοῦ θεοῦ. [4] οὐκ οὖν εἰκὸς ξύμπαντα ταῦτα ἀναταράσσοντας τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐς σχῆμα ὑπέρογκον καθιστάναι τῶν τιμῶν ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ τό γε ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐς ταπεινότητα οὐ πρέπουσαν καταβάλλειν τὰ ἴσα ἀνθρώποις τιμώντας. οὐκ οὖν οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνασχέσθαι ἄν, εἰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τις εἰσποιοῖτο ταῖς βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς χειροτονία ἢ ψήφῳ οὐ δικαίᾳ. [5] πολὺ ἂν οὖν δικαιότερον τοὺς θεοὺς δυσχεραίνειν ὅσοι ἀνθρώποι ἐς τὰς θείας τιμὰς σφᾶς εἰσποιοῦσιν ἢ πρὸς ἄλλων εἰσποιοῦμενοι ἀνέχονται. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ πόρρω τοῦ ἱκανοῦ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν τὸν ἄριστον εἶναι τε καὶ δοκεῖν, καὶ βασιλέων τὸν βασιλικώτατον καὶ στρατηγῶν τὸν ἀξιοστρατηγώτατον. [6] καὶ σέ, εἴπερ τινὰ ἄλλον, ὦ Ἀνάξαρχε, εἰσηγητὴν τε τούτων τῶν λόγων ἐχρῆν γίνεσθαι καὶ κωλυτὴν τῶν ἐναντιῶν, ἐπὶ σοφία τε καὶ παιδεύσει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυνόντα. οὐκ οὖν ἄρχειν γε τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου πρέπον ἦν, ἀλλὰ μεμνησθαι γὰρ οὐ Καμβύση οὐδὲ Ξέρξη ξυνόντα ἢ ξυμβουλευόντα, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππου μὲν παιδί, Ἡρακλείδῃ δὲ ἀπὸ γένους καὶ Αἰακίδῃ, ὅτου οἱ πρόγονοι ἐξ Ἀργούς ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἦλθον, οὐδὲ βία, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντες διετέλεσαν. [7] οὐκ οὖν οὐδὲ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ζῶντι ἔτι θεῖαι τιμαὶ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντι πρόσθεν ἢ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπιθεσπισθῆναι ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν Ἡρακλέα. εἰ δέ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ βαρβάρῳ γῇ οἱ λόγοι γίνονται, βαρβαρικά χρὴ ἔχειν τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ ἐγὼ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μεμνησθῆναι σε ἀξιώ, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἥς ἔνεκα ὁ πᾶς στόλος σοι ἐγένετο, προσθεῖναι τὴν Ἀσίαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. [8] καὶ οὖν ἐνθυμήθητι, ἐκεῖσε ἐπανελθὼν ἄρά γε καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἐλευθερωτάτους προσαναγκάσεις ἐς τὴν προσκύνησιν, ἢ Ἑλλήνων μὲν ἀφ᾽ ἑξῆς, Μακεδόσι δὲ προσθήσεις τήνδε τὴν ἀτιμίαν, ἢ διακεκριμένα ἔσται σοι αὐτῶ τὰ τῶν τιμῶν ἐς ἅπαν, ὡς πρὸς Ἑλλήνων μὲν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀνθρωπίνως τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς τιμᾶσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων μόνων βαρβαρικῶς; [9] εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσου λέγεται πρῶτον προσκυνηθῆναι ἀνθρώπων Κύρον καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐμμεῖναι Πέρσαις τε καὶ Μήδοις τήνδε τὴν ταπεινότητα, χρὴ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ὅτι τὸν Κύρον ἐκεῖνον Σκύθαι ἐσωφρόνισαν, πένητες ἄνδρες καὶ αὐτόνομοι, καὶ Δαρεῖον ἄλλοι αὖ Σκύθαι, καὶ Ξέρξην Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξην Κλέαρχος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ξὺν τούτοις μῦριοι, καὶ Δαρεῖον τοῦτον Ἀλέξανδρος μὴ προσκυνούμενος.

X. When then Anaxarchus had spoken thus, and to this purport, those who were in the plot approved his statement and indeed desired to begin the ceremony of prostration. The Macedonians, however, for the most part disagreed with these remarks, and kept silent. But Callisthenes broke in and said: "Anaxarchus, I hold Alexander unworthy of no honour fit for mankind; but, in point of fact, lines have been drawn for men between honours fit for mortals and honours fit for gods in many diverse ways, as by the building of temples and setting up of images, and since enclosures have been set apart for the gods, and since we sacrifice to them, and offer libations, and hymns are composed to gods, while eulogies are composed for men; but chiefly in this very custom of bowing down before them. Those who greet their fellow-men kiss them, but as for the gods, since they are set far above us and we may not

even touch them, hence they are honoured by our bowing down before them; dances, too, are held in honour of the gods, and paeans sung before them, and this is nothing out of the way; since among the gods themselves some have these honours attached, and some those; and what is more, they are again different for the heroes, and these distinct from those paid to gods. It is not, therefore, proper to confuse all this, and to raise mortals to an extravagant grade by excesses of honour, and to reduce the gods, as far as can be done, to an unseemly humiliation, by honouring them on the same level as men. Alexander himself would not brook it for a moment, if some private person laid claim to the royal honours by right of some unconstitutional election or vote. Much more rightly then would the gods be angry with any mortals investing themselves with divine honours or permitting others so to invest them. Now Alexander both is and is thought to be above all measure the bravest of the brave, most kingly of Kings, most worthy to command of all commanders. As for you, Anaxarchus, you above all should have taken the lead in this discourse and put a stop to the opposite argument, being as you are attached to Alexander as philosopher and instructor. It was most improper that you should take the lead in this line of argument; you should rather have remembered that you are not attending nor advising some Cambyses or Xerxes, but a son of Philip, by race a descendant of Heracles and of Aeacus, whose forefathers came from Argos to Macedonia, and long held sway there, not as tyrants but as constitutional monarchs of Macedonia. But not even to Heracles himself were divine honours paid by the Greeks while he yet lived; nay, even after his death they were not paid before an oracle was given by the god of Delphi that Heracles was to be honoured as a god. If, however, we must think in foreign fashion, since our discussion takes place in a foreign country, yet even so I beg you, Alexander, to remember Greece, for whose sake all your expedition took place, to add Asia to Greece. Moreover, consider this also, on your return to Greece will it be Greeks, the most free of all mankind, whom you will compel to bow down before you, or will you perhaps exempt the Greeks, and shackle the Macedonians with this shame? or will you draw a line thus in the matter of honours for all the world, that by Greeks and Macedonians you shall be honoured as a man, but by foreigners only in this foreign fashion? But if it is said of Cyrus son of Cambyses that Cyrus was the first of men to receive this homage of bowing to the ground, and that therefore this humiliation became traditional with Persians and Medes, yet you must remember that this very Cyrus was brought to a better mind by Scythians, a poor but free people; Dareius too by other Scythians, Xerxes by Athenians and Lacedaemonians, and Artaxerxes by Clearchus and Xenophon and their Ten Thousand, and Dareius now by Alexander, as yet unworshipped by prostrations."

[1] ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα εἰπόντα Καλλισθένην ἀνίστασθαι μὲν μεγαλωστί Ἀλέξανδρον, Μακεδόσι δὲ πρὸς θυμοῦ εἰπεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο γνόντα Ἀλέξανδρον πέμπαντα κωλύσαι [Μακεδόνας] μεμῆσθαι ἔτι τῆς προσκυνήσεως. [2] ἀλλὰ

σιγῆς γὰρ γενομένης ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀναστάντας Περσῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἐφεξῆς προσκυνεῖν. Λεοννάτον δέ, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐπειδὴ τις ἐδόκει τῶν Περσῶν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ προσκυνῆσαι, τὸν δὲ ἐπιγελᾶσαι τῷ σχήματι τοῦ Περσοῦ ὡς ταπεινῶ: καὶ τούτῳ χαλεπήναντα τότε Ἀλέξανδρον ξυναλλαγήναι αὐθις. ἀναγέγραπται δὲ δὴ καὶ τοιοῦσδε λόγος. [3] προπίνειν φιάλην χρυσὴν ἐν κύκλῳ Ἀλέξανδρον πρῶτοις μὲν τούτοις πρὸς οὐστίνας ξυνέκειτο αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως, τὸν δὲ πρῶτον ἐκπιόντα τὴν φιάλην προσκυνῆσαί τε ἀναστάντα καὶ φιληθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο ἐφεξῆς διὰ πάντων χωρῆσαι. [4] ὡς δὲ ἐς Καλλισθένην ἦκεν ἡ πρόποσις, ἀναστῆναι μὲν Καλλισθένην καὶ ἐκπιεῖν τὴν φιάλην, καὶ προσελθόντα ἐθέλειν φιλεῖν οὐ προσκυνήσαντα. τὸν δὲ τυχεῖν μὲν τότε διαλεγόμενον Ἑφαιστίωνι: οὐκ οὐκ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, εἰ καὶ τὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως ἐπιτελῇ τῷ Καλλισθένει ἐγένετο. [5] ἀλλὰ Δημήτριον γὰρ τὸν Πυθώνακτος, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, ὡς προσῆι αὐτῷ ὁ Καλλισθένης φιλήσων, φάναι ὅτι οὐ προσκυνήσας πρόσεισιν. καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ παρασχεῖν φιλεῖν αὐτόν: τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένην, φιλήματι, φάναι, ἔλαττον ἔχων ἅπειμι. [6] καὶ τούτων ἐγὼ, ὅσα ἐς ὕβριν τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν ἐν τῷ παραντίκῳ καὶ ἐς σκαιότητα τὴν Καλλισθένους φέροντα, οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ ἐπαινῶ, ἀλλὰ τὸ καθ' αὐτόν γὰρ κοσμίως τίθεσθαι ἐξαρκεῖν φημί, αὖξοντα ὡς ἀνυστόν τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα ὅτῳ τις ξυνεῖναι οὐκ ἀπηξίωσεν. [7] οὐκ οὐκ ἀπεικότης δι' ἀπεχθείας γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Καλλισθένην τίθεμαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαίρῳ τε παρρησίᾳ καὶ ὑπερόγκῳ ἀβελτερίᾳ. ἐφ' ὅτῳ τεκμαίρομαι μὴ χαλεπῶς πιστευθῆναι τοὺς κατειπόντας Καλλισθένους, ὅτι μετέσχε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς γενομένης Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ τῶν παίδων, τοὺς δέ, ὅτι καὶ ἐπῆρεν αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ ἐπιβουλεῦσαι. ξυνέβη δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὧδε.

XI. This, and to this effect, spake Callisthenes; and while he irritated Alexander exceedingly, he found favour with the Macedonians, and, perceiving this, Alexander sent and bade the Macedonians to take no thought for such prostrations in future. When, however, a silence fell after these words, the senior of the Persians arose and one by one bowed low before Alexander. But Leonnatus one of the Companions, thinking that one of the Persians made his bow ungracefully, mocked the Persian's attitude, as something abject, at which Alexander was very angry, though he was reconciled with him again. A story also occurs as follows: — Alexander sent round a loving cup, a golden one, first to those with whom he had made the arrangement about the prostrations; then the first guest drinking of it rose up, prostrated him self, and received a kiss from Alexander, and so they did one by one in order. But when the turn to drink came to Callisthenes, he rose up, drank from the cup, approached, and made to kiss Alexander without having prostrated himself. Alexander at the moment was talking to Hephaestion, and therefore was not attending to see whether the ceremony of prostration was duly carried out by Callisthenes. But Demetrius son of Pythonax, one of the Companions, as Callisthenes approached to kiss Alexander, remarked that he was coming without having prostrated himself. Alexander did not permit Callisthenes therefore to kiss him; and Callisthenes remarked, "I shall go off

short of a kiss.”

All this, as far as it bears on the arrogance of Alexander at the time and the rudeness of Callisthenes, I in no sort of way approve. It seems to me enough that a man as far as himself is concerned should behave in a seemly way, and that when a man has consented to serve a King, he should exalt the King's doings in every possible way. Rightly therefore, in my judgment, was Alexander angry with Callisthenes both for his unseasonable freedom of speech and for his foolish arrogance. I gather that this is why people easily credit the detractors of Callisthenes who suggest that he had a part in the plot laid against Alexander by his squires; some even say that Callisthenes incited them to the plot. The story of the plot is as follows.

[1] ἐκ Φιλίππου ἦν ἡδὴ καθεστηκὸς τῶν ἐν τέλει Μακεδόνων τοὺς παῖδας ὅσοι ἐς ἡλικίαν ἐμειρακιεύοντο καταλέγεσθαι ἐς θεραπείαν τοῦ βασιλέως, τά τε περὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαίταν τοῦ σώματος διακονεῖσθαι βασιλεῖ καὶ κοιμώμενον φυλάσσειν τούτοις ἐπετέτραπτο. καὶ ὅποτε ἐξελαύνει βασιλεὺς, τοὺς ἵππους παρὰ τῶν ἱπποκόμων δεχόμενοι ἐκεῖνοι προσήγον καὶ ἀνέβαλλον οὗτοι βασιλεῖαν τὸν Περσικὸν τρόπον καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θήρᾳ φιλοτιμίας βασιλεῖ κοινωνοὶ ἦσαν. [2] τούτων καὶ Ἑρμόλαος ἦν, Σωπόλιδος μὲν παῖς, φιλοσοφία δὲ ἐδόκει προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν καὶ Καλλισθένην θεραπεύειν ἐπὶ τῷδε. ὑπὲρ τούτου λόγος κατέχει, ὅτι ἐν θήρᾳ προσφερομένου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συὸς ἔφθη βαλὼν τὸν σὺν ὃ Ἑρμόλαος: καὶ ὁ μὲν σὺς πίπτει βληθείς, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ ὑστερήσας ἐχαλέπηεν τῷ Ἑρμόλῳ καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν πρὸς ὀργὴν πληγὰς λαβεῖν ὁρώντων τῶν ἄλλων παίδων, καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ ἀφείλετο. [3] τοῦτον τὸν Ἑρμόλαον ἀλγῆσαντα τῇ ὕβρει φράσαι πρὸς Σώστρατον τὸν Ἀμύντου, ἡλικιώτην τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἑραστήν ὄντα, ὅτι οὐ βιωτόν οἱ ἐστὶ μὴ τιμωρησαμένῳ Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς ὕβρεως, καὶ τὸν Σώστρατον οὐ χαλεπῶς συμπεῖσαι μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ἅτε ἐρῶντα. [4] ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ ἀναπεισθῆναι Ἀντίπατρον τε τὸν Ἀσκληπιοδώρου τοῦ Συρίας σατραπεύσαντος καὶ Ἐπιμένην τὸν Ἀρσαίου καὶ Ἀντικλέα τὸν Θεοκρίτου καὶ Φιλώταν τὸν Κάρσιδος τοῦ Θρακός. ὥς οὖν περιῆκεν ἐς Ἀντίπατρον ἢ νυκτερινὴ φυλακή, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ξυγκείμενον εἶναι ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον, κοιμωμένῳ ἐπιτεσόντας. [5] ξυμβῆναι δὲ οἱ μὲν αὐτομάτως λέγουσιν ἔστε ἐφ' ἡμέραν πίνειν Ἀλέξανδρον, Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ὧδε ἀνέγραψε. Σύραν γυναῖκα ἐφομαρτεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κάτοχον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γιγνομένην: καὶ ταύτην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γέλωτα εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν: ὥς δὲ τὰ πάντα ἐν τῇ κατοχῇ ἀληθεύουσα ἐφαίνετο, οὐκέτι ἀμελεῖσθαι ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀλλ' εἶναι γὰρ τῇ Σύρᾳ πρόσοδον πρὸς τὸν βασιλεῖα καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ καθεύδοντι πολλάκις ἡδὴ ἐπιστῆναι. [6] καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἀπαλλασσομένου ἐκ τοῦ πότου κατεχομένην ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντυχεῖν, καὶ δεῖσθαι ἐπανελθόντα πίνειν ὅλην τὴν νύκτα: καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον θεῖόν τι εἶναι νομίσαντα ἐπανελεῖν τε καὶ πίνειν, καὶ οὕτως τοῖς παισὶ διαπεσεῖν τὸ ἔργον. [7] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἐπιμένης ὁ Ἀρσαίου τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς φράζει τὴν πρᾶξιν Χαρικλεῖ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ, ἑραστῇ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονότι: Χαρικλῆς δὲ φράζει Εὐρύλοχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Ἐπιμένους. καὶ ὁ Εὐρύλοχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν

Ἀλεξάνδρου Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου τῷ σωματοφύλακι καταλέγει ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα: ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔφρασε. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ξυλλαβεῖν κελεύει ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα εἶπεν ὁ Εὐρύλοχος: καὶ οὗτοι στρεβλούμενοι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν κατεῖπον τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τινας καὶ ἄλλους ὠνόμασαν.

XII. Philip had long ago ordained that the sons of Macedonian notables who had reached adolescence / should be attached to the service of the King; and besides general attendance on his person, the duty of guarding him when asleep had been entrusted to them. Again, whenever the King rode out, they received the horses from the grooms and led them up, assisted the King to mount in Persian fashion, and were his companions in the rivalry of the chase. Among them was one Hermolaus a son of Sopolis; he was reputed to be a zealous student of philosophy and to be a follower of Callisthenes to this end. About him there is a story that once in a hunt a wild boar charged Alexander and that Hermolaus hastened to pierce the boar, which indeed fell from the stroke; but Alexander, too late for his chance, was angry with Hermolaus and in his passion ordered him to be whipped in the presence of his fellow-pages, and took his horse from him.

This Hermolaus, feeling bitterly the degradation, told Sostratus son of Amyntas his comrade and fast friend that he found life no longer worth living until he had avenged himself on Alexander for this injustice. Sostratus for his part was easily enough, by reason of his infatuation, persuaded to join in the business. Then the two won over Antipater son of Asclepiodorus, who had been satrap of Syria, Epimenes son of Arseus, Anticles son of Theocritus, and Philotas son of Carsis the Thracian. So when the turn of keeping guard by night fell to Antipater, it was resolved to assassinate Alexander by attacking him in his sleep.

It so fell out that Alexander, not from any outside suggestion, as some say, kept on drinking till daylight.

Aristobulus, however, says that a Syrian woman with a spirit of divination followed Alexander, and that she was at first a laughing-stock both to Alexander and his friends; but when everything in her divination seemed to come true, Alexander no longer made light of her, but the Syrian had access to the King day and night and often watched over him as he slept. On this occasion then when Alexander rose from his potations she met him, while under the spell of her inspiration, and begged him to return and continue drinking all night long; Alexander therefore, believing this warning to be prophetic, returned and continued, and so the plot of the squires came to nothing.

Next day, however, Epimenes son of Arseus, one of the conspirators, told Charicles son of Menander, whose favourite he was, of the plot, Charicles told Eurylochus brother of Epimenes, and Eurylochus entered Alexander's tent, and revealed to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus the whole affair, on which Alexander caused all whose names Eurylochus had given to be arrested; and

they in turn being put to the question revealed both their own plot and implicated others also.

[1] Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν λέγει ὅτι καὶ Καλλισθένην ἐπᾶραι σφᾶς ἔφασαν ἐς τὸ τόλμημα: καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὡσαύτως λέγει. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ ταύτη λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μῖσος γὰρ τὸ ἤδη ὄν πρὸς Καλλισθένην ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἑρμόλαος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτήδειος ἦν τῷ Καλλισθένει, οὐ χαλεπῶς πιστεῦσαι τὰ χεῖρω ὑπὲρ Καλλισθένους Ἀλέξανδρον. [2] ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, τὸν Ἑρμόλαον προαχθέντα ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὁμολογεῖν τε ἐπιβουλεῦσαι — καὶ γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι ἔτι ἐλευθέρῳ ἀνδρὶ φέρειν τὴν ὕβριν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου — πάντα καταλέγοντα, τὴν τε Φιλῶτα οὐκ ἔνδικον τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἔτι ἐκνομωτέραν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τότε ἀποθανόντων, καὶ τὴν Κλείτου ἐν μέθῃ ἀναίρεσιν, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν Μηδικήν, καὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν τὴν βουλευθεῖσαν καὶ οὐπῶ πεπαυμένην, καὶ πότους τε καὶ ὕπνους τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου: ταῦτα οὐ φέροντα ἔτι ἐλευθερῶσαι ἐθελῆσαι ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μακεδόνας. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ξυλληφθέντας καταλευσθῆναι πρὸς τῶν παρόντων. [3] Καλλισθένην δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν λέγει δεδεμένον ἐν πέδαις ξυμπεριάγεσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἔπειτα νόσῳ τελευτῆσαι, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου στρεβλωθέντα καὶ κρεμασθέντα θέντα ἀποθανεῖν. οὕτως οὐδὲ οἱ πάνυ πιστοὶ ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν καὶ συγγενόμενοι ἐν τῷ τότε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν γνωρίμων τε καὶ οὐ λαθόντων σφᾶς ὅπως ἐπράχθη ξύμφωνα ἀνέγραψαν. [4] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὲρ τούτων αὐτῶν ἄλλοι ἄλλως ἀφηγήσαντο, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ ταῦτα ἀποχρῶντα ἔστω ἀναγεγραμμένα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον πραχθέντα ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κλεῖτον ξυνενεχθεῖσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀνέγραψα, τούτοις μᾶλλον τι οἰκεῖα ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν.

XIII. Aristobulus indeed declares that they said that it was Callisthenes who had urged them to the plot; and Ptolemaeus agrees. But most authorities do not say so; but only that by reason of Alexander's dislike for Callisthenes and because Hermolaus was in closest contact with Callisthenes, Alexander easily believed the worst story about Callisthenes. Some also have ere now written that Hermolaus, summoned before the Macedonians, confessed that he had conspired, for no freeborn man could endure longer the arrogance of Alexander; and went over the whole story, how Philotas had been unjustly put to death, and the still more illegal execution of his father Parmenio and of the others who suffered at the same time; the murder of Cleitus at a drinking party; the wearing of Median garb, the prostration ceremonies decreed, and not yet revoked, and Alexander's drinkings and heavy slumbers; unable to bear, he asserted, all this, he had desired to free both himself and the rest of the Macedonians. Hermolaus himself and the others arrested with him, they say, were stoned to death by those present at the conference. As for Callisthenes, Aristobulus relates that he was bound with fetters and led about with the army, but at length died of sickness. But Ptolemaeus son of Lagus says that he was tortured and then put to death by hanging. Thus not even those whose narrations are entirely trustworthy and who actually accompanied

Alexander at that time agree in their accounts of notorious events of which they had full knowledge. In many other points different writers told different tales about these very events; what I have written must suffice. At any rate all this which took place not long afterwards, I have related as part of the story of Cleitus, regarding it as really akin to Cleitus' story for the purpose of narration.

[1] παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἦκεν καὶ αὐθις Σκυθῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης πρεσβεία ξὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν οἷς αὐτὸς ἐς Σκύθας ἔστειλεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ τότε βασιλεὺς τῶν Σκυθῶν ὅτε οὗτοι ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπέμποντο τετελευτηκῶς ἐτύγγανεν, ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἐκείνου ἐβασίλευεν. [2] ἦν δὲ ὁ νοῦς τῆς πρεσβείας ἐθέλειν ποιεῖν πᾶν τὸ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπαγγελλόμενον Σκύθας· καὶ δῶρα ἔφερον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Σκυθῶν ὅσα μέγιστα νομίζεται ἐν Σκύθαις· καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα ὅτι ἐθέλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοῦναι γυναῖκα βεβαιότητος οὐνεκα τῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον φιλίας τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας. [3] εἰ δὲ ἀπαξιοῖ τὴν Σκυθῶν βασιλίσσαν γῆμαι Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ τῶν γε σατραπῶν τῶν τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι δυνάσται κατὰ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σκυθίδα, τούτων τὰς παῖδας ἐθέλειν δοῦναι τοῖς πιστοτάτοις τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον· ἥξιν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, εἰ κελεύοιτο, ὥς παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀκοῦσαι ὅσα ἐπαγγέλλοι. [4] ἀφίκετο δ' ἐν τούτῳ παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φαρασμάνης ὁ Χορασμίων βασιλεὺς ξὺν ἱππεῦσι χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις. ἔφασκεν δὲ ὁ Φαρασμάνης ὁμορος οἰκεῖν τῷ τε Κόλχων γένει καὶ ταῖς γυναῖξιν ταῖς Ἀμαζόσι, καὶ εἰ θέλοι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ Κόλχους τε καὶ Ἀμαζόνas ἐλάσας καταστρέψασθαι τὰ ἐπὶ τὸν πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνιον ταύτῃ καθήκοντα γένῃ, ὁδῶν τε ἡγεμῶν ἔσσεσθαι ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ παρασκευάσειν. [5] τοῖς τε οὖν παρὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἤκουσι φιλάνθρωπα ἀποκρίνεται Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἐς τὸν τότε καιρὸν ξύμφορα, γάμου δὲ οὐδὲν δεῖσθαι Σκυθικοῦ, καὶ Φαρασμάνην ἐπαινέσας τε καὶ φιλίαν καὶ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ξυνθέμενος αὐτῷ μὲν τότε οὐκ ἔφη ἐν καιρῷ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον· Ἀρταβάζῳ δὲ τῷ Πέρσῃ, ὅτῳ τὰ Βακτριῶν ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπετέτακτο, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι πρόσχωροι τούτῳ σατράπαι ξυστήσας Φαρασμάνην ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὰ ἦθη τὰ αὐτοῦ. [6] αὐτῷ δὲ τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἔφη ἐν τῷ τότε μέλειν. τούτους γὰρ καταστρεφάμενος πᾶσαν ἂν ἤδη ἔχειν τὴν Ἀσίαν· ἐχομένης δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπανιέναι ἂν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐκείθεν δ' ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου τε καὶ τῆς Προποντίδος ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ τῇ τε ναυτικῇ καὶ τῇ πεζικῇ ἐλάσειν εἰσω τοῦ Πόντου· καὶ ἐς τὸ τότε ἡξίου ἀποθέσθαι Φαρασμάνην ὅσα ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐπηγγέλλετο. [7] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὄξον τε ποταμὸν ἦει αὐθις καὶ εἰς τὴν Σογδιανὴν προχωρεῖν ἐγνώκει, ὅτι πολλοὺς τῶν Σογδιανῶν ἐς τὰ ἐρύματα ξυμπεφευγέναι ἡγγέλλετο οὐδὲ ἐθέλειν κατακοῦειν τοῦ σατράπου, ὅστις αὐτοῖς ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπετέτακτο. στρατοπεδεύοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὄξῳ οὐ μακρὰν τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πηγὴ ὕδατος καὶ ἄλλη ἐλαίου πηγὴ πλησίον αὐτῆς ἀνέσχε. [8] καὶ Πτολεμαῖῳ τῷ Λάγου τῷ σωματοφύλακι ἐπειδὴ ἐσηγγέλθη τὸ τέρας, Πτολεμαῖος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔφρασεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἔθυσεν ἐπὶ τῷ φάσματι ὅσα οἱ μάντις ἐξηγοῦντο. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ πόνων εἶναι σημεῖον τοῦ ἐλαίου τὴν πηγὴν ἔφασκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νίκην ἐπὶ

τοῖς πόνοις σημαίνειν.

XIV. Now a second time envoys came to Alexander from the European Scythians, together with the envoys whom he himself had sent to Scythia. For the king of the Scythians at the time when these had been sent by Alexander had died; and his brother was now King. The purpose of the embassy was to express the readiness of the Scythians to do whatsoever Alexander commanded; and they brought gifts for Alexander from the King of Scythia such as are greatly accounted of in Scythia; and they said also that the King wished to give to Alexander his daughter to wife, to confirm his friendship and alliance with Alexander. If, however, Alexander should not care to marry the Scythian princess, yet he was desirous to give the daughters of the governors of the Scythian territory and of the chief personages in Scythia to the most trusty of Alexander's followers; he added also that he would come to visit Alexander, should he be summoned, to receive Alexander's commands in person. There came also to Alexander at the same time also Pharasmanes the King of the Chorasinians with fifteen hundred horsemen. Pharasmanes said that he lived on the borders of the Colchians and of the Amazon women; and should Alexander desire to invade Colchis and the territory of the Amazons and subdue all the races in this direction which dwelt near the Euxine Sea, he promised to act as guide and to provide all necessities for the expeditionary force.

Alexander therefore replied courteously to the Scythian envoys, and suitably to the occasion. He had, he said, no need of an alliance by marriage with Scythia; he then thanked Pharasmanes and made friendship and alliance with him, but said that it was not just then convenient to make an expedition to Pontus. But he commended Pharasmanes to Artabazus the Persian, to whom Alexander had entrusted affairs in Bactria, and to all the other neighbouring satraps, and he dismissed him to his own home. He said that for the time being he had India in contemplation; for by subduing India he would then have all Asia; but when he was master of Asia he would return to Greece; and thence in the direction of the Hellespont and the Propontis would make an expedition into Pontus with all his forces, navy and infantry alike; Pharasmanes must therefore reserve his promises which he now made to that future time.

He himself returned now to the river Oxus, and determined to proceed to Sogdiana, since it was reported that many of the Sogdianians had taken refuge in their forts and would not obey the satrap set over them by Alexander. Now while he was encamped on the river Oxus, not far from the tent of Alexander himself a spring of water, and another of oil near it, came up from the ground. And when this marvel was related to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus of the royal bodyguard, he told Alexander; and Alexander sacrificed, on account of this portent, what the soothsayers recommended. Aristander said that the spring of oil was a sign of labours to come; but that it portended victory after the labours.

[1] διαβάς οὖν ξὺν μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐς τὴν Σογδιανήν, Πολυπέρχοντα δὲ καὶ Ἄτταλον καὶ Γοργίαν καὶ Μελέαγρον αὐτοῦ ἐν Βάκτροις ὑπολιπόμενος τούτοις μὲν παρήγγειλεν τὴν τε χώραν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, ὥς μὴ τι νεωτερίσωσιν οἱ ταύτῃ βάρβαροι, καὶ τοὺς ἔτι ἀφεστηκότας αὐτῶν ἐξαίρειν· [2] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς πέντε μέρη διελὼν τὴν ἅμα οἱ στρατιὰν τῶν μὲν Ἥφαιστίωνα ἄρχειν ἐτάξε, τῶν δὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου τὸν σωματοφύλακα· τοῖς τρίτοις δὲ Περδίκκαν ἐπέταξε· τῆς δὲ τετάρτης τάξεως Κοῖνος καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ἡγοῦντο αὐτῶ· τὴν δὲ πέμπτην μοῖραν ἀναλαβὼν αὐτὸς ἐπῆει τὴν χώραν ὥς ἐπὶ Μαράκανδα. [3] καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὥς ἐκάστοις προὔχῳ ἐπῆσαν, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς τῶν ἐς τὰ ἐρύματα ξυμπεφευγόντων βίᾳ ἐξαίρουντες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία προσχωροῦντάς σφισιν ἀναλαμβάνοντες. ὥς δὲ ξύμπασα αὐτῷ ἡ δύναμις ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Σογδιανῶν τῆς χώρας τὴν πολλὴν ἐς Μαράκανδα ἀφίκετο, Ἥφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐκπέμπει τὰς ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ πόλεις συνοικίζειν, Κοῖνον δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάβαζον ὥς ἐς Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐς Σκύθας καταπεφευγῆναι Σπιταμένης αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπιὼν τῆς Σογδιανῆς ὅσα ἔτι πρὸς τῶν ἀφεστηκόντων κατείχετο ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐξήρει. [4] ἐν τούτοις δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος Σπιταμένης τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν Σογδιανῶν τινες φυγάδων ἐς τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Μασσαγετῶν καλουμένων τὴν χώραν ξυμπεφευγότες ξυναγαγόντες τῶν Μασσαγετῶν ἱπέας ἐξακοσίους ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τι φρούριον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βακτριανήν. [5] καὶ τῷ τε φρουράρχῳ οὐδὲν πολέμιον προσδεχομένῳ ἐπιτεσόντες καὶ τοῖς ξὺν τούτῳ τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχουσιν τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας διέφθειραν, τὸν φρούραρχον δὲ ἐλόντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον. θαρσήσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τῇ καταλήψει ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὕστερον Ζαριάσποις πελάσαντες τῇ μὲν πόλει προσβαλεῖν ἀπέγνωσαν, λείαν δὲ πολλὴν περιβαλλόμενοι ἤλαυνον. [6] ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ζαριάσποις νόσφ' ὑπολελειμμένοι τῶν ἐταίρων ἱπέων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ ξὺν τούτοις Πείθων τε ὁ Σωσικλέους, ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς θεραπείας τῆς ἐν Ζαριάσποις τεταγμένος, καὶ Ἀριστόνικος ὁ κιθαρῳδός. καὶ οὗτοι αἰσθόμενοι τῶν Σκυθῶν τὴν καταδρομὴν ἥδη γὰρ ἐκ τῆς νόσου ἀναρρωσθέντες ὅπλα τε ἔφερον καὶ τῶν ἵππων ἐπέβαινον' ξυναγαγόντες τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους ἱπέας ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα, οἱ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν Ζαριάσπων ὑπολελειμμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν παίδων τινὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐκβοηθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας. [7] καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ προσβολῇ οὐδὲν ὑποτοπῆσασι τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐπιτεσόντες τὴν τε λείαν ξύμπασαν ἀφείλοντο αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀγόντων τὴν λείαν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐπανιόντες δὲ αὐτοὶ ἀτάκτως, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ἐξηγουμένου, ἐνεδρευθέντες πρὸς Σπιταμένους καὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν μὲν ἐταίρων ἀποβάλλουσιν ἐπτά, τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων ἱπέων ἐξήκοντα. καὶ Ἀριστόνικος ὁ κιθαρῳδός αὐτοῦ ἀποθνήσκει, οὐ κατὰ κιθαρῳδὸν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος. πείθων δὲ τρωθεὶς ζῶν λαμβάνεται πρὸς τῶν Σκυθῶν.

XV. So when he had passed with part of his force into Sogdiana, leaving behind Polysperchon and Attalus and Gorgias and Meleager there in Bactria, he bade them keep good watch over the country so that the tribesmen in those parts might not give trouble, and to destroy such as had already revolted; then he himself divided the force with him into five parts, and appointed

Hephaestion to command one, Ptolemaeus the son of Lagus, his personal guard, another; over the third he set Perdikkas, and the fourth brigade was led by Coenus and Artabazus; and the fifth he took himself and invaded the district towards Maracanda. The others also advanced as they could, and stormed such as had taken refuge in the forts, and took over others who came and offered themselves in surrender. But when his whole force, having traversed the greater part of Sogdiana, arrived at Maracanda, he sent Hephaestion to plant settlements in the cities of Sogdiana, and Coenus and Artabazus in the direction of Scythia, since news came that Spitamenes had taken refuge there; and himself with the rest of the troops went on to such part of Sogdiana as was still held by the rebels, and subdued it without trouble.

While Alexander was busied about this, Spitamenes and some followers, fugitives from Sogdiana, had fled for refuge to the part of the Scythians called the Massagetae; there they collected six hundred horsemen of the Massagetae and arrived at one of the forts in the Bactrian region. Attacking the commandant of the garrison, who suspected no enemy action, and the garrison with him, they destroyed the soldiers and kept the commandant in custody. They themselves then, after capturing this stronghold, feeling encouraged, approached Zariaspa a few days later, and though they decided not to assault the city, they surrounded and drove off much booty.

In the city of Zariaspa were some of the Companions' cavalry, left there on account of ill-health, and with them Peithon son of Sosicles, set over the general attendance on the King, and Aristonicus the harpist. These learning of the Scythian raid, and being now recovered, and able to bear arms and mount on horseback, assembled the mercenary cavalry up to the number of eighty, who had been left behind to garrison Zariaspa, and some also of the King's squires, and made an attack on the Massagetae. At the first charge, falling on the Scythians when they suspected nothing, they robbed them of their entire plunder, and slew a good number of those who were driving it off. Then, however, when they were retiring in some disorder, with no one in command, Spitamenes and the Scythians caught them in an ambush, where they lost some of the Companions, and sixty of the mercenary cavalry. Aristonicus, too the harpist, perished there, having fought not as a harpist might, but as a good man and true. Peithon was wounded and captured by the Scythians.

[1] καὶ ταῦτα ὡς Κρατερῶ ἐξηγγέλη, σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας ἤλαυνεν. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο πλησίον ἐπελαύνοντά σφισι Κρατερόν, ἔφρευγον ἀνὰ κράτος ὡς εἰς τὴν ἐρήμην. καὶ Κρατερὸς ἐχόμενος αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις περιπίπτει οὐ πόρρῳ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ἄλλοις ἱππεῦσι Μασσαγετῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους. [2] καὶ μάχη γίνεταί τῶν τε Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν καρτερά: καὶ ἐνίκων οἱ Μακεδόνες. τῶν δὲ Σκυθῶν ἀπέθανον μὲν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα ἱππεῖς: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐς τὴν ἐρήμην διεσώθησαν, ὅτι ἄπορον ἦν προσωτέρω τοῖς Μακεδόσι διώκειν. [3] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀρτάβαζον μὲν τῆς σατραπείας τῆς Βακτριῶν ἀπαλλάττει δεηθέντα διὰ γῆρας, Ἀμύνταν δὲ τὸν Νικολάου σατράπην ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καθίστησι. Κοῖνον δὲ

ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν καὶ τὴν Μελεάγρου ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἱππέων ἐς τετρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς ἱπακοντιστὰς πάντας καὶ τῶν Βακτρίων τε καὶ Σογδιανῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετὰ Ἀμύντου ἐτάχθησαν, προστάξας ἅπασιν ἀκούειν Κοίνου καὶ διαχειμάζειν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ, τῆς τε χώρας ἔνεκα τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ εἴ πῃ ἄρα Σπιταμένην περιφερόμενον κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐνεδρεύσαντας ξυλλαβεῖν. [4] Σπιταμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ὡς φρουραῖς τε πάντα κατειλημμένα ἐώρων ἐκ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ σφιν ἄπορα πάντα τὰ τῆς φυγῆς ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἐπὶ Κοῖνόν τε καὶ τὴν ξὺν τούτῳ στρατιὰν ἐτράποντο, ὡς ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τι ἀξιόμαχοι ἐσόμενοι. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Γαβάς, χωρίον τῆς Σογδιανῆς ὄχυρόν ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς τε Σογδιανῶν γῆς καὶ τῆς Μασσαγετῶν Σκυθῶν ὠκισμένον, ἀναπείθουσιν οὐ χαλεπῶς τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱππείας ἐς τρισχίλιους συνεμβάλλειν σφίσιν ἐς τὴν Σογδιανήν. [5] οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὗτοι ἀπορία τε πολλῇ ἔχονται καὶ ἅμα ὅτι οὔτε πόλεις εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἐδραῖοι οἰκοῦσιν, ὡς δειμαίνειν ἂν περὶ τῶν φιλτάτων, οὐ χαλεποὶ ἀναπεισθῆναι εἰσιν ἐς ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον πόλεμον. ὡς δὲ Κοῖνός τε καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἔμαθον προσιόντας τοὺς ξὺν Σπιταμένει ἱππείας, ἀπῆντων καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς. [6] καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῶν μάχη καρτερά, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ὥστε τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων ἱππέων ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους πεσεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τῶν δὲ ξὺν Κοίνῳ ἱππείας μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε, πεζοὺς δὲ δώδεκα. οἱ τε οὖν Σογδιανοὶ οἱ ἔτι ὑπολειπόμενοι ξὺν Σπιταμένει καὶ τῶν Βακτρίων οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπολείπουσιν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ Σπιταμένην καὶ ἀφικόμενοι παρὰ Κοῖνον παρέδωκαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Κοίνῳ, [7] οἱ τε Μασσαγέται οἱ Σκύθαι κακῶς πεπραγότες τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν ξυμπαρταξαμένων σφίσι Βακτρίων τε καὶ Σογδιανῶν διήρπασαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ξὺν Σπιταμένει ἐς τὴν ἔρημον ἔφευγον. ὡς δὲ ἐξηγγέλλετο αὐτοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ὁρμῇ ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον ἐλαύνειν ἀποτεμόντες τοῦ Σπιταμένου τὴν κεφαλὴν παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον πέμπουσιν, ὡς ἀποτρέψοντες ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ.

XVI. When this was reported to Craterus, he hurried at all speed to the Massagetae, and when they learned that Craterus was approaching them, they fled hastily into the desert. Then Craterus pressing upon them fell in with them not far from the desert and with other Massagetaean horsemen, over a thousand in number. A severe battle took place between the Macedonians and the Scythians, and the Macedonians had the better of it. Of the Scythians a hundred and fifty horsemen perished, but the rest easily got away into the desert, since it was impracticable for the Macedonians to pursue further.

Meanwhile Alexander had permitted Artabazus the satrap of Bactria, at his request, on account of old age, to resign his satrapy; and now appointed Amyntas son of Nicolaus in his place. Coenus he left there with his own brigade and Meleager's, and up to four hundred of the Companions' cavalry, all the mounted javelin-men, and of the Bactrians and Sogdianians such as were attached to Amyntas, commanding them all to take their orders from Coenus, and to go into winter quarters there in Sogdiana, partly to keep an eye on this region and partly to try to ambush and capture Spitamenes, should he come raiding in that direction in the winter.

But Spitamenes and his troops finding every place occupied by Macedonian garrisons and no likelihood of escape anywhere for themselves, turned towards Coenus and his troops, thinking that in that direction they would make a better fight of it. Arriving at Bagae, a stronghold of Sogdiana, lying between the land of Sogdiana and that of the Massagetaean Scythians, they easily induced up to three thousand horsemen of the Scythians to join with them in a raid on Sogdiana. Now these Scythians are in great poverty, and also, since they have no cities and no settled habitations, so that they have no fear for their homes, they are easy to persuade to take part in any war which may offer, and when Coenus and his force learned that the cavalry with Spitamenes was approaching, they with their troops went to meet them. There was a severe battle, in which the Macedonians had the upper hand, so that of the tribesmen's cavalry over eight hundred fell in the battle, but of Coenus' troops about twenty-five horsemen and twelve foot-soldiers. So the Sogdianians still left with Spitamenes and the greater number of the Bactrians deserted Spitamenes during the flight and came to Coenus and surrendered themselves to him, The Massagetaean Scythians after this disaster plundered the baggage trains of the Bactrians and Sogdianians who had fought along with them, and themselves with Spitamenes fled to the desert. When they learnt that Alexander was already on the move and marching towards the desert, they cut off Spitamenes' head and sent it to Alexander, to divert him, by this action, from themselves.

[1] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κοῖνός τε ἐς Ναύτακα παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπανάρχεται καὶ οἱ ἄμφι Κρατερόν τε καὶ Φραταφέρνῃν τὸν τῶν Παρθυαίων σατράπην καὶ Στασάνωρ ὁ Ἀρείων, πεπραγμένων σφίσι πάντων ὅσα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐτέτακτο. [2] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περὶ Ναύτακα ἀναπαύων τὴν στρατιὰν ὃ τι περ ἄκμαϊον τοῦ χειμῶνος, Φραταφέρνῃν μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἐς Μάρδους καὶ Ταπούρους Αὐτοφραδάτην ἐπανάξοντα τὸν σατράπην, ὅτι πολλάκις ἤδη μετὰπεμπτος ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου γιγνόμενος οὐχ ὑπήκουε καλοῦντι. [3] Στασάνωρα δὲ ἐς Δράγγας σατράπην ἐκπέμπει, ἐς Μήδους δὲ Ἀτροπάτην ἐπὶ σατραπείᾳ καὶ τοῦτον τῇ Μήδων, ὅτι Ὁξυδάτης ἐθελοκακεῖν αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο. Σταμένην δὲ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος στέλλει, ὅτι Μαζαῖος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ὑπαρχος τετελευτηκέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο. Σώπολιν δὲ καὶ Ἐπόκιλλον καὶ Μεν[ν]ίδαν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐκπέμπει, τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν ἐκ Μακεδονίας αὐτῷ ἀνάξοντας. [4] ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἥρι ὑποφαίνοντι προὔχωρει ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ πέτραν, ἐς ἣν πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Σογδιανῶν ξυμπεφευγέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο· καὶ ἡ Ὁξυάρτου δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Βακτρίου καὶ αἱ παῖδες αἱ Ὁξυάρτου ἐς τὴν πέτραν ταύτην ξυμπεφευγέναι ἐλέγοντο, Ὁξυάρτου αὐτὰς ὡς ἐς ἀνάλωτον δῆθεν τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ὑπεκθεμένου, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφειστήκει ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου. ταύτης γὰρ ἐξαιρεθείσης οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ὑπολειφθήσεσθαι ἐδόκει τῶν Σογδιανῶν τοῖς νεωτερίζειν ἐθέλουσιν. [5] ὡς δὲ ἐπέλασαν τῇ πέτρᾳ, καταλαμβάνει πάντῃ ἀπότομον ἐς τὴν προσβολὴν σιτία τε ξυγκεκομισμένους τοὺς βαρβάρους ὡς ἐς χρόνιον πολιορκίαν. καὶ χιὼν πολλὴ ἐπιπεσοῦσα τὴν τε πρόσβασιν ἀπορωτέραν ἐποίει τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ ἅμα ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ ὕδατος

τοὺς βαρβάρους διῆγεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς προσβάλλειν ἐδόκει τῷ χωρίῳ. [6] καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ὑπέρογκον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων λεχθὲν ἐς φιλοτιμίαν. ξὺν ὀργῇ ἐμβεβλήκει Ἀλέξανδρον. προκληθέντες γὰρ ἐς ξύμβασιν καὶ προτεινομένου σφίσιν, ὅτι σώοις ὑπάρξει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἀπαλλαγῆναι παραδοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ δὲ σὺν γέλῳτι βαρβαρίζοντες πτηνοὺς ἐκέλευον ζητεῖν στρατιώτας Ἀλέξανδρον, οἵτινες αὐτῷ ἐξαίρησουσι τὸ ὄρος, ὥς τῶν γε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδεμίαν ὥραν σφίσιν οὔσαν. [7] ἔνθα δὴ ἐκήρυξεν Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ ἀναβάντι δώδεκα τάλαντα εἶναι τὸ γέρας, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτῳ τὰ ἐφεξῆς, ὥς τελευταῖον εἶναι τῷ τελευταίῳ ἀνελθόντι τριακοσίους Δαρεικοὺς τὸ γέρας. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρώξυνεν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ ἄλλως τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὠρμημένους.

XVII. Meantime Coenus and Craterus with his men had returned to Alexander at Nautaca, and Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaæa, with his troops, and Stasanor satrap of Areia, after accomplishing all that Alexander had commanded them. But Alexander, resting his force at Nautaca, since winter was at its depth, despatched Phrataphernes to the Mardians and Tapurians, to bring back the satrap Autophradates, because he had often hitherto been sent for by Alexander but had not obeyed the summons. Stasanor he sent to the Drangians as satrap, to the Medes Atropates, as satrap of Media, since he had heard that Oxodates had ill-will against himself. Stamenes he sent to Babylon, since Mazæus the governor of Babylon was reported dead. Sopolis and Epocillus and Menidas he sent to Macedonia, to bring thence to him the army due from Macedonia.

With the first appearance of spring Alexander marched forward towards the Rock of Sogdiana, to which, as he was told, a good many of the Sogdianians had fled for refuge; and the wife of Oxyartes the Bactrian and his daughters were also reported to have taken refuge in this rock, Oxyartes having secretly sent them thither as to a place too strong to be captured; for he himself also had revolted from Alexander. Once this was taken it seemed that nothing would be left any longer for those Sogdianians who wished to rebel. But when they approached the rock, Alexander found it sheer on all sides against attack, and that the tribesmen had stored there provisions for a long siege; and deep snow having fallen made the approach more difficult for the Macedonians, while it assured to the tribesmen abundant water. Yet even so Alexander decided to assault the position. For some arrogant insult of the tribesmen had stirred Alexander to angry rivalry. For when summoned to a parley, and receiving the offer that they would be allowed to go safe to their homes if they gave up the position, they with barbaric laughter bade Alexander find winged soldiers to capture the height for him, since they cared for no other kind of men. Then Alexander proclaimed that the first to scale the height should have a first prize of twelve talents, the second, the second prize, the third, the third prize, and the last prize for the last to reach the top was three hundred darics. Eager as the Macedonians already were, this proclamation incited them even more.

[1] ζυνταξάμενοι δὴ ὅσοι πετροβατεῖν ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις αὐτῷ μεμελετήκεσαν, ἐς τριακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμόν, καὶ πασσάλους μικροῦς σιδηροῦς, οἷς αἱ σκιναὶ καταπεπήγεσαν αὐτοῖς, παρασκευάσαντες, τοῦ καταπηγνύναι αὐτοὺς ἐς τε τὴν χιόνα ὅπου πεπηγυῖα φανείη καὶ εἴ πού τι τῆς χώρας ἔρημον χιόνος ὑποφαίνοιτο, καὶ τούτους καλωδίους ἐκ λίνου ἰσχυροῖς ἐκδήσαντες τῆς νυκτὸς προὐχώρουν κατὰ τὸ ἀποτομώτατόν τε τῆς πέτρας καὶ ταύτῃ ἀφυλακτότατον. [2] καὶ τούτους τοὺς πασσάλους καταπηγνύντες τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν, ὅπου διεφαίνετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τῆς χιόνος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα οὐ θρυφθησόμενα, ἀνεῖλκον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ τῆς πέτρας. καὶ τούτων ἐς τριάκοντα μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει διεφθάρησαν, ὥστε οὐδὲ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐς ταφὴν εὐρέθῃ ἐμπεσόντα ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ τῆς χιόνος. [3] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀναβάντες ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω καὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ὄρους καταλαμβάνοντες σινδόνας κατέσειον ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Μακεδόνων, οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρηγγελμένον. πέμψας δὴ κήρυκα ἐμβοῆσαι ἐκέλευσε τοῖς προφυλάσσουσι τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ διατρίβειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς· ἐξευρησθαι γὰρ δὴ τοὺς πτηνοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἔχεσθαι ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἄκρα· καὶ ἅμα ἐδείκνυνεν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κορυφῆς στρατιώτας. [4] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ πλείονάς τε ὑποτοπήσαντες εἶναι τοὺς κατέχοντας τὰ ἄκρα καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὥπλισμένους ἐνέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς· οὕτω πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῶν ὀλίγων ἐκείνων Μακεδόνων φοβεροὶ ἐγένοντο. ἐνθα δὴ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες ἐλήφθησαν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ὀξυάρτου καὶ οἱ παῖδες. [5] καὶ ἦν γὰρ Ὀξυάρτη παῖς παρθένος ἐν ὧρα γάμου, Ῥωξάνῃ ὀνόματι, ἦν δὴ καλλίστην τῶν Ἀσιανῶν γυναικῶν λέγουσιν ὀφθῆναι οἱ ζῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες μετὰ γε τὴν Δαρείου γυναικίκα. καὶ ταύτην ἰδόντα Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐς ἔρωτα ἐλθεῖν αὐτῆς· ἐρασθέντα δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλησαι ὑβρίσαι καθάπερ αἰχμάλωτον, ἀλλὰ γῆμαι γὰρ οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαι. [6] καὶ τοῦτο ἐγὼ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ ἔργον ἐπαινῶ μᾶλλον τι ἢ μέφομαι. καίτοι τῆς γε Δαρείου γυναικός, ἡ καλλίστη δὴ ἐλέγετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ γυναικῶν, ἡ οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν ἢ καρτερὸς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, νέος τε ὢν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς εὐτυχίας, ὅποτε ὑβρίζουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ὁ δὲ κατηδέσθη τε καὶ ἐφείσατο, σωφροσύνη τε πολλῇ διαχρῶμενος καὶ δόξης ἅμα ἀγαθῆς οὐκ ἀτόπῳ ἐφέσει.

XIX. So then when all those had assembled who had practised rock-climbing in their previous sieges, up to the number of three hundred, and had got ready small iron pegs, with which their tents were pegged down, in order to fix them into the snow, where it appeared frozen fast, and also if any space bare of snow showed up, and had bound these to strong linen ropes, they set out at night to the part of the rock which was most sheer, and so unguarded. These pegs they fixed, some into the ground, where it was visible, and some into the snow, where it seemed least likely to give way, and hauled themselves, one one way and one another, up the face of the cliff.

Some thirty of them perished in the ascent, and their bodies were not even found for burial, having fallen in different places into the snow. The rest, however, reached the top about dawn, and seized the summit of the crag, and

waved linen flags to the Macedonian camp, as Alexander had commanded them. Then Alexander sending a herald bade him shout to the advance guard of the tribesmen, bidding them delay no further but give themselves up forthwith; for he had found sure enough the winged men and the summit of their rock was already in their hands; and with that he pointed to the soldiers on the top.

The tribesmen were astounded at this miraculous sight, and suspecting that those who held the summit were more numerous than in reality, and fully armed, surrendered; so terrified were they at the sight of those few Macedonians. Wives and children of many of them were captured there, and also among these the wife and daughters of Oxyartes. Now there was a marriageable daughter of Oxyartes called Roxane, and those who served with Alexander said that she was the loveliest woman in Asia next to Dareius' wife; Alexander when he saw her fell in love with her, but captive though she was, and deep in love as he was, he would not offer any violence to her, but deigned to marry her. This in Alexander I approve rather than blame. Yet for Dareius' wife, who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Asia, either he felt no love, or mastered himself, young though he was and in the very flush of his prosperity — a period when men act violently; but he pitied and spared her, both showing much restraint and also a proper ambition for good repute.

[1] καὶ τοίνυν καὶ λόγος κατέχει ὀλίγον μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ἥ πρὸς Ἴσσω Δαρείῳ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυνέβη, ἀποδράντα ἔλθειν παρὰ Δαρείον τὸν εὐνοῦχον τὸν φύλακα αὐτῷ τῆς γυναικός. καὶ τοῦτον ὡς εἶδε Δαρείος, πρῶτα μὲν πυθέσθαι εἰ ζῶσιν αὐτῷ αἱ παῖδες [καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ] καὶ ἡ γυνή τε καὶ ἡ μήτηρ. [2] ὡς δὲ ζώσας τε ἐπύθετο καὶ βασιλίσσαι ὅτι καλοῦνται καὶ ἡ θεραπεία ὅτι ἄμφ' αὐτάς ἐστιν, ἦντινα καὶ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἐθεραπεύοντο, ἐπὶ τῷδε αὖ πυθέσθαι εἰ σωφρονεῖ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή ἔτι. ὡς δὲ σωφρονουσαν ἐπύθετο, αὖθις ἐρέσθαι μὴ τι βίαιον ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτῇ ἐς ὕβριν ξυνέβη; καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐπομόσαντα φάναι ὅτι: ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὕτω τοι ὡς ἀπέλιπες ἔχει ἡ σὴ γυνή, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρος ἀνδρῶν ἄριστός τέ ἐστι καὶ σωφρονέστατος. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀνατείνειν Δαρείον ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εὐχασθαι ὧδε: [3] ἀλλ' ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, ὅτῳ ἐπιτέτραπται νέμειν τὰ βασιλείων πράγματα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, σὺ νῦν μάλιστα μὲν ἐμοὶ φύλαξον Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἔδωκας: εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐγὼ οὐκέτι σοι βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας, σὺ δὲ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὅτι μὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραδοῦναι τὸ ἐμὸν κράτος. οὕτως οὐδὲ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄρα ἀμελεῖται ὅσα σώφρονα ἔργα. [4] Ὁξυάρτης δὲ ἀκούσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐχομένους, ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ Ῥωξάνης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὅτι μέλει αὐτῇ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, θαρσῆσας ἀφίκετο παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρον, καὶ ἦν ἐν τιμῇ παρ' αὐτῷ, ἥπερ εἰκὸς ἐπὶ ξυντυχίᾳ τοιαύτῃ.

XVIII. There is indeed also a story that soon after the battle of Issus between Dareius and Alexander, there escaped the chamberlain who had charge of Dareius' wife and fled to Dareius. When then Dareius saw him, he first asked if his children and his wife and mother were alive. When he learnt that they were, and that they had the title of princesses, and that the court paid

to them was the same as when he was on the throne, Dareius next asked if his wife still remained true to him. Learning that she was, he enquired again whether any violence or insult had been offered to her by Alexander. The chamberlain with an oath replied, "O King, your wife is as you left her, and Alexander is the noblest and most self-controlled of men." At this, Dareius stretched his hands to the heavens and prayed thus: "O Zeus the King, to whom it has been given to order the affairs of Kings among men, do thou guard safe for me, if so it may be, the sovereignty of Persians and Medes, as thou didst give it me; but if I be no longer King of Asia, do thou give my power to none but to Alexander. So much does he care for honourable conduct even towards enemies."

Now Oxyartes when he learnt that his daughters were captives, and also that Alexander cared for his daughter Roxane, took courage and came to Alexander and was held in honour by him, as was meet, after this happy event.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς τὰ ἐν Σογδιανοῖς αὐτῷ διεπέπρακτο, ἐχομένης ἤδη καὶ τῆς πέτρας ἐς Παρειτάκας προὐχῶρει, ὅτι καὶ ἐν Παρειτάκαις χωρίον τι ὄχυρόν, ἄλλην πέτραν, κατέχειν ἐλέγοντο πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ αὕτη Χοριήνου ἡ πέτρα: καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν αὐτός τε ὁ Χοριήνης ξυμπεφεύγει καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ὑπάρχων οὐκ ὀλίγοι. [2] ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν ὕψος τῆς πέτρας ἐς σταδίους εἴκοσι, κύκλος δὲ ἐς ἐξήκοντα: αὐτὴ δὲ ἀπότομος πάντοθεν, ἄνοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν μία καὶ αὐτὴ στενὴ τε καὶ οὐκ εὐπορος, οἷα δὴ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ χωρίου πεποιημένη, ὡς χαλεπὴ εἶναι καὶ μηδενὸς εἰργοντος καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἀνελθεῖν, φάραγξ τε κύκλῳ περιεῖργε τὴν πέτραν βαθεῖα, ὥστε ὅστις προσάξειν στρατιὰν τῇ πέτρᾳ ἔμελλε, πολὺ πρόσθεν αὐτῷ τὴν φάραγγα εἶναι χωστέον, ὡς ἐξ ὁμαλοῦ ὀρμαῖσθαι προσάγοντα ἐς προσβολὴν τὸν στρατόν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἤπτετο τοῦ ἔργου: [3] οὕτως πάντα ᾤετο χρῆναι βατά τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξαιρετέα εἶναι, ἐς τοσόνδε τόλμης τε καὶ εὐτυχίας προκεχωρήκει. τέμνων δὴ τὰς ἐλάτας 'πολλαὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑπερύψηλοι ἐλάται ἦσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ὄρουσ' κλίμακας ἐκ τούτων ἐποίει, ὡς κάθοδον εἶναι ἐς τὴν φάραγγα τῇ στρατιᾷ: οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως κατελθεῖν ἐς αὐτήν. [4] καὶ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφεισθήκει τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ ἡμῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχων ἐργαζόμενον, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐν μέρει οἱ σωματοφύλακες αὐτῷ εἰργάζοντο, Περδίκκας τε καὶ Λεοννάτος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, τῷ λοιπῷ μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς τριχῇ διανενομημένῳ, ὅπερ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν νύκτα ἀπετέτακτο. ἦνυτον δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας οὐ πλέον ἤπερ εἴκοσι πῆχεις καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ὀλίγον ἀποδέον, καίτοι ξυμπάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐργαζομένης: οὕτω τὸ τε χωρίον ἄπορον ἦν καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐν αὐτῷ χαλεπόν. [5] κατιόντες δ' ἐς τὴν φάραγγα πασσάλους κατεπήγνυνον ἐς τὸ ὀξύτατον τῆς φάραγγος, διέχοντας ἀλλήλων ὅσον ξύμμετρον πρὸς ἰσχύν τε καὶ ξυνοχὴν τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων. ἐπέβαλλον δὲ πλέγματα ἐκ λύγων εἰς γεφύρας μάλιστα ἰδεάν, καὶ ταῦτα ξυνοδῶντες χοῦν ἄνωθεν ἐπεφόρουσαν, ὡς ἐξ ὁμαλοῦ γίνεσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν πρόσοδον τὴν πρὸς τὴν πέτραν. [6] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατεφρόνουν ὡς ἀπόρου πάντα τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος: ὡς δὲ τοξεύματα ἤδη ἐς τὴν πέτραν ἐξικνεῖτο καὶ

αὐτοὶ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν ἄνωθεν ἐξείργειν τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἔπεποιήτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς προκαλύμματα πρὸς τὰ βέλη, ὥς ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἀβλαβῶς ἐργάζεσθαι ἐκπλαγεῖς ὁ Χοριήνης πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα κήρυκα πέμπει πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, δεόμενος Ὁξυάρτην οἱ ἀναπέμψαι. καὶ πέμπει Ὁξυάρτην Ἀλέξανδρος. [7] ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πείθει Χοριήνην ἐπιτρέψαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ χωρίον. βία μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχ ἄλωτὸν εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ ἐκείνου, ἐς πίστιν δὲ ἐλθόντος καὶ φιλίαν, τὴν πίστιν τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην μεγαλωστί ἐπῆνει τοῦ βασιλέως, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐν πρώτοις ἐς βεβαίωσιν τοῦ λόγου προφέρων. [8] τούτοις πεισθεὶς ὁ Χοριήνης αὐτός τε ἦκε παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τῶν οἰκείων τινὲς καὶ ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ. ἐλθόντι δὲ τῷ Χοριήνῃ φιλάνθρωπά τε ἀποκρινάμενος καὶ πίστιν ἐς φιλίαν δοὺς αὐτόν μὲν κατέχει, πέμψαι δὲ κελεύει τῶν συγκατελθόντων τινὰς αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν πέτραν τοὺς κελεύσοντας ἐνδοῦναι τὸ χωρίον. [9] καὶ ἐνδίδοται ὑπὸ τῶν ξυμπεφευγόντων, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναλαβὼν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους ἀνέβη κατὰ θέαν τῆς πέτρας, καὶ τοσοῦτου ἐδέησεν ἀνεπιεικὲς τι ἐς τὸν Χοριήνην ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ἐπιτρέπει Χοριήνῃ καὶ ὑπαρχον εἶναι ὅσων περ καὶ πρόσθεν ἔδωκεν. [10] ξυνέβη δὲ χειμῶνι τε κακοπαθῆσαι αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιάν πολλῆς χιόνος ἐπιτεσοῦσης ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ ἅμα ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπιέσθησαν. ἀλλὰ Χοριήνης ἐς δίμηνον σιτία ἔφη δώσειν τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ ἔδωκεν σίτον τε καὶ οἶνον τῶν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ ἀποθέτων κρέα τε ταριχηρὰ κατὰ σκηνήν. καὶ ταῦτα δοὺς οὐκ ἔφασκεν ἀναλῶσαι τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν οὐδὲ τὴν δεκάτην μοῖραν. ἔνθεν ἐν τιμῇ μᾶλλον τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦν ὥς οὐ πρὸς βίαν μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γνώμην ἐνδοὺς τὴν πέτραν.

XIX. After completing his work in Sogdiana, and being now in possession of the rock, Alexander advanced to the Pareitacae, since many of the tribesmen were reported to be holding a strong place in the country of the Pareitacae, another rock, called the Rock of Chorienes; and Chorienes himself and many others of the authorities of the country had taken refuge there. The height of this rock was about twenty stades, its circuit, some sixty; it was sheer on all sides, and there was only one way up to it, and this narrow and difficult, made as it was despite the nature of the ground, so that it was difficult, even if no one prevented, to ascend even in single file. A deep ravine also protects the rock all round, so that anyone desiring to bring up an army against the rock would be obliged beforehand to do much filling up of the ravine, so that he might start from level ground when bringing up his force to the assault.

Undeterred, however, Alexander took the work in hand; so confident was he that everything should be accessible to him, and that everything could be captured; and to such a height of boldness and success had he reached. Felling the pines, therefore (there were many tall pines all round about the hill), he made ladders of them, so that the army might be able to descend into the ravine, for there was no other means of descent. During the days Alexander himself superintended the operations, keeping half his army at work; during

the nights his bodyguards worked in relays, Perdicas and Leonnatus and Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, with the rest of the army, divided into three sections, as Alexander had commanded, for the night work. By day-time they could not accomplish a distance of more than twenty cubits, at night rather less, even though all the army was at work; so difficult was the ground, and so hard the work there. First descending into the ravine they fixed stakes into the narrowest part of the ravine; the stakes being just as far apart from one another as was proper to give the necessary strength and to bear safely the load piled upon them. They then fixed upon the stakes hurdles of willow and osiers in bridge fashion; then binding these closely together they heaped earth upon them, so that the approach for the troops to the rock might be on the level. (See Appendix.)

At first the tribesmen laughed at these attempts as if quite hopeless; but when at length arrows began to find the range of the rock and they proved unable from above to dislodge the Macedonians who had made screens against the missiles, so that they worked beneath them unharmed, Chorieneas was aghast at the achievement and sent a herald to Alexander begging him to send Oxyartes to him; and Alexander did so. And when Oxyartes came he tried to persuade Chorieneas to surrender himself and his stronghold to Alexander. For nothing, he said, could not be taken by force by Alexander and his army; if, however, Chorieneas should make terms of good faith and friendship with Alexander, he was able to commend highly the good faith and justice of the King, giving many examples, but chiefly adducing his own treatment in proof of his argument. Chorieneas was overborne by these arguments, and himself came to Alexander with some of his kinsfolk and friends. And when Chorieneas arrived Alexander replied to him courteously and gave him assurance of his friendship, retaining Chorieneas himself, but bidding him send some of those who came down with him to the rock, to order the stronghold to be given up. And given up it was by the refugees, so that Alexander himself actually took five hundred of the bodyguard and ascended to see the rock; and so far from showing any unkindness to Chorieneas, he actually entrusted the stronghold to him and made him governor of the district he had previously administered.

The army, as it happened, had suffered much in the winter, a great deal of snow having fallen during the siege; and also they were distressed by want of provisions. But Chorieneas said he would give two months' supplies for the army, and gave them corn and wine from the stores in the rock, and distributed dried meat among the tents. Even after all these gifts he said he had not expended a tithe of what they had prepared for the siege. Alexander therefore regarded him with the greater respect, since he had given up the stronghold not so much perforce as from good-will.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ καταπραΰμενος Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς βάκτρα ῥει, Κρατερὸν δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων ὑπέας ἔχοντα ἐξακοσίους καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τήν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν καὶ τὴν Πολυπέρχοντος καὶ Αἰτάλου καὶ τὴν Ἀλκέτα ἐπὶ

Κατάνην τε καὶ Αὐστάνην ἐκπέμπει, οἱ δὴ μόνοι ἔτι ὑπελείποντο ἐν τῇ Παρειτακηνῶν χώρα ἀφεστηκότες. [2] καὶ μάχης γενομένης πρὸς αὐτοὺς καρτερᾶς νικῶσιν οἱ ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν τῇ μάχῃ· καὶ Κατάνης μὲν ἀποθνήσκει αὐτοῦ μαχόμενος, Αὐστάνης δὲ ξυλληφθεὶς ἀνήχθη παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον· τῶν δὲ ξὺν αὐτοῖς βαρβάρων ἱπεῖς μὲν ἀπέθανον ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι, πεζοὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους πεντακοσίους. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἐπράχθη τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν, καὶ οὗτοι ἐς Βάκτρα ἦσαν. καὶ ἐν Βάκτροις τὸ ἀμφὶ Καλλισθένην τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας πάθημα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυνηνέχθη. [3] ἐκ Βάκτρων δὲ ἐξήκοντος ἤδη τοῦ ἥρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν προὔχῳρει ὡς ἐπ' Ἰνδοῦς, Ἀμύνταν ἀπολιπὼν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Βακτρίων καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἱππέας μὲν τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὺς δὲ μυρίους. [4] ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὸν Καύκασον ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις ἀφίκετο εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πόλιν τὴν κτισθεῖσαν ἐν Παραπαμισάδαϊς, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ Βάκτρων ἐστέλλετο. καὶ τὸν μὲν ὕπαρχον, ὅστις αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως τότε ἐτάχθη, παραλῦει τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἔδοξε· [5] προσκατοικίσας δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν περιοίκων τε καὶ ὅσοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Νικάνορα μὲν, ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων, τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν κοσμεῖν ἐκέλευσε, σατράπην δὲ Τυρίεσπιν κατέστησε τῆς τε χώρας τῆς Παραπαμισαδῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα ποταμὸν. [6] ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς Νίκαιαν πόλιν καὶ τῇ Αθηνᾶ θύσας προὔχῳρει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα, προπέμψας κήρυκα ὡς Ταξίλην τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, κελεύσας ἀπαντᾶν ὅπως ἂν ἐκάστοις προχωρῇ. καὶ Ταξίλης τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὕπαρχοι ἀπὴντων, δῶρα τὰ μέγιστα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς νομιζόμενα κομίζοντες, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας δώσειν ἔφασκον τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ὄντας, ἀριθμὸν ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν. [7] ἔνθα δὴ διελὼν τὴν στρατιὰν Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν καὶ Περδίκκαν ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὴν Πευκελαῶτιν χώραν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, ἔχοντας τὴν τε Γοργίου τάξιν καὶ Κλείτου καὶ Μελεάγρου καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἱππέας ξύμπαντας, προστάξας τά τε κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν χωρία ἢ βία ἐξαρεῖν ἢ ὁμολογία παρίστασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἀφικομένους παρασκευάζειν ὅσα ἐς τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ξύμφορα. ξὺν τούτοις δὲ καὶ Ταξίλης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὕπαρχοι στέλλονται. [8] καὶ οὗτοι ὡς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, ἔπρασσον ὅσα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἦν τεταγμένα. Ἄστις δὲ ὁ τῆς Πευκελαώτιδος ὕπαρχος νεωτερίσας αὐτὸς τε ἀπόλλυται καὶ τὴν πόλιν προσαπώλεσεν, ἐς ἣντινα ξυμπεφεύγει. ἐξεῖλον γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις προσκαθήμενοι οἱ ξὺν Ἡφαιστίωνι. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν Ἄστις ἀποθνήσκει, τῆς πόλεως δὲ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἐτάχθη Σαγγαῖος, ὃς ἔτι πρόσθεν πεφευγὼς Ἄστιν παρὰ Ταξίλην ἠτομολόγει· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ πιστὸν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον.

XX. After this achievement Alexander himself marched towards Bactria; but he sent Craterus, with six hundred of the Companions' cavalry and of the infantry his own brigade, that of Polysperchon and Attalus, and that of Alcetas, against Catanes and Austanes, who alone were left of those who had rebelled in the territory of the Pareitacae. There was a severe battle fought against them; but Craterus' troops won the day; Catanes perished on the field, but Austanes was captured and taken before Alexander; of the tribesmen who

fought under him, up to a hundred and twenty perished, and of infantry about fifteen hundred. And when Craterus' force had accomplished this, they too marched towards Bactria, where it was that the plot of Callisthenes and the squires against Alexander took place.

From Bactria, now that spring was ending, Alexander took his force and marched towards India, leaving Amyntas behind in Bactria and with him three thousand and five hundred cavalry and ten thousand infantry. Crossing the Caucasus, (As before, the Hindu-Koosh; also called the Parapamisus.) in ten days he arrived at the city of Alexandreia, which he had founded in the district of the Parapamisadae during his first expedition into Bactria. The governor whom he had set over the city then, he now dismissed from his office, as he appeared to have proved an inefficient ruler. He then settled in Alexandreia more settlers from the neighbourhood and of the troops also such as were past fighting, and ordered Nicanor, one of the Companions, to take charge of the city itself; and as satrap he appointed Turiaspes, both of the country of the Parapamisadae and of the rest as far as to the river Cophen. Then reaching Nicaea and after sacrificing to Athena he advanced towards the Cophen, sending a herald in advance to Taxiles and the Indians this side of the river Indus; bidding them meet him, each at their earliest convenience; Taxiles and the others did come to meet him, bringing such gifts as the Indians most prize, and they promised to give Alexander the elephants they had with them, five-and-twenty in number.

Here he divided his army, and sent Hephaestion and Perdicas to the territory of Peucelaotis towards the river Indus, with the brigade of Gorgias and of Cleitus and of Meleager and half of the Companions' cavalry and all the mercenary cavalry; bidding them either to take by storm, or to receive in surrender, all towns on their march; then, when they had reached the Indus, to get everything ready for the crossing of the river. Taxiles and the other authorities were sent with them. They duly arrived at the river Indus and carried out Alexander's commands. But Astes the governor of the district Peucelaotis attempted revolt, and was himself put to death, while he involved in his fate the city also to which he had fled for refuge. For Hephaestion and his troops besieged it for thirty days and captured it. Astes himself having been put to death, Sangaeus was appointed to govern the city; he had previously escaped from Astes and had gone over to Taxiles; this guaranteed his good faith with Alexander.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἄγων τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἱππέων ὅσοι μὴ σὺν Ἡφαιστίωνι ἐτετάχατο καὶ τῶν πεζεταίρων καλουμένων τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς, προὐχώρει ἐς τὴν Ἀσπασίων τε καὶ Γουραίων χώραν καὶ Ἀσσακηνῶν. [2] πορευθεὶς δὲ παρὰ τὸν Χόην καλούμενον ποταμὸν ὀρεινὴν τε ὁδὸν καὶ τραχεῖαν καὶ τοῦτον διαβάς χαλεπῶς τῶν μὲν πεζῶν τὸ πλῆθος βάδην ἔπεσθαί οἱ ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἱππέας ξύμπαντας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς ὀκτακοσίους ἐπιβιβάσας τῶν ἵππων ζὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς πεζικαῖς σπουδῇ

ἦγεν, ὅτι τοὺς ταύτη οἰκοῦντας βαρβάρους ξυμπεφευγένοι ἐς τε τὰ ὄρη τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐξηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ὀχυραὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι. [3] καὶ τούτων τῇ πρώτῃ καθ' ὁδὸν πόλει ᾠκισμένη προσβαλὼν τοὺς μὲν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τεταγμένους ὥς εἶχεν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐτρέψατο καὶ κατέκλεισεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τιτρώσκεται βέλει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸν ὄμον· τὸ δὲ τραῦμα οὐ χαλεπὸν αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ θώραξ ἔσχε τὸ μὴ οὐ διαμπαῖξ διὰ τοῦ ὤμου ἐλθεῖν τὸ βέλος· καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐτρέθη καὶ Λεοννάτος. [4] τότε μὲν δὴ ἵνα ἐπιμαχώτατον τοῦ τείχους ἐφαίνετο ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο πρὸς τῇ πόλει· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω, διπλοῦν γὰρ τεῖχος περιεβέβλητο τῇ πόλει, ἐς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ἅτε οὐκ ἀκριβῶς τετειχισμένον οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐβιάσαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες, πρὸς δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ὥς αἶ τε κλίμακες προσέκειντο ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν πάντοθεν ἐτιτρώσκοντο οἱ προμαχόμενοι, οὐκ ἔμειναν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὥς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἐκπίπτουσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. [5] καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ὅσους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον αὐτῶν, ξύμπαντας ἀποκτείνουσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ὅτι ἐτρέθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ὀργιζόμενοι· οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐς τὰ ὄρη, ὅτι οὐ μακρὰν τῆς πόλεως τὰ ὄρη ἦν, ἀπέφυγον. τὴν πόλιν δὲ κατασκάψας ἐς Ἄνδακα ἄλλην πόλιν ἦγε. ταύτην δὲ ὁμολογία ἐνδοθεῖσαν κατασχὼν Κρατερὸν μὲν ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι τῶν πεζῶν καταλείπει αὐτοῦ ἐξαιρεῖν ὅσαι ἂν ἄλλαι πόλεις μὴ ἐκοῦσαι προσχωρῶσι καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὅπως ξυμφορώτατον ἐς τὰ παρόντα κοσμεῖν.

XXI. But Alexander, taking the bodyguard and such of the Companions' cavalry as had not been detailed with Hephaestion and the brigades of the Companions' infantry, as it is called, with the archers, the Agrianes, and the mounted javelin-men, advanced to the district of the Aspasians, Guraeans and Assacenians. Marching along the river Choes by a mountainous and rough route, and crossing the river with some difficulty, he bade the infantry force to follow him at normal pace; but himself taking all the cavalry and up to eight hundred of the Macedonian foot-soldiers, whom he mounted, with their infantry shields, marched at full speed, having learnt that the tribesmen in this direction had fled for refuge to the hills of the district and to the cities which were strong for the purpose of defence. The first of these cities which lay on his route he assaulted, and without any special effort drove back the advance guards of the city, and shut them up in the city; but he himself received a wound by an arrow through his breastplate in his shoulder. The wound, however, was not a serious one, for the breastplate prevented the dart passing through his shoulder; Ptolemaeus son of Lagus also was wounded, and Leonnatus.

On this Alexander placed his camp by the city where the wall appeared easiest to assault; and next day about dawn, there being a double wall about the city, the Macedonians easily forced their way through the first, as it had not been carefully built; but at the second wall the tribesmen made a short stand, and yet when the ladders were now put up and the advance posts were being wounded on this side and on that by the missiles, they did not stand

their ground, but dashed out of the city by the gates in the direction of the hills. Of them some perished in the escape; and the Macedonians slew all they captured alive, angry that Alexander had been wounded by them; the greater number, however, escaped to the hills, which were not far from the city. Alexander, razing the city to the ground, went on to another city, Andaca. This he received in surrender, and left Craterus with the other infantry officers to destroy such other cities as should not surrender of their free-will, and to put everything in order in this district as was most expedient for the present.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν Κοίνου τε καὶ Ἀττάλου τάξιν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἄγημα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑταίρων ἐς τέσσαρας μάλιστα ἱππαρχίας καὶ τῶν ἱπποτοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν % Εὐας ... πόλεως προὔχῳρει, ἵνα ὁ τῶν Ἀσπασίων ὑπαρχος ᾦν: καὶ διελθὼν πολλὴν ὁδὸν δευτεραῖος ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. [2] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσάγοντα αἰσθόμενοι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ ὄρη. οἱ δ' ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχοντο τῶν φευγόντων ἔστε ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ φόνος πολὺς γίγνεται τῶν βαρβάρων, πρὶν ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας φθάσαι ἀπελθόντας. [3] τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα αὐτὸν τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου πρὸς τινὶ ἤδη γηλόφῳ ὄντα κατιδὼν καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἔστιν οὗς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ζὺν πολὺ ἐλάττωσιν αὐτὸς ὧν ὁμοῦς ἐδίωκεν ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου: ὡς δὲ χαλεπὸς ὁ γήλοφος τῷ ἵππῳ ἀναδραμεῖν ᾦν, τοῦτον μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλείπει παραδούς τινι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἄγειν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς εἶχε πεζὸς τῷ Ἰνδῷ εἶπετο. [4] ὁ δὲ ὡς πελάζοντα ἤδη κατεῖδε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, αὐτὸς τε μεταβάλλει ἐς τὸ ἔμπαλιν καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰνδὸς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διὰ τοῦ θώρακος παίει ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς τὸ στήθος ξυστῷ μακρῷ, καὶ ὁ θώραξ ἔσχε τὴν πληγὴν: Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τὸν μηρὸν διαμπαξ βαλὼν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καταβάλλει τε καὶ σκυλεύει αὐτόν. [5] ὡς δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα σφῶν κείμενον οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν εἶδον, οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι ἔμενον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν αἰρόμενον τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ ὑπάρχου ἰδόντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἤλγησάν τε καὶ καταδραμόντες ξυνάπτουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ μάχην καρτερὰν πρὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ. ἤδη γὰρ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔχων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καταβεβηκότας πεζοὺς πρὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ ᾦν. καὶ οὗτοι ἐπιγενόμενοι μόγις ἐξέωσαν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐς τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐκράτησαν. [6] ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὰ ὄρη Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς πόλιν κατήλθεν, ἥ ὄνομα ᾦν Ἀριγαῖον: καὶ ταύτην καταλαμβάνει ἐμπερησμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πεφευγότας. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κρατερὸν ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πεπραγμένων σφίσι ξυμπάντων ὅσα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτέτακτο. [7] ταύτην μὲν δὴ τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ χωρίῳ ἐδόκει ὀκίσθαι, ἐκτειχίσαι τε προστάσσει Κρατερῷ καὶ ξυνοικίσαι ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς τε προσχώρους ὅσοι ἐθελονταὶ καὶ εἰ δὴ τινες ἀπόμαχοι τῆς στρατιᾶς. αὐτὸς δὲ προὔχῳρει ἵνα ξυμπεφευγῆναι ἐπυνθάνετο τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς τι ὄρος κατεστρατοπέδευσε ὑπὸ ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τοῦ ὄρους. [8] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐκπεμφθεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς προνομίην, προελθὼν δὲ προσωτέρῳ αὐτὸς ζὺν ὀλίγοις ὡς ἐς κατασκοπὴν, ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πυρὰ κατιδεῖν τῶν βαρβάρων πλείονα ἢ ἐν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατοπέδῳ. [9] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μὲν πλήθει τῶν

πυρῶν ἥπισθησεν, εἶναι δέ τι ξυνεσθηκὸς τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων αἰσθόμενος μέρος μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ καταλείπει πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ὡς εἶχον ἔστρατοπεδευμένους; αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ὅσοι ἀποχρῶντες ἐς τὰ ἀπηγγελμένα ἐφαίνοντο, ὡς πλησίον ἤδη ἀφεώρων τὰ πυρά, τρίχα διανέμει τὴν στρατιάν. [10] καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐνὶ ἐπέταξε Λεοννάτον τὸν σωματοφύλακα, ξυντάξας αὐτῷ τὴν τε Ἀττάλου καὶ τὴν Βαλάκρου τάξιν: τὴν δευτέραν δὲ μοῖραν Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου ἄγειν ἔδωκε, τῶν τε ὑπασπιστῶν τῶν βασιλικῶν τὸ τρίτον μέρος καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου καὶ Φιλώτα τάξιν καὶ δύο χιλιαρχίας τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας: τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν αὐτὸς ἤγεν ἵνα οἱ πλείστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐφαίνοντο.

XXII. Alexander himself then took the bodyguard, archers, and Agrianes, with Coenus' and Attalus' brigade, and the guards' cavalry squadron and some four regiments of the other Companions and half the mounted archers, and advanced towards the river Euaspla, where was the governor of the Aspasians; and passing through a considerable stretch of territory in two days he arrived at the city. When the tribesmen, however, learnt of Alexander's approach, they fled to the mountains. But Alexander's troops followed close on the fugitives up to the mountains, and there was a great slaughter of the tribesmen, until they managed to escape into the more difficult country.

The actual leader of the Indians of this district Ptolemaeus son of Lagus saw already close to a hill, and some of his bodyguardsmen near him, though he himself had a much inferior force with him, yet continued to pursue him on horseback; but when the hill proved difficult for his horse to ascend he left it there, handing it to one of the guards to lead; but he himself, on foot as he was, followed hard upon the Indian. He then, seeing Ptolemaeus drawing near, himself turned round to bay, and his guards with him; and the Indian with his long spear struck at close quarters through Ptolemaeus' corselet to his breast, the corslet checking the blow; but Ptolemaeus smote right through the Indian's thigh, drove him to the ground, and despoiled him. His followers, seeing their leader lying there, no longer remained, but others from the hills seeing the enemy carrying off their governor's body, were bitterly grieved, and rushing down joined in a severe battle with them near the hill. Now Alexander, with his cavalymen dismounted, was already near the hill. They coming to join the fray only with difficulty drove back the Indians to the mountains, and got possession of the body.

Crossing the mountains Alexander descended at a city called Arigaeus, and captured it after it had been set on fire by its inhabitants, but found the inhabitants themselves had fled. Here there met him Craterus and his men with the army, after carrying through successfully all that Alexander had commanded them. This city indeed, since it seemed to lie in a convenient position, he bade Craterus to strengthen with a wall, and settle therein the neighbouring tribesmen, as many as volunteered, and any of the army who were past fighting. He himself, however, advanced to where he had learnt that the greater part of the tribesmen of this district had taken refuge; and reaching

a mountain he camped there at its foot.

At this same time Ptolemaeus son of Lagus whom Alexander had sent foraging, and who had advanced further ahead, himself and a few others, to scout, reported to Alexander that he had sighted fires of the tribesmen a good deal more numerous than in Alexander's own camp; yet Alexander was incredulous about the number of the fires; but perceiving that it was a device of the tribesmen of this district, he left part of his force behind encamped, as they were, and himself taking what appeared to be a sufficient force, in view of this report, when they saw the fires from close at hand, divided his men into three parts; and he set over the first part Leonnatus, member of the bodyguard, detailing for him the brigade of Attalus and that of Balacrus; and the second portion he gave to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus; namely, a third part of the royal guards and the brigade of Philip and Philotas and two regiments of archers and the Agrianes, and half the cavalry; then he himself led the third division to where the greatest number of the tribesmen appeared to be.

[1] οἱ δὲ ὥς ἦσθοντο προσάγοντας τοὺς Μακεδόνας, κατεῖχον γὰρ χωρία ὑπερδέξια, τῷ τε πλήθει σφῶν θαρσύναντες καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὅτι ὀλίγοι ἐφαίνοντο, καταφρονήσαντες ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ὑποκατέβησαν· καὶ μάχη γίνεται καρτερὰ. ἀλλὰ τοὺτους μὲν οὐ ξὺν πόνῳ ἐνίκα Ἀλέξανδρος· [2] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ παρετάξαντο, ἀλλὰ γήλοφον γὰρ κατεῖχον οἱ βάρβαροι, ὀρθίους ποιήσαντες τοὺς λόχους, Πτολεμαῖος προσῆγεν ἥπερ ἐπιμαχ[ιμ]ώτατον τοῦ λόφου ἐφαίνετο, οὐ πάντη τὸν λόφον κυκλωσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἀπολιπών, εἰ φεύγειν ἐθέλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι, χώραν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν φυγὴν. [3] καὶ γίνεται καὶ τούτοις μάχη καρτερὰ τοῦ χωρίου τῇ χαλεπότητι καὶ ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀλλὰ πολὺ δὴ τι ἀλκιμώτατοι τῶν προσχώρων εἰσίν. ἐξώσθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων· καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεοννάτον τῇ τρίτῃ μοίρᾳ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡσαύτως ἔπραξαν· ἐνίκων γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς. [4] καὶ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ἀνθρώπους μὲν ληφθῆναι τοὺς πάντας ὑπὲρ τετρακισμυρίους, βοῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας· καὶ τούτων τὰς καλλίστας ἐπιλεξάμενον Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅτι διαφέρουσαι αὐτῷ κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει ἐφαίνοντο, πέμψαι ἐθέλειν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν χώραν. [5] ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν ἦγεν· τοὺτους γὰρ ἐξηγγέλλετο παρεσκευάσαι ὡς μαχουμένους, ἱππέας μὲν ἐς δισχιλίους ἔχοντας, πεζοὺς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τρισμυρίους, τριάκοντα δὲ ἐλέφαντας. κρατερὸς μὲν δὴ ἐκτετειχικῶς ἤδη τὴν πόλιν, ἐφ' ἧς τῷ οἰκισμῷ κατελέλειπτο, τοὺς τε βαρύτερον ὠπλισμένους τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦγεν καὶ τὰς μηχανάς, εἴ που πολιορκίας δεήσειεν. [6] αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς τε ἐταίρους ἱππέας ἄγων καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστάς καὶ τὴν Κοίνου καὶ Πολυπέρχοντος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας τοὺς χιλίους καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἦει ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσακηνούς· ἦγε δὲ διὰ τῆς Γουραίων χώρας. [7] καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπώνυμον τῆς χώρας τὸν Γουραῖον χαλεπῶς διέβη, διὰ βαθύτητά τε καὶ ὅτι ὄξυς ὁ ροῦς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ λίθοι στρογγύλοι ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ὄντες σφαλεροὶ τοῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐγίνοντο. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς προσάγοντα ἦσθοντο Ἀλέξανδρον, ἄθροοι μὲν ἐς μάχην καταστῆναι οὐκ

ἐτόλησαν, διαλυθέντες δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις ταύτας ἐπενόουν ἀπομαχόμενοι διασώζειν. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ Μάσσαγα ἦγε, τὴν

XXIII. They, as soon as they saw the Macedonians approach, holding as they did the heights, confident in their numbers, and despising the Macedonians, as they appeared to be few, descended to the plain; a severe battle followed. Still Alexander had the mastery of them without much difficulty. Ptolemaeus' troops were drawn up not on the level; but since the tribesmen held a hill, Ptolemaeus throwing his lines into columns led them up to the point where the hill seemed most open to assault, not investing the hill on all sides, but leaving a space for flight, should the tribesmen elect to escape. With these there followed a severe battle, both because of the difficulty of the position and because these Indians were not of the same kind as the rest in this district, but much the most warlike of all the neighbouring tribes. Yet even these were driven down from the mountain by the Macedonians; and Leonnatus and his troops were equally successful with the third part of the army; for they too conquered those ranged against them. And Ptolemaeus says that the total of men captured was over forty thousand, and of oxen over two hundred and thirty thousand; and of these Alexander chose out the finest, because they seemed to be of unusual beauty and size, and was anxious to send them into Macedonia to work the land.

Thence he proceeded to the territory of the Assacenians; for these were reported to have prepared for battle, with two thousand horsemen, over thirty thousand infantry, and thirty elephants. Craterus then, who had finished the walling round of the city of whose settlement he had been put in charge, took to Alexander the heavier armed troops of the army, and the siege engines, in case he had need of a siege. But Alexander himself with the Companions' cavalry and the mounted javelin-men and the brigade of Coenus and Polysperchon, the thousand Agrianes, and the archers, marched towards the Assacenians; and he went through the country of the Guraeans. And the river Guraeus, which shares its name with the country, he crossed with difficulty, both because of its depth, and because its current was rapid, and the rounded stones in the river proved very slippery to anyone stepping on them. But the tribesmen, learning that Alexander was approaching, dared not take their stand in mass for a battle, but breaking off in parties each to their city they purposed to defend and save them.

[1] μεγίστην τῶν ταύτη πόλεων. ὡς δὲ προσῆγεν ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσι, θαρρήσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοῖς μισθοφόροις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πρόσω Ἰνδῶν, ἦσαν γὰρ οὗτοι ἐς ἑπτακισχίλους, ὡς στρατοπεδευομένους εἶδον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤεσαν. [2] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἰδὼν πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐσομένην τὴν μάχην προσωτέρω ἐκκαλέσασθαι αὐτοὺς βουλευθεὶς τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς εἰ τροπὴ γίνοιτο, ἐγίνωσκεν γὰρ ἐσομένην, μὴ δι' ὀλίγου ἐς τὴν πόλιν καταφυγόντες εὐμαρῶς διασώζοιντο, ὡς ἐκθέοντας εἶδε τοὺς βαρβάρους, μεταβαλλομένους κελεύει τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὀπίσω ἀποχωρεῖν ὡς πρὸς γήλοφόν τινα ἀπέχοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου, ἵνα περ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐγνώκει, ἐπτά

που μάλιστα σταδίου. [3] καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἀναθαρσήσαντες, ὥς ἐγκεκλικότων ἤδη τῶν Μακεδόνων, δρόμῳ τε καὶ ξὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐφέροντο ἐς αὐτούς. ὥς δὲ ἐξικνεῖτο ἤδη τὰ τοξεύματα, ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτούς τὴν φάλαγγα δρόμῳ ἀντεπῆγε. [4] πρῶτοι δὲ οἱ ἱππακοντισταὶ τε αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Ἀγριᾶνες καὶ οἱ τοξόται ἐκδραμόντες ξυνέμιζαν τοῖς βαρβάροις· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐν τάξει ἤγεν. οἱ δὲ Ἴνδοι τῷ τε παραλόγῳ ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ ἅμα ἐν χερσὶ γεγενημένης τῆς μάχης ἐγκλίναντες ἔφευγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακοσίους, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς τὰ τεῖχη κατεκλείσθησαν. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προσῆγε τῷ τείχει τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τοξεύεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐς τὸ σφυρὸν οὐ χαλεπῶς. [5] ἐπαγαγὼν δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν μὲν τειχῶν τι εὐμαρῶς κατέσεισε, βιαζομένους δὲ ταύτῃ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἢ παρέρρηκτο τοῦ τείχους οὐκ ἀτόλμως οἱ Ἴνδοι ἡμύνοντο, ὥστε ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνεκαλέσατο τὴν στρατιάν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν τε Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν ἢ προσβολῇ καρτερωτέρα ἐγίνετο καὶ πύργος ἐπήχθη ξύλινος τοῖς τείχεσιν, ὅθεν ἐκτοξεύοντες οἱ τοξόται καὶ βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν ἀφιέμενα ἀνέστελλεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς Ἴνδους. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὥς βιάσασθαι εἴσω τοῦ τείχους οἴοι τε ἐγένοντο. [6] τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ προσαγαγὼν αὐθις τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς γέφυραν ἐπιβαλὼν τοῦ τείχους ἢ παρερρωγὸς ἦν, ταύτῃ ἐπῆγε τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, οἵπερ αὐτῷ καὶ Τύρον ὡσαύτως ἐξεῖλον. πολλῶν δὲ ὑπὸ προθυμίας ὠθουμένων ἄχθος λαβοῦσα μεῖζον ἢ γέφυρα κατερράγη καὶ πίπτουσι ξὺν αὐτῇ οἱ Μακεδόνες. [7] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἰδόντες τὸ γινόμενον λίθοις τε ξὺν βοῇ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ ἄλλῳ ὅτῳ τις μετὰ χειρὸς ἔχων ἐτύγγανεν ἢ ὅτῳ τις ἐν τῷ τότε ἔλαβεν ἐξηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ θύρας, αἵτινες αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰ μεσοπύργια μικραὶ ἦσαν, ἐκθέοντες ἐκ χειρὸς ἔπαιον τετραγαμένους.

XXIV. Alexander then marched first against Massaga, the greatest of the cities in this district. When he already was approaching the walls, the tribesmen, relying on mercenary Indians brought from further India, about seven thousand men, as soon as they saw the Macedonians pitching camp, charged into them at the double. So Alexander seeing that the battle would be near the city, being anxious to draw them out further from their walls, so that if a rout took place (and he was sure it would) they should not have their city close at hand for refuge and so come off safe; as soon as he saw the tribesmen sallying out, bade the Macedonians turn right-about and withdraw towards a hill, about seven stades away from the site on which he had decided to camp. So the enemy, plucking up courage, thinking that the Macedonians had already given way, rushed upon them at full speed and in disorder. But when the arrows were just reaching his troops, then Alexander by signal turned his phalanx towards them and led it on at the double. First the mounted javelinmen, the Agrianes, and the archers dashed forward and attacked the tribesmen; but Alexander himself led on his phalanx in due order. But the Indians, upset by the unexpected attack and also the battle being now hand to hand, turned and fled back to the city. Some two hundred of them perished, but the rest were shut up inside their walls. Alexander brought up his phalanx

to the wall, and thence was wounded, not seriously, by an arrow from the wall on his ankle. But next day bringing up the engines he easily destroyed a part of the wall, and as the Macedonians pressed in here at the breach of the wall, the Indians bravely resisted, so that for this day Alexander recalled his troops. But next day the Macedonian attack was more efficient; and a wooden tower was brought up against the walls, from which the archers shot volleys, while from the engines they hurled missiles, and so they much repressed the Indians; but not even so could they force their way inside the wall.

But on the third day bringing up again the phalanx and throwing a bridge from an engine to the breach of the wall, over this Alexander led on his bodyguard, who had helped him in the same way to capture Tyre. Many pressed forward in eagerness, and the bridge receiving too great a weight broke, and the Macedonians fell with it. But the tribesmen seeing the occurrence, raising a shout, with stones from the walls, and arrows, and anything they had in hand, or anything they picked up, shot at the Macedonians; and others by the small gates, which they had in the spaces between the towers, broke forth and at close quarters struck at the Macedonians while in this confusion.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ πέμπει Ἀλκétαν ξὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τάξει τοὺς τε κατατετρωμένους ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ὅσοι προσεμάχοντο ἐπανακαλέσασθαι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ τῇ τετάρτῃ ὡσαύτως ἀπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς ἄλλη ἐπιβάθρα αὐτῷ προσήγето πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. [2] καὶ οἱ Ἴνδοί, ἔως μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ χωρίου περιῆν, ἀπεμάχοντο καρτερῶς: ὡς δὲ βέλει ἀπὸ μηχανῆς τυπεῖς ἀποθνήσκει ἐκεῖνος, αὐτῶν τε οἱ μὲν τινες πεπτωκότες ἐν τῇ ξυνεχεῖ πολιορκίᾳ, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τραυματῖαι τε καὶ ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. [3] τῷ δὲ ἀσμένῳ γίνεται ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς διασῶσαι: καὶ ξυμβαίνει ἐπὶ τῷδε Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς μισθοφόροις Ἴνδοις ὡς καταταχθέντας ἐς τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐξῆλθον ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπὶ γηλόφῳ, ὃς ἦν ἀντίπορος τοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων στρατοπέδου. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπενόουν δρασμῷ διαχρησάμενοι ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἦθη ἀπαναστῆναι οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐναντία αἰρεσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἴνδοις ὅπλα. [4] καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, περιστήσας τῆς νυκτὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν κατακόπτει τοὺς Ἴνδους ἐν μέσῳ ἀπολαβόν, τὴν τε πόλιν αἰρεῖ κατὰ κράτος ἐρημωθεῖσαν τῶν προμαχομένων, καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἀσσακάνου καὶ τὴν παῖδα ἔλαβεν. ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν. [5] ἔνθεν δὲ Κοῖνον μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Βάζιρα ἐκπέμπει, γνώμην ποιησάμενος ὅτι μαθόντες τῶν Μασσακανῶν τὴν ἄλῳσιν ἐνδῶσουσι σφᾶς αὐτούς. Ἄτταλον δὲ καὶ Ἀλκétαν καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν ἱπάρχην ἐπὶ Ὠρα στέλλει, ἄλλην πόλιν, παραγγείλας περιτειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν ἔστ' ἂν ἀφίκηται αὐτός. [6] καὶ γίνεται ἐκδρομὴ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀλκétαν. οὐ χαλεπῶς δὲ τρεψάμενοι αὐτούς οἱ Μακεδόνες εἴσω τοῦ τεύχους ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀποστρέφουσι. καὶ Κοῖνῳ οὐ προχωρεῖ τὰ ἐν τοῖς Βαζίροις, ἀλλὰ πιστεύοντες γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου τῇ ὀχυρότητι, ὅτι ὑπερύψηλόν τε ἦν καὶ πάντα ἀκριβῶς τετειχισμένον, οὐδὲν ξυμβατικὸν ἐνεδίδοσαν. [7] ταῦτα

μαθὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὥρμητο μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Βάξιρα, γνοὺς δὲ ὅτι τῶν προσοίκων τινὲς βαρβάρων παριέναι ἐς τὰ Ὄρα τὴν πόλιν λαθόντες μέλλουσι, πρὸς Ἀβισάρου ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐσταλμένοι, ἐπὶ τὰ Ὄρα πρῶτον ἦγε: Κοῖνον δὲ ἐπιτείχισαι τῇ πόλει τῶν Βαζιρέων καρτερόν τι χωρίον προσέταξε, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ φυλακὴν καταλιπόντα ἀποχωρῶσαν, ὡς μὴ ἄδεια εἶη τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι τῇ χώρᾳ, αὐτὸν ἄγοντα τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν λοιπὴν παρ' αὐτὸν ἰέναι. [8] οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Βαζιρέων ὡς εἶδον ἀπιόντα ζὺν τῷ πλείστῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸν Κοῖνον, καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὡς οὐ γενομένων ἂν σφισιν ἀξιομάχων, ἐπεκθέουσιν ἐς τὸ πεδίον: καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῶν μάχη καρτερά. καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ πίπτουσι μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς πεντακοσίους, ζῶντες δὲ ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ξυμφυγόντες βεβαιότερον ἤδη εἵργοντο τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιτείχισματος. [9] καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τῶν Ὄρων ἡ πολιορκία οὐ χαλεπὴ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐξ ἐφόδου προσβαλὼν τοῖς τείχεσι τῆς πόλεως ἐκράτησε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἔλαβε. καὶ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τοῖς Βαζίροις ὡς ἔμαθον, ἀπογνόντες

XXV. Alexander now sent Alcetas with his brigade, both to pick up the wounded and to recall to the camp any who were still engaged; and the fourth day similarly from another engine another bridge was brought up to the wall.

The Indians, as long as their chief survived, resisted stoutly; but as soon as he was hit by a missile from a catapult, and killed, they, with part of their number already fallen in the close siege, and part now wounded and unfit for service, sent to Alexander to ask for a truce. He was glad enough to be able to preserve such valiant men; and it was here that Alexander agreed with his mercenary Indians to join the rest of his army and take the field with him. They passed out with their arms, and encamped by themselves on a hill, which lay facing the Macedonian camp; and they intended, at night, to slip away and escape to their own tribes, not being desirous of taking up arms against the rest of the Indians. When this was reported to Alexander he threw his whole force during night-time round the hill, and cut down the Indians whom he had thus enclosed; their city he captured by assault, deprived as it was of its chief defenders, and took there also Assacenus' mother and daughter. In the entire siege there perished some twenty-five of Alexander's men.

Thence he sent Coenus to Bazira, considering that on learning of the capture of Massaga they would surrender. But Attalus and Alcetas and Demetrius the commander of the cavalry he sent towards another city, Ora, bidding them strengthen the city with a wall during the time of his own approach. The townsmen made, however, a sally against Alcetas' forces. But the Macedonians easily repulsed them and turned them back from the wall into the city. Coenus was not successful at Bazira, but the townspeople trusting in the strength of their site, since it was very high and fortified carefully all round, showed no signs of surrendering.

Alexander on learning this started towards Bazira; but hearing that some of

the neighbouring tribesmen were preparing to slip unseen into the city of Ora, for Abisarus had sent them expressly for this, he advanced first towards Ora; and he commanded Coenus to fortify near the city of Bazira a strong position and in this to leave a sufficient garrison, so that the populace might not feel at liberty to use the neighbouring country, and then to bring the rest of the army to join him. But the tribesmen in Bazira seeing Coenus departing with the majority of the army, made light of the Macedonians, as not likely to prove worthy opponents, and sallied out from the city; and there was a severe battle. In the battle as many as five hundred of the tribesmen fell, and over seventy were taken alive; the rest were driven back into the city and were now even there closely hindered from going into the country by those who held the stronghold facing their wall. Alexander found the siege of Ora not difficult; but at once attacking the walls he took the city at the first attempt, and captured the elephants which had been left there.

[1] τὰ σφέτερα πράγματα ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας τὴν πόλιν ἐκλείπουσιν, ἔφυγον δὲ ἐς τὴν πέτραν. ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι ἔπραττον: ἀπολιπόντες τὰς πόλεις ξύμπαντες ἔφευγον ἐς τὴν πέτραν τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τὴν Ἄορνον καλουμένην. μέγα γάρ τι τοῦτο χρῆμα πέτρας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐστί, καὶ λόγος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κατέχει οὐδὲ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Διὸς ἀλωτὸν γενέσθαι τὴν πέτραν. [2] εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀφίκετο ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Θηβαῖος ἢ ὁ Τύριος ἢ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐς οὐδέτερα ἔχω ἰσχυρίσασθαι: μᾶλλον δὲ δοκῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίκετο, ἀλλὰ πάντα γὰρ ὅσα χαλεπὰ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐς τοσόνδε ἄρα αὖξουσιν αὐτῶν τὴν χαλεπότητα, ὥς καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἂν ἄπορα γενέσθαι μυθεύειν. κἀγὼ ὑπὲρ τῆς πέτρας ταύτης οὕτω γινώσκω, τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐς κόμπον τοῦ λόγου ἐπιφημίζεσθαι. [3] τὸν μὲν δὴ κύκλον τῆς πέτρας λέγουσιν ἐς διακοσίους σταδίους μάλιστα εἶναι, ὕψος δὲ αὐτῆς, ἵναπερ χθαμαλώτατον, σταδίων ἔνδεκα, καὶ ἀνάβασιν χειροποίητον μίαν χαλεπὴν: εἶναι δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν ἄκρᾳ τῇ πέτρᾳ πολὺ καὶ καθαρὸν, πηγὴν ἀνίσχουσαν, ὥς καὶ ἀπορρεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ὕδωρ, καὶ ὕλην καὶ γῆν ἀγαθὴν ἐργάσιμον ὅσῃν καὶ χιλίοις ἀνθρώποις ἀποχρῶσαν ἂν εἶναι ἐργάζεσθαι. [4] καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούοντα Ἀλέξανδρον πόθος λαμβάνει ἐξελεῖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος, οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μῦθῳ πεφημισμένῳ. τὰ μὲν δὴ ὧρα καὶ τὰ Μάσσαγα φρούρια ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ, τὰ Βάζιρα δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐξετείχισε. [5] καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἡφαιστίωνά τε καὶ Περδίκκαν αὐτῷ ἄλλην πόλιν ἐκτειχίσαντες, Ὀροβάτις ὄνομα τῇ πόλει ἦν, καὶ φρουρὰν καταλιπόντες ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἦσαν: ὥς δὲ ἀφίκοντο, ἔπρασσον ἤδη ὅσα ἐς τὸ ζεῦξαι τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐτέτακτο. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς μὲν χώρας τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ σατράπην κατέστησε Νικάνορα τῶν ἐταίρων. αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἦγε, καὶ πόλιν τε Πευκελαῶτιν οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ὤκισμένην ὁμολογία παρεστήσατο καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ φρουρὰν καταστήσας τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ Φίλιππον ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ ἡγεμόνα, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα προσηγάγετο μικρὰ πολίσματα πρὸς τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ ὤκισμένα. ξυνείποντο δὲ αὐτῷ Κωφαῖός τε καὶ Ἀσσαγέτης οἱ ὑπαρχοὶ τῆς χώρας. [7] ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐμβόλιμα πόλιν, ἢ ξυνεγγυς τῆς πέτρας τῆς Ἀόρνου ὤκειτο, Κρατερὸν μὲν ξὺν μέρει τῆς

στρατιάς καταλείπει αὐτοῦ, σῖτόν τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὡς πλεῖστον ξυνάγειν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς χρόνιον τριβὴν, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμωμένους τοὺς Μακεδόνας χρονίῳ πολιορκίᾳ ἐκτρυχῶσαι τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν πέτραν, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ἐφόδου ληφθεῖν. [8] αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τοξότας τε ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν Κοίνου τάξιν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης φάλαγγος ἐπιέξας τοὺς κουφοτάτους τε καὶ ἅμα εὐοπλοτάτους καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἰππέων ἐς διακοσίους καὶ ἱπποτοξότας ἐς ἑκατὸν προσήγε τῇ πέτρᾳ. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἵνα ἐπιτήδειον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ὀλίγον προελθὼν ὡς πρὸς τὴν πέτραν αὐθις ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἦκον παρ' αὐτὸν τῶν προσχώρων

XXVI. When the inhabitants of Bazira learnt this, they lost confidence in their position, and about midnight deserted the city; and thus did all the remaining tribesmen; deserting their cities they all fled to the rock in this neighbourhood called Aornos. (On its site see Introduction.) It is an unusually large rock in this country, and the story about it is that even Heracles the son of Zeus was unable to capture it. Whether indeed Heracles, either the Theban or the Tyrian Heracles, or the Egyptian, ever reached India I cannot state confidently; I rather incline to think that he did not, but rather that whatever difficulties men meet, they exaggerate this difficulty so far as to relate a legend that Heracles himself could not have overcome them. This at any rate is my view about this rock, that Heracles has been brought in to make more of the story. In any case they give the circuit of the rock as about two hundred stades, its height, at its lowest part, at eleven stades; and there is said to be one way up only, a made way, and a rough one. On the top of the rock is plenty of pure water; it comes from a spring, and in fact even runs off the rock; there is also wood and good arable land there, enough for a thousand men to till.

As soon as Alexander heard this, he was seized with a desire to capture this mountain also, and not least by reason of the legend about Heracles. Ora and Massaga he made fortresses in the district; but the city of Bazira he enclosed with a wall. And Hephaestion and Perdikkas and those with them built a wall round another city, called Orobatis, and leaving there a garrison went on towards the river Indus; and on arrival, they took such steps as Alexander had ordered for the bridging of the Indus.

Of the region this side of the river Indus Alexander appointed Nicanor as governor, one of the Companions. He himself first went towards the river Indus and took over by surrender the city of Peucelaotis, situated not far from the Indus, and set a Macedonian garrison there with Philippus commandant of the garrison; and he also took over various small towns lying on the river Indus. With him followed Cophaeus and Assagetes, the governors of the country. Then reaching the city Embolima, which lay near the rock of Aornos, he left there Craterus with part of the army; bidding him get in as much provision as possible into the city and all else necessary for a long delay, so that the Macedonians, using the city as a base, might wear out the holders of the rock with a long blockade, should it not be captured by first assault. Then

he himself taking the archers and the Agrianes and Coenus' brigade and choosing out the lightest from the rest of the phalanx, but at the same time the best armed, and with two hundred of the Companions' cavalry and a hundred mounted archers, approached the rock. For this day he encamped where it seemed to him convenient; but next day he advanced a little towards the rock and camped again.

[1] τινές, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ἐνδιδόντες καὶ ἡγήσεσθαι φάσκοντες ἐς τῆς πέτρας τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον, ὅθεν οὐ χαλεπὸν αὐτῷ ἔσεσθαι ἐλεῖν τὸ χωρίον. καὶ ζὺν τούτοις πέμπει Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου τὸν σωματοφύλακα τοὺς τε Ἀγριᾶνας ἄγοντα καὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐπιλέκτους, προστάζας, ἐπειδὴν καταλάβῃ τὸ χωρίον, κατέχειν μὲν αὐτὸ ἰσχυρᾷ φυλακῇ, οἱ δὲ σημαίνειν ὅτι ἔχεται. [2] καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἐλθὼν ὁδὸν τραχεῖάν τε καὶ δύσπορον λανθάνει τοὺς βαρβάρους κατασχὼν τὸν τόπον: καὶ τοῦτον χάρακι ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ τάφρῳ ὀχυρώσας πυρσὸν αἶρει ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἔνθεν ὀφθῆσεσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀλέξανδρου ἔμελλεν. καὶ ὦφθη τε ἅμα ἡ φλόξ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπήγε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν στρατιάν: ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν πλεον αὐτῷ ὑπὸ δυσχωρίας ἐγίνετο. [3] ὥς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἄπορον τὴν προσβολὴν κατέμαθον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀναστρέψαντες τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον αὐτοὶ προσέβαλλον: καὶ γίνεται αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων μάχη καρτερὰ, τῶν μὲν διασπάσαι τὸν χάρακα σπουδῇν ποιουμένων, τῶν Ἰνδῶν, Πτολεμαίου δὲ διαφυλάξαι τὸ χωρίον: καὶ μείον σχόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐν τῷ ἀκροβολισμῷ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπεχώρησαν. [4] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τινα τῶν αὐτομόλων πιστὸν τε ἄλλως καὶ τῶν χωρίων δαήμονα ἐπιλεξάμενος πέμπει παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον τῆς νυκτὸς, γράμματα φέροντα τὸν Ἰνδόν, ἵνα ἐνεγέγραπτο, ἐπειδὴν αὐτὸς προσβάλλῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ, τὸν δὲ ἐπιέναι τοῖς βαρβάροις κατὰ τὸ ὄρος μηδὲ ἀγαπᾶν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντα τὸ χωρίον, ὥς ἀμφοτέρωθεν βαλλομένους τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἀμφιβόλους γίνεσθαι. [5] καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἄρας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσῆγε τὴν στρατιάν κατὰ τὴν πρόσβασιν, ἣ Πτολεμαῖος λαθὼν ἀνέβη, γνώμην ποιούμενος, ὥς, εἰ ταύτη βιασάμενος ξυμίζει τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἔτι ἐσόμενον αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον. καὶ ξυνέβη οὕτως. [6] ἔστε μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ξυνειστήκει καρτερὰ μάχη τοῖς τε Ἰνδοῖς καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν, τῶν μὲν ἐκβιαζομένων ἐς τὴν πρόσβασιν, τῶν δὲ βαλλόντων ἀνιόντας: ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἀνίσταν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπιόντες, οἱ δὲ πρόσθεν ἀναπαυόμενοι, μόγις δὲ ἀμφὶ δεῖλιν ἐκράτησαν τῆς παρόδου καὶ ξυνέμιξαν τοῖς ζὺν Πτολεμαίῳ. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη γενομένη ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐπήγετο αὐθις ὥς ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν πέτραν: ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτι ἄπορος ἦν αὐτῇ ἡ προσβολή, ταύτη μὲν δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος γίνεται. [7] ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑω παραγγέλλει στρατιώτῃ ἐκάστῳ κόπτειν χάρακα ἐκατὸν κατ' ἄνδρα. καὶ οὗτοι κεκομμένοι ἦσαν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐχώννυν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ λόφου, ἵνα ἐστρατοπεδευκότες ἦσαν, ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν χῶμα μέγα, ἔνθεν τοξεύματά τε ἂν ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους [δυνατὰ] αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βέλη ἀφιέμενα: καὶ ἐχώννυν αὐτῷ πᾶς τις ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τοῦ ἔργου: καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφειστήκει θεατῆς καὶ ἐπαινέτης τοῦ ζὺν προθυμίας περαινομένου, κολαστῆς

δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα ἐκλιποῦς.

XXVII. Meanwhile some of the neighbouring tribesmen came to Alexander surrendering themselves and promising to lead him to the part of the rock which could best be assaulted, whence he could without difficulty capture the position. With these men he sent Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, his personal guard, with the Agrianes, the rest of the light troops and chosen men of the bodyguard, ordering him as soon as he should capture the position to hold it with a strong garrison, signalling to him that it was so held. Ptolemaeus then pursued a rough and difficult track and seized the place without the tribesmen's knowledge: then he strengthened it by a stockade all round and a trench, and showed a fire-signal from the height where Alexander was sure to see it. At once Alexander saw the flare, and next day he brought up his army; but as the tribesmen offered opposition he made no advance, owing to difficulties of the ground. But as soon as the tribesmen saw that Alexander's advance was ineffective, they turned and attacked Ptolemaeus and his troops; and a severe battle took place between them and the Macedonians, the Indians eagerly seeking to pull down the stockade, but Ptolemaeus to keep his hold on the position; in the exchange of long-range volleys the tribesmen had the worst, and at nightfall withdrew.

Alexander, however, selected a deserter of the Indians, trustworthy, and (what is more) with exact knowledge of the localities, and sent him by night to Ptolemaeus with a letter, in which it was written that so soon as Alexander himself should approach the rock, Ptolemaeus was to attack the tribesmen from the height, not contenting himself with merely holding the position, so that the Indians attacked from both sides might be between two fires. Then Alexander at dawn moved from his camp and brought his army to the incline by which Ptolemaeus had secretly ascended; reckoning that if he could force his way in this direction and join Ptolemaeus' force, the action would be a simple one; as indeed it fell out. For to midday there was a severe battle between the Indians and the Macedonians, these trying to force the approach, those shooting as their enemy approached. But as the Macedonians kept constantly coming up, detachment after detachment, while the earlier ones rested from the attack, with much difficulty about dusk they mastered the ascent and joined the force of Ptolemaeus. Thence the now united forces attacked again the rock itself; but even thus the attack failed. This was the close of operations that day.

At dawn Alexander bade each soldier to cut a hundred stakes; these were all cut, (A slight change in the Greek would give the meaning "collected.") and then he raised a great mound beginning from the top of the crest on which they had encamped up to the rock; from this arrows could reach the defenders, as he calculated, and missiles hurled from the engines. All hands took part in the work and built the mound; Alexander himself stood by, watching and approving anyone who worked zealously; but punishing any laggards.

[1] τῇ μὲν δὴ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὥς ἐπὶ στάδιον ἔχωσεν αὐτῷ ὁ στρατός. ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν οἱ τε σφενδονῆται σφενδονῶντες ἐς τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἥδη κεχωσμένου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μηχανῶν βέλη ἀφιέμενα ἀνέστελλε τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς χωννύοντας. καὶ ἐχώννυτο αὐτῷ ἐς τρεῖς ἡμέρας ξυνεχῶς τὸ χωρίον. τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ βιασάμενοι τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐ πολλοὶ κατέσχον ὀλίγον γήλοφον ισόπεδον τῇ πέτρᾳ. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδέν τι ἐλινύων ἐπῆγε τὸ χῶμα ξυνάψαι ἐθέλων τὸ χωννύμενον τῷ γηλόφῳ, ὅτινα οἱ ὀλίγοι αὐτῷ ἥδη κατεῖχον. [2] οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ πρὸς τε τὴν ἀδιήγητον τόλμαν τῶν ἐς τὸν γήλοφον βιασαμένων Μακεδόνων ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ τὸ χῶμα ξυνάπτων ἥδη ὀρώντες, τοῦ μὲν ἀπομάχεσθαι ἔτι ἀπείχοντο, πέμψαντες δὲ κήρυκας σφῶν παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐθέλειν ἔφασκον ἐνδοῦναι τὴν πέτραν, εἰ σφισι σπένδοιτο. γνώμην δὲ ἐπεποίηντο ἐν τῷ ἔτι διαμέλλοντι τῶν σπονδῶν διαγαγόντες τὴν ἡμέραν νυκτὸς ὥς ἕκαστοι διασκεδάννυσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἤθη. [3] καὶ τοῦτο ὥς ἐπύθετο Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐνδίδωσιν αὐτοῖς χρόνον τε ἐς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τὴν κύκλωσιν τὴν πάντῃ ἀφελεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμενεν ἔστε ἤρξαντο τῆς ἀποχωρήσεως· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐς ἐπτακοσίους κατὰ τὸ ἐκλείμμενον τῆς πέτρας ἀνέρχεται ἐς αὐτὴν πρῶτος, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἀνιμῶντες ἀλλήλους ἀνῆσαν. [4] καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποχωροῦντας τῶν βαρβάρων τραπόμενοι ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πεφοβημένως ἀποχωροῦντες κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ρίψαντες σφᾶς ἀπέθανον. εἶχετο τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡ πέτρα ἢ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἄπορος γενομένη καὶ ἔθυσεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ κατεσκεύασε φρούριον, παραδοὺς Σισικότῳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς φρουρᾶς, ὃς ἐξ Ἰνδῶν μὲν πάλαι ηὔτομολῆκει ἐς Βάκτρα παρὰ Βῆσσον, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κατασχόντος τὴν χώραν τὴν Βακτρίαν ξυνεστράτευε τε αὐτῷ καὶ πιστὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο. [5] ἄρας δ' ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ἐς τὴν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν ἐμβάλλει. τὸν γὰρ ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἀσσακάνου ἐξηγγέλλετο τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ξυμπεφευγένοι ἐς τὰ ταύτῃ ὄρη. καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Δύρτα πόλιν τῶν μὲν ἐνοικούντων οὐδένα καταλαμβάνει οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῇ πόλει· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν Νεάρχον τε καὶ Ἀντίοχον τοὺς χιλιάρχους τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐκπέμπει· [6] καὶ Νεάρχῳ μὲν τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἄγειν ἔδωκεν, Ἀντίοχῳ δὲ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ χιλιαρχίαν καὶ δύο ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἄλλας. ἐστέλλοντο δὲ τὰ τε χωρία κατοψόμενοι καὶ εἰ πού τινας τῶν βαρβάρων ξυλλαβεῖν ἐς ἔλεγχον τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἔμελεν αὐτῷ μαθεῖν. [7] αὐτὸς δὲ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἥδη ἦγε, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ὠδοποιεῖ τὸ πρόσω ἰοῦσα ἄπορα ἄλλως ὄντα τὰ ταύτῃ χωρία. ἐνταῦθα ξυλλαμβάνει ὀλίγους τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ παρὰ τούτων ἔμαθεν, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰνδοὶ παρὰ Ἀβισάρῃ ἀποπεφευγότες εἶεν, τοὺς δὲ ἐλέφαντας ὅτι αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον νέμεσθαι πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ἰνδῷ· καὶ τούτους ἠγήσασθαι οἱ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκέλευσεν ὥς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας. [8] εἰσὶ δὲ Ἰνδῶν πολλοὶ κυνηγέται τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ τούτους σπουδῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ τότε ἐθήρα ξὺν τούτοις τοὺς ἐλέφαντας· καὶ δύο μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυνται κατὰ κρημνοῦ σφᾶς ρίψαντες ἐν τῇ διώξει, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι

ξυλληφθέντες ἔφερόν τε τοὺς ἀμβάτας καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ ξυνετάσσοντο. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὕλῃ ἐργασίμῳ ἐνέτυχε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ αὕτη ἐκόπη αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ναῦς ἐποιήθησαν. καὶ αὗται κατὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἦγοντο ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, ἥντινα Ἡφαιστίων καὶ Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ἐξωκοδομηκότες πάλαι ᾗσαν.

XXVIII. On the first day the army had built the mound to about a stade in length. But on the next, the slingers using their slings from the mound so far built, and the missiles flung from the engines, kept down the sallies of the Indians upon the builders of the mound. In three days the mound had covered the whole space. But on the fourth a few Macedonians made a rush and held a small hill of the same level as the rock, and Alexander without a moment's delay extended the mound, anxious to make it continuous up to the hill which this small party was already holding.

The Indians were amazed at the incredible boldness of the Macedonians who had seized the hill, and seeing the mound already continuous began to desist from any defence, but sent an officer to ask Alexander for a truce, and said they would surrender the rock, on terms being granted them. They had formed a plan of spending the day in the delays incident to these terms and then, at night, scattering all to their own tribes. But when Alexander discovered this, he gave them plenty of time for their withdrawal and for the removing of the investing patrols. Then he himself waited till they began their withdrawal; and meantime taking his bodyguards up to seven hundred to the now deserted part of the rock, he himself was the first to mount it, and the Macedonians pulling each other up, followed. These then at a signal turned upon the retreating tribesmen, and slew many of them in their flight; some in the panic of their escape threw themselves down the cliffs and so perished. Thus Alexander now held the rock that Heracles could not take, and he sacrificed there, and then established a guard there, appointing to command the guard Sisicottus, who had some time ago deserted from Bessus and come to Bactria; then when Alexander took Bactria he served under him and proved very trustworthy.

Alexander now left the rock and invaded the district of the Assaceniens. For it was reported that Assacenus' brother with the elephants and many of the neighbouring tribesmen had taken refuge in these hills. Arriving at a city Dyrta, he found none of the inhabitants there, not even in the neighbourhood of the city; but the next day he sent out Nearchus and Antiochus the commander of the guards' regiments; to Nearchus he gave the Agrianes and the light troops, and to Antiochus his own regiment and two besides. They were sent to spy out the land and to seize any of the tribesmen they might find for interrogation; especially he was anxious to find out all about the elephants.

Then he himself now went on to the river Indus, and his army was sent in advance to prepare the road, since the country here was difficult. There he seized a few tribesmen, and learnt from them that the Indians of the district

had fled to Abisarus, but that he had left his elephants at pasture near the river Indus. These men he commanded to lead him the way to the elephants. Now many Indians hunt elephants, and Alexander made much of such in his following. And with them he hunted the elephants, and two of them threw themselves over cliffs in the pursuit and perished; the rest were captured, and permitted riders to mount them, and were taken into the army. And finding a wood, good for felling, near the river, Alexander had it cut down by his troops, and ships built. These sailed down the Indus to the bridge which Hephaestion and Perdiccas had long since built.

BOOK V.

[1] ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ, ἦντινα μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Κωφῆνος καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπῆλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ Νῦσαν πόλιν ὠκίσθαι λέγουσι: τὸ δὲ κτίσμα εἶναι Διονύσου: Διόνυσον δὲ κτίσαι τὴν Νῦσαν ἐπεὶ ὁπότε ἡ ὄθεν ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς ἐστράτευσεν: [2] οὐ γὰρ ἔχωτε Ἰνδοὺς ἐχειρώσατο, ὅστις δὴ οὗτος ὁ Διόνυσος καὶ συμβαλεῖν εἰ ὁ Θηβαῖος Διόνυσος [ὅς] ἐκ Θηβῶν ἢ ἐκ Τμώλου τοῦ Λυδίου ὀρμηθεὶς ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς ἦκε στρατιὰν ἄγων, τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔθνη μάχима καὶ ἄγνωστα τοῖς τότε Ἑλλήσιν ἐπελθόν, οὐδὲν δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τὸ Ἰνδῶν βία χειρωσάμενος: πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἀκριβῆ ἐξεταστὴν χρὴ εἶναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ παλαιοῦ μεμυθευμένων. τὰ γάρ τοι κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ξυντιθέντι οὐ πιστά, ἐπειδὴ τὸ θεῖον τις προσθῇ τῷ λόγῳ, οὐ πάντῃ ἄπιστα φαίνεται. [3] ὥς δὲ ἐπέβη τῇ Νύσῃ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐκπέμπουσι παρ' αὐτὸν οἱ Νυσαῖοι τὸν κρατιστεύοντα σφῶν, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ Ἄκουφισ, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις τῶν δοκιμωτάτων τριάκοντα, δεησομένους Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεῖναι τῷ θεῷ τὴν πόλιν. [4] παρελθεῖν τε δὴ ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς πρέσβεις καὶ καταλαβεῖν καθήμενον κεκοιμένον ἔτι ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τὸ κράνος [αὐτῷ] περικείμενον καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχοντα: θαμβῆσαι τε ἰδόντας τὴν ὄψιν καὶ πεσόντας ἐς γῆν ἐπὶ πολὺ σιγὴν ἔχειν. ὥς δὲ ἐξάνεστησέ τε αὐτοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσε, τότε δὴ τὸν Ἄκουφιν ἀρξάμενον λέγειν ὧδε. [5] ὦ βασιλεῦ, δέονται σου Νυσαῖοι ἐᾶσαι σφᾶς ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ αὐτονόμους αἰδοῖ τοῦ Διονύσου. Διόνυσος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ χειρωσάμενος τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὀπίσω κατήει τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν, ἐκ τῶν ἀπομάχων στρατιωτῶν, οἳ δὴ αὐτῷ καὶ βάκχοι ἦσαν, κτίζει τὴν πόλιν τήνδε μνημόσυνον τῆς αὐτοῦ πλάνης τε καὶ νίκης τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐσόμενον, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τε ἔκτισας τὴν πρὸς Καυκάσῳ ὄρει καὶ ἄλλην Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐν τῇ Αἰγυπτίῳ γῇ, καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς τὰς μὲν ἔκτικας ἤδη, τὰς δὲ καὶ κτίσεις ἀνὰ χρόνον, οἷα δὴ πλείονα Διονύσου ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενος. [6] Νῦσάν τε οὖν ἐκάλεσε τὴν πόλιν Διόνυσος ἐπὶ τῆς τροφοῦ τῆς Νύσης καὶ τὴν χώραν Νυσαίαν: τὸ δὲ ὄρος ὃ τι περ πλησίον ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦτο Μηρὸν ἐπωνόμασε Διόνυσος, ὅτι δὴ κατὰ τὸν μῦθον ἐν μηρῷ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἠϋξήθη. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐλευθέραν τε οἰκοῦμεν τὴν Νῦσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτόνομοι καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ πολιτεύοντες: τῆς δὲ ἐκ Διονύσου οἰκίσεως καὶ τότε σοι γενέσθω τεκμήριον: κιττὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλη τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς φυόμενος παρ' ἡμῖν φύεται. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἐγίγνετο

I. In the country through which Alexander passed, between the rivers Cophen and Indus, was situated, they say, the city Nysa, founded by Dionysus; he founded it when he subdued the Indians, whoever this Dionysus was, and whenever or whence he marched against the Indians; for I for my part cannot gather whether the Theban Dionysus started from Thebes or from the Lydian Tmolus, and led an army against the Indians, invading all these warlike peoples, unknown to the Greeks of that time, and subduing no other

part of them but the Indians; still, one must not be a precise critic of ancient legends about the divine beings. For things which — if you consider them merely from their probability — appear incredible, may, when one adds to one's story the divine element, prove by no means incredible.

When, however, Alexander approached Nysa, the people of Nysa sent out to him their chief, whose name was Acuphis, and with him thirty envoys from their most notable men, to beg Alexander to leave their city to its god. The envoys, it is said, came into Alexander's pavilion, and found him sitting all dusty still from the journey, with his ordinary armour on him, and wearing a helmet and carrying his spear; they were amazed at the sight of him, and fell to the ground, and for a long time kept silence. But when Alexander raised them up and bade them take courage, then Acuphis began and spake as follows:

“The people of Nysa, O King beg you to leave them free and independent, from reverence for Dionysus. For he, when he had subdued the nation of the Indians, and was returning towards the Greek Sea, founded, with his discharged soldiers, who were also his Bacchi, (That is, his band of revellers.) this city, to be a memorial for those to come of his journey and his victory, even as you have yourself founded Alexandria by Mount Caucasus, and another Alexandria in Egypt, and you have both founded many other cities already, and will found more in course of time, thus giving proof of more achievements than those of Dionysus. Now Dionysus called this city Nysa in honour of his nurse Nysa, and the territory he called Nysaeon; and the mountain near the city he named Merus (a thigh), since, according to the legend, he grew in the thigh of Zeus. From that time this city of Nysa in which we dwell has been free, and ourselves independent, and living as orderly citizens. And let this too be a proof that Dionysus was our founder; ivy grows nowhere else in India, but does grow with us.”

[1] ἀκούειν καὶ ἤθελε πιστὰ εἶναι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διονύσου τῆς πλάνης μυθεύμενα: καὶ κτίσμα εἶναι Διονύσου τὴν Νῦσαν ἤθελεν, ὥς ἥδη τε ἤκειν αὐτὸς ἔνθα ἦλθε Διόνυσος καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἄν ἐλθεῖν Διονύσου: οὐδ' ἄν Μακεδόνας τὸ πρόσω ἀπαξίῳσαι συμπονεῖν οἱ ἔτι κατὰ ζῆλον τῶν Διονύσου ἔργων. [2] καὶ δίδωσιν ἐλευθέρους τε εἶναι τοὺς οἰκήτορας τῆς Νύσης καὶ αὐτονόμους. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐπύθετο αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τῶν ἀρίστων τὸ πολίτευμα ἔχεται, ταῦτά τε ἐπήνεσε καὶ ἠξίωσε τῶν τε ἱππέων οἱ ξυμπέμψαι ἐς τριακοσίους καὶ τῶν προεστώτων τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τριακόσιοι, ἑκατὸν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλεξαμένους: Ἄκουφιν δὲ εἶναι τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον, ὄντινα καὶ ὑπαρχον τῆς χώρας τῆς Νυσαίας κατέστησεν αὐτός. [3] τὸν δὲ Ἄκουφιν ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα ἐπιμειδιᾶσαι λέγεται τῷ λόγῳ: καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐρέσθαι ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐγέλασεν: ὑποκρίνασθαι δ' Ἄκουφιν: καὶ πῶς ἄν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, μία πόλις ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐρημωθεῖσα ἔτι καλῶς πολιτεύοιτο; ἀλλὰ σὺ, εἴ σοι μέλει Νυσαίων, τοὺς ἱππέας μὲν ἄγεσθαι τοὺς τριακοσίους καὶ εἰ βούλει ἔτι τούτων πλείονας, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἑκατόν, οὕστινας τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλέξαι σὺ κελεύεις, διπλασίους τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κακῶν

ἄγεσθαι, ἵνα σοι καὶ αὖθις ἀφικομένῳ δεῦρο ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ κόσμῳ φανείῃ ἢ πόλις. [4] ταῦτα λέγοντα, λέγειν γὰρ δόξαι φρόνιμα, πείσαι Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ξυμπέμπειν οἱ ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ ἑκατὸν τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους μηκέτι αἰτῆσαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἄλλους: τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἄρα τοῦ Ἀκούφιος καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸν παῖδα ξυμπέμψαι αὐτῷ Ἄκουφιν. [5] Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ πόθος ἔλαβεν ἰδεῖν τὸν χῶρον, ὅπου τινα ὑπομνήματα τοῦ Διονύσου οἱ Νυσαῖοι ἐκόμπαζον. ἐλθεῖν τε ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὸν Μηρὸν ξὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τῷ περικῷ ἀγῆματι καὶ ἰδεῖν κισσοῦ τε ἀνάπλεων καὶ δάφνης τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἄλση παντοῖα: καὶ ἰδεῖν σύσκιον, καὶ θήρας ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι θηρίων παντοδαπῶν. [6] καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἠδέως τὸν κισσὸν ἰδόντας, οἷα δὴ διὰ μακροῦ ὀφθέντα 'οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν χώρα κισσόν, οὐδὲ ἵνα περ αὐτοῖς ἄμπελοι ἦσαν' στεφάνους σπουδῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι, ὥς καὶ στεφανώσασθαι εἶχον, ἐφρμυνοῦντας τὸν Διόνυσόν τε καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλοῦντας. θῦσαι τε αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ εὐωχηθῆναι ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἐταίροις. [7] οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, εἰ δὴ τῷ πιστὰ καὶ ταῦτα, πολλοὺς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῶν οὐκ ἡμελημένων Μακεδόνων τῷ τε κισσῷ στεφανωσαμένους καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ κατακλήσει τοῦ θεοῦ κατασχεθῆναι τε πρὸς τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἀνευᾶσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ βακχεῦσαι.

II. All this was very pleasing for Alexander to hear, and he was very ready to believe the tale about the journey of Dionysus; he was ready also to credit that Nysa was founded by Dionysus, in which case he had already reached the point which Dionysus reached, and would go even farther than Dionysus. He thought also that the Macedonians would not refuse to endure toils with him still further, in rivalry with Dionysus' achievements. Alexander therefore granted continuance of freedom and independence to the settlers of Nysa. And when he had by inquiry ascertained their laws, and that their government was in the hands of the aristocrats, he expressed approval of this, at the same time demanding that they should send him three hundred horsemen, and also select and send a hundred of the chief men in the government (they also were three hundred in number). Acuphis was to select them, and Alexander also appointed him governor of the territory of Nysa. Then Acuphis is said to have smiled, on hearing this request; and when Alexander asked why he laughed, he replied: "How, O King, can a single city be deprived of a hundred good citizens and yet continue to be well governed? But if you care for the Nysaeans, let the three hundred horsemen be brought, and even more, if you wish; but instead of these hundred men, whom you desire me to choose out, the best we have, take twice the number of the inferior citizens, so that when you come hither again you may think the city to be in the same good order as now." With these words, which appeared wise words, he won Alexander's consent. He bade Acuphis send the horsemen to accompany him, but no longer to demand the select hundred, and not even to send any substitutes in their place. Acuphis sent, however, with him his son, and his daughter's son.

Alexander then was seized with a desire to see the place where the Nysaeans proudly displayed certain memorials of Dionysus; to go to Mount

Merus with the Companions' cavalry and his own company of infantry, and behold the mountain full of ivy and laurel, with all sorts of groves; to see how shady it was, and that there were good hunting grounds in it of all sorts of game. The Macedonians were delighted to see the ivy, since they had seen none for a long time; for there is no ivy in the Indians' country, not even where they have vines; and they eagerly made wreaths of it and crowned themselves there and then, singing hymns to Dionysus and calling on the various names of the god. Then Alexander sacrificed there to Dionysus, and made good cheer with his Companions. Some have related (if anyone can believe this story) that many of the more exalted Macedonians who were with him crowned themselves with the ivy, and were, on this invocation of the god, possessed by Dionysus, raised the Dionysiac cry, and rushed hither and thither, in the Bacchic way.

[1] καὶ ταῦτα ὅπως τις ἐθέλει ὑπολαβὼν ἀπιστεῖτω ἢ πιστευέτω. οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε Ἐρατοσθένει τῷ Κυρηναίῳ πάντῃ ξυμφέρομαι, ὃς λέγει πάντα ὅσα ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀναφέρεται ἐκ Μακεδόνων πρὸς χάριν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς τὸ ὑπέρογκον ἐπιφημισθῆναι. [2] καὶ γὰρ καὶ σπῆλαιον λέγει ἰδόντας ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τινα μῦθον ἐπιχώριον ἀκούσαντας ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς ξυνθέντας φημίσαι, ὅτι τοῦτο ἄρα ἦν τοῦ Προμηθέως τὸ ἄντρον ἵνα ἐδέδετο, καὶ ὁ ἀετὸς ὅτι ἐκεῖσε ἐφοῖτα δαισόμενος τῶν σπλάγγων τοῦ Προμηθέως, καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὅτι ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος τὸν τε ἀετὸν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν Προμηθεά τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπέλυσε. [3] τὸν δὲ Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑὸ μέρη τῆς γῆς καὶ τὴν Παραπαμισαδῶν χώραν ὡς ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς μετάγειν τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς Μακεδόνας, Παραπάμισον ὄντα τὸ ὄρος αὐτοὺς καλοῦντας Καύκασον τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔνεκα δόξης, ὡς ὑπὲρ τὸν Καύκασον ἄρα ἐλθόντα Ἀλέξανδρον. [4] ἔν τε αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ βοῦς ἰδόντας ἐγκεκαυμένας ρόπαλον τεκμηριοῦσθαι ἐπὶ τῷδε, ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀφίκετο. ὅμοια δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ Διονύσου τῆς πλάνης ἀπιστεῖ Ἐρατοσθένης: ἔμοι δ' ἐν μέσῳ κείσθων οἱ ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγοι. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, καταλαμβάνει γέφυράν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιημένην πρὸς Ἥφαιστίωνος καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ μὲν σμικρότερα, δύο δὲ τριακοντόρους, καὶ παρὰ Ταξίλου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δῶρα ἦκοντα ἀργυρίου μὲν τάλαντα ἐς διακόσια, ἱερεῖα δὲ βοῦς μὲν τρισχιλίας, πρόβατα δὲ ὑπὲρ μύρια, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἐς τριάκοντα: [6] καὶ ἵππεῖς δὲ ἑπτακόσιοι αὐτῷ Ἰνδῶν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν παρὰ Ταξίλου ἦκον: καὶ τὴν πόλιν Τάξιλα, τὴν μεγίστην μεταξὺ Ἰνδοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑδάσπου, ὅτι αὐτῷ Ταξίλης ἐνδίδωσιν. ἐνταῦθα θύει Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς θεοῖς ὅσοις αὐτῷ νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ: καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τὰ ἱερά.

III. However, these tales anyone may believe or not, taking them as he thinks fit. For I do not wholly agree with Eratosthenes the Cyrenaean, (Eratosthenes of Cyrene, died about 196 B.C. A great scholar and scientist, best known as geometer, astronomer, and geographer.) who states that what the Macedonians say of the divine influence was much exaggerated to please Alexander. He says for instance that the Macedonians caught sight of a cave

among the Parapamisadae, and hearing some local legend about it, or having agreed together, spread the rumour that this was Prometheus' cave, where he had been chained, and that the eagle used to visit there, to feed on Prometheus' liver, and that Heracles, arriving at this same spot, shot the eagle and released Prometheus from his chains. So the Macedonians transferred, in their account, Mount Caucasus from the Pontus to the eastern parts of the world and the country of the Parapamisadae, towards India, and called Mount Parapamisus Mount Caucasus, all for the glory of Alexander, suggesting that he had actually crossed Mount Caucasus. Then in India itself, when they saw cattle branded with a club, they deduced thence that Heracles had come to India. Similar stories about Dionysus' journeyings are rejected by Eratosthenes. As far as I am concerned, the stories of these things may rest open.

Alexander, arriving at the river Indus, found a bridge already made over it by Hephaestion, and many smaller boats, but also two of thirty oars. Also he found already arrived gifts from Taxiles the Indian, two hundred silver talents, and for sacrificial offerings three thousand cattle and over ten thousand sheep, with thirty elephants. There came also from Taxiles seven hundred cavalry as fighting allies, and Taxiles surrendered to him the city Taxila, the greatest city between the river Indus and the Hydaspes. There Alexander sacrificed to the gods to whom he usually offered sacrifice, and held a contest of athletics and cavalry games near the river; and the sacrifices were favourable to the crossing.

[1] ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς ὅτι μέγιστος ποταμῶν ἐστὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, πλὴν Γάγγου, καὶ τούτου Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ὅτι αἱ πηγαὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Παραπαμίσου ἢ Καυκάσου, καὶ ὅτι ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ Ἰνδοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ νότον ἄνεμον, καὶ ὅτι δίστομός ἐστιν ὁ Ἰνδὸς καὶ αἱ ἐκβολαὶ αὐτοῦ ἀμφοτέραι τεναγώδεις, καθάπερ αἱ πέντε τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, καὶ ὅτι Δέλτα ποιεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ Δέλτα παραπλήσιον καὶ τοῦτο Πάταλα καλεῖται τῇ Ἰνδῶν φωνῇ, ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰ μάλιστα οὐκ ἀμφίλογα καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀναγεγράφθω. [2] ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Ὑδάσπης καὶ Ἀκεσίνης καὶ Ὑδραώτης καὶ Ὑφασις, καὶ οὗτοι Ἰνδοὶ ποταμοὶ ὄντες, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ποταμῶν πολὺ τι κατὰ μέγεθος ὑπερφέρουσι, τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δὲ μείονές εἰσιν καὶ πολὺ δὴ μείονες, ὅπου καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰνδὸς τοῦ Γάγγου. Κτησίας μὲν δὴ, εἰ δὴ τῷ ἱκανὸς καὶ Κτησίας ἐς τεκμηρίωσιν, ἵνα μὲν στενότατος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἐστὶ, τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους λέγει ὅτι διέχουσιν αὐτῷ αἱ ὄχθαι, ἵνα δὲ πλατύτατος, καὶ ἑκατόν: τὸ πολὺ δὲ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸ μέσον τούτοις. [3] τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω διέβαινε ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὴν γῆν: ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ οὔτε οἵστισι νόμοις διαχρῶνται ἐν τῇδε τῇ συγγραφῇ ἀνέγραψα, οὔτε ζῶα εἰ δὴ τινα ἄτοπα ἢ χώρα αὐτοῖς ἐκφέρει, οὔτε ἰχθύας ἢ κήτη ὅσα ἢ οἷα ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἢ ὁ Ὑδάσπης ἢ ὁ Γάγγης ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἰνδῶν ποταμοὶ φέρουσιν, οὐδὲ τοὺς μύρμηκας τοὺς τὸν χρυσὸν σφισιν ἐργαζομένους, οὐδὲ τοὺς γρυῖπας τοὺς φύλακας, οὐδὲ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐφ' ἡδονῇ μᾶλλον τι πεποιήται ἢ ἐς ἀφήγησιν τῶν

ὄντων, ὥς τὰ γε κατ' Ἰνδοὺς ὅσα ἂν ἄτοπα ψεύσωνται, οὐκ ἐξελεγχθισόμενα πρὸς οὐδαμῶν. [4] ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ καὶ οἱ ξὺν τούτῳ στρατεύσαντες τὰ πολλὰ ἐξήλεγξαν, ὅσα γε μὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ἔστιν οἱ ἐνψεύσαντο: ἀχρύσους τε εἶναι Ἰνδοὺς ἐξήλεγξαν, ὅσους γε δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπῆλθε, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐπῆλθε, καὶ ἥκιστα χλιδῶντας κατὰ τὴν δαίαιταν, ἀλλὰ μεγάλους μὲν τὰ σώματα, οἷους μεγίστους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, πενταπῆχεις τοὺς πολλοὺς ἢ ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντας, καὶ μελαντέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, πλὴν Αἰθιόπων, καὶ τὰ πολέμια πολὺ τι γενναιοτάτους τῶν γε δὴ τότε ἐποίκων τῆς Ἀσίας. [5] τὸ γὰρ Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι, ξὺν οἷς ὀρμηθεὶς Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσου Μήδους τε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀφείλετο καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη τὰ μὲν κατεστρέψατο, τὰ δὲ προσχωρήσαντά οἱ ἐκόντα κατέσχευε, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς ὥς γε δὴ πρὸς τὰ Ἰνδῶν ξυμβαλεῖν. καὶ γὰρ καὶ Πέρσαι τότε πένητές τε ἦσαν καὶ χώρας τραχείας οἰκήτορες, καὶ νόμμά σφισιν ἦν οἷα ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τῇ Λακωνικῇ παιδεύσει. τὸ δὲ τραῦμα τὸ γενόμενον Πέρσαις ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ γῇ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς ξυμβαλεῖν πότερα δυσχωρίας ξυνενεχθεῖσιν ἢ τινι ἄλλῃ Κύρου ἀμαρτία ξυνέβη ἢ Σκυθῶν γε τῶν ταύτῃ κακίους τὰ πολέμια Πέρσαι ἦσαν.

IV. That the river Indus is the greatest river of Asia and Europe except the Ganges, and this too is an Indian river; and that its springs are on this side of Mount Parapamisus or Caucasus, that it runs into the great Indian sea towards the south wind, that it has two mouths and both its outlets are marshy, like the five outlets of the Ister, and that it forms a delta also in the land of India analogous to the delta in Egypt, called Pattala in the Indian language — all this about the Indus, that namely which can least be gainsaid, permit me also to set down here. For the Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotis, and Hyphasis, all also rivers of India, are much greater than the remaining rivers of Asia; yet they are smaller, in fact much smaller, than the Indus, as the Indus itself than the Ganges. Ctesias indeed — if indeed Ctesias is of any use as a witness — says that where the Indus is narrowest, its banks are forty stades apart; but where broadest even a hundred; the greater part of its course is about half this.

This river then, the Indus, Alexander crossed at dawn with his army, so entering the land of the Indians; about whom I have not in this history given any account either of their customs, or whether their country produces any strange animals, or of the size or kinds of fishes or sea-monsters which the Indus, or Hydaspes, or Ganges, or the other Indian rivers produce, or of their ants which mine for gold, or of the griffons which keep watch, or of all the other curiosities rather invented for amusement than for accurate setting out of facts — since whatever ridiculous lies people tell about the Indians are not likely to be verified by anyone. Yet in fact Alexander and his fellow-soldiers did indeed verify the greater part of these — save a few false tales such as some even of themselves made up; and they did find out that the Indians have no gold — at least so many as Alexander visited in his campaign, and they were very numerous; and they are not at all luxurious in their way of living; but they are tall of stature, in fact the tallest men in Asia, five cubits, most of them, or very little short of it; and they are darker-skinned than the rest of

mankind, except the Aethiopians; and in warlike matters much the noblest of the inhabitants of Asia at that time. For I cannot properly compare with the Indians the ancient Persians, with whom Cyrus son of Cambyses set forth and deprived the Medes of the sovereignty of Asia, and subdued some of the remaining peoples, and received the voluntary surrender of the rest. For the Persians then were poor, and dwelt in a rough country, and their customs were approximated as near as possible to the Spartan educational system. Nor can I properly compare the wound dealt to the Persians in Scythia, so as to say whether it happened because they fell in with difficulties of the country, or by some other error of Cyrus, or whether the Persians were actually inferior in warfare to the Scythians of this region.

[1] ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν ἰδίᾳ μοι γεγράφεται ὅσα πιστότατα ἐς ἀφήγησιν οἱ τε ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες καὶ ὁ ἐκπεριπλεύσας τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης τὸ κατ' Ἰνδοὺς Νέαρχος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὅσα Μεγασθένης τε καὶ Ἑρατοσθένης, δοκίμῳ ἄνδρῳ, ξυνεγραψάτην, καὶ νόμιμα ἅττα Ἰνδοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα ἄτοπα ζῶα αὐτόθι φύεται καὶ τὸν παράπλουν αὐτὸν τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης. [2] νῦν δὲ ὅσον ἐς τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα ἀποχρῶν ἐφαίμετο, τοσόνδε μοι ἀναγεγράφθω: τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ ὅρος ἀπείργειν τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀρχόμενον μὲν ἀπὸ Μυκάλης τοῦ καταντικρὺ Σάμου τῆς νήσου ὅρους, ἀποτεμνόμενον δὲ τὴν τε Παμφύλων καὶ Κιλικῶν γῆν ἐνθεν μὲν ὡς ἐς Ἀρμενίαν παρῆκειν, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρμενίων ὡς ἐπὶ Μηδίαν παρὰ Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Χορασμίους, κατὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ξυμβάλλειν τῷ Παραπαμίσῳ ὄρει, [3] ὃ δὴ Καύκασον ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυστρατεύσαντες Μακεδόνες, ὡς μὲν λέγεται τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐξόντες, ὅτι δὴ καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἄρα τοῦ Καυκάσου κρατῶν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος: τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ξυνεχὲς τυγχάνει ὃν τοῦτο τὸ ὅρος τῷ ἄλλῳ τῷ Σκυθικῷ Καυκάσῳ, καθάπερ οὖν αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὁ Ταῦρος; καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ πρότερόν ποτε ἐπὶ τῷδε λέλεκται Καύκασος τὸ ὅρος τοῦτο καὶ ὕστερον τῷδε τῷ ὀνόματι κληθήσεται: [4] τὸν δὲ Καύκασον τοῦτον καθήκειν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν πρὸς ἑω τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς θάλασσαν. τοὺς οὖν ποταμούς, ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν λόγου ἄξιοι, ἐκ τοῦ Ταύρου τε καὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου ἀνίσχοντας τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἐπ' ἄρκτον τετραμμένον ἔχειν τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐκδιδόναι τὴν Μαιῶτιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν καλουμένην θάλασσαν, καὶ ταύτην κόλπον οὔσαν τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης, [5] τοὺς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ νότον ἄνεμον τὸν Εὐφράτην τε εἶναι καὶ τὸν Τίγρητα καὶ τὸν Ἰνδόν τε καὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην καὶ Ἀκεσίνην καὶ Ὑδραώτην καὶ Ὑφασιν καὶ ὅσοι ἐν μέσῳ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου ποταμοῦ ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ οὗτοι ἐσβάλλουσιν ἢ εἰς τενάγη ἀναχεόμενοι ἀφανίζονται, καθάπερ ὁ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς ἀφανίζεται.

V. However, about India I shall write a special monograph (This is the *Indica* included in this volume.) based on all the most reliable facts from Alexander's fellow-campaigners and Nearchus, who coasted along the part of the Great Sea which lies towards India, adding besides all that Megasthenes and Eratosthenes, who are both men of repute, have written; the customs of India, any strange beasts which live there, and the voyage round it by the Outer Sea. But now let what I have written down suffice, so far as seemed

necessary to the account of Alexander's achievements; namely, that Mount Taurus is the boundary of Asia, beginning from Mycale, the mountain over against the island of Samos; then cutting through between the land of Pamphylia and Lycia, thence reaches to Armenia; and from Armenia runs to Media by way of the Parthaeans and Chorasmians; and in Bactria joins Mount Parapamisus, which the Macedonians who served with Alexander called Mount Caucasus, with a view (so it is said) of glorifying Alexander, as suggesting that Alexander reached even the farther side of Mount Caucasus in his victorious career. Perhaps, however, this mountain is continuous with the other Caucasus, that is, the Scythian; just as Mount Taurus is continuous with this Caucasus. For this reason I have previously called this mountain Caucasus, and shall continue so to call it later. This Caucasus reaches to the great eastern sea, towards India. Thus all the important rivers of Asia rise from Mounts Taurus and Caucasus; and a part of them turn their streams northward, and of them some pass out into Lake Maeotis; others into the sea called the Hyrcanian, itself a gulf of the Great Sea; a part again turn southward, the Euphrates, Tigris, Indus, Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotis, and Hyphasis, and any which are between these and the Ganges and run out into the sea or are diffused over marshy ground and so disappear, as the Euphrates disappears.

[1] ὅτω δὴ τὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ὧδε ἔχει ὡς πρὸς τοῦ Ταύρου τε καὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τέμνεσθαι ἀπὸ ἀνέμου ζεφύρου ὡς ἐπὶ ἀπληρώτην ἄνεμον τὴν Ἀσίαν, τοῦτω δύο μὲν αὐταὶ μέγισται πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ταύρου τῆς Ἀσίας μοῖραι γίνονται, ἡ μὲν ἐς μεσημβρίαν τε καὶ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον [τοῦ Ταύρου] κεκλιμένη, ἡ δὲ ἐπ' ἄρκτον τε καὶ ἄνεμον βορρᾶν. [2] τῆς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ νότον Ἀσίας τετραχῇ αὐτὴν τεμνομένης μεγίστην μὲν μοῖραν τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν ποιεῖ Ἐρατοσθένης τε καὶ Μεγασθένης, ὃς ξυνην μὲν Σιβυρτίῳ τῷ σατράπῃ τῆς Ἀραχωσίας, πολλάκις δὲ λέγει ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ Σανδράκοττον τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα, ἐλαχίστην δὲ ὅσῃν ὁ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς ἀπείργει ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐντὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν. δύο δὲ αἱ μεταξὺ Εὐφράτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἀπειργόμεναι αἱ δύο ξυντεθεῖσαι μόλις ἄξια τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ ξυμβαλεῖν. [3] ἀπείργεσθαι δὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν χώραν πρὸς μὲν ἔω τε καὶ ἀπληρώτην ἄνεμον ἔστε ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν τῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάσῃ: τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν δὲ αὐτῆς ἀπείργειν τὸν Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ἔστε ἐπὶ τοῦ Ταύρου τὴν ξυμβολήν: τὴν δὲ ὡς πρὸς ἐσπέραν τε καὶ ἄνεμον Ἰάπυγα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς ἀποτέμνεται. καὶ ἔστι πεδῖον ἢ πολλὴ αὐτῆς, καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς εἰκάζουσιν, ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν προσκεχωσμένον. εἶναι γὰρ οὖν καὶ [4] τῆς ἄλλης χώρας ὅσα πεδία οὐ πρόσω θαλάσσης τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ποταμῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις ποιήματα: ὡς δὲ καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ προσκεῖσθαι, καθάπερ Ἑρμοῦ τέ τι πεδῖον λέγεσθαι, ὃς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν γῆν ἀνίσχων ἐξ ὄρους Μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης παρὰ Σμύρναν πόλιν Αἰολικὴν ἐκδιδόι ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἄλλο Καῦστρου, πεδῖον Λύδιον καὶ Λυδίου ποταμοῦ, καὶ Καΐκου ἄλλο ἐν Μυσίᾳ καὶ Μαιάνδρου τὸ Καρικὸν ἔστε ἐπὶ Μίλητον πόλιν Ἰωνικὴν. Αἴγυπτόν τε Ἡρόδοτός τε καὶ Ἑκαταῖος οἱ λογοποιοί, ἢ εἰ δὴ τοῦ ἄλλου ἢ Ἑκαταίου ἐστὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ

Αἰγυπτία ποιήματα, δῶρόν τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμφοτέροι ὡσαύτως ὀνομάζουσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀμαυροῖς τεκμηρίοις ὅτι ταύτη ἔχει Ἡροδότῳ ἐπιδέδεικται, ὥς καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν τυχόν τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἶναι ἐπώνυμον. Αἴγυπτος γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ὁ ποταμὸς ὅτι ἐκαλεῖτο, ὄντινα νῦν Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἔξω Αἰγύπτου ἄνθρωποι ὀνομάζουσιν, ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι Ὅμηρος, λέγων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκβολῇ τοῦ Αἰγύπτου ποταμοῦ τὸν Μενέλεων στήσαι τὰς νέας. [6] εἰ δὴ οὖν εἰς τε ποταμὸς παρ' ἐκάστοις καὶ οὐ μεγάλοι οὗτοι ποταμοὶ ἱκανοὶ γῆν πολλὴν ποιῆσαι ἐς θάλασσαν προχεόμενοι, ὅποτε ἰλὺν καταφέρουεν καὶ πηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων ἔνθεν περ αὐτοῖς αἱ πηγαὶ εἰσιν, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰνδῶν ἄρα χώρας ἐς ἀπιστίαν ἰέναι ἄξιον, ὅπως πεδίον τε ἢ πολλή ἐστι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν τὸ πεδίον ἔχει προσκεχωσμένον. [7] Ἑρμῶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ Κάϋστρον καὶ Κάϊκόν τε καὶ Μαϊάνδρον ἢ ὅσοι πολλοὶ ποταμοὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἐντὸς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῦσιν οὐδὲ σύμπαντας ζυντεθέντας ἐνὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν ἄξιον ζυμβαλεῖν πλήθους ἔνεκα τοῦ ὕδατος, μὴ ὅτι τῷ Γάγγῃ τῷ μεγίστῳ, ὅτῳ οὔτε τὸ τοῦ Νεῖλου ὕδωρ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου οὔτε ὁ Ἰστρος ὁ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ῥέων ἄξιον ζυμβαλεῖν, [8] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ ἐκεῖνοί γε πάντες ζυμμιχθέντες ἐς ἴσον ἔρχονται, ὃς μέγας τε εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἀνίσχει καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ποταμοὺς πάντας τῶν Ἀσιανῶν μείζονας παραλαβὼν καὶ τῇ ἐπωνυμία κρατήσας οὕτως ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν. ταῦτά μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι περὶ Ἰνδῶν τῆς χώρας λελέχθω: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀποκείσθω ἐς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν συγγραφὴν. τὸ δὲ ζεῦγμα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅπως

VI. Anyone who surveys Asia so that it is divided by Mounts Taurus and Caucasus from west to east will find that the two greatest divisions of Asia are formed by Mount Taurus itself, the one looking towards the south and the south wind, the other to the north and the north wind. Then the southern part of Asia may again be divided into four parts, and of these Eratosthenes and Megasthenes regard as the greatest part the region of India — Megasthenes dwelt with the satrap of Arachosia, Sibyrtius, and writes that he often visited Sandracottus, the king of the Indians; the smallest part, that bounded by the Euphrates, looks towards our inland sea. The other two parts lie between the Euphrates and the Indus, and these two put together can hardly be compared with the territory of India. India itself both east and west, right down to the south, is bounded by the Great Sea; its northern part is bounded by Mount Caucasus till its junction with Mount Taurus: then to the west, and the north-west wind, as far as the Great Sea, the Indus forms its boundary. The greater part of it is level plain, and this, as is conjectured, is alluvial, formed by the rivers. In other parts of the country also such plains as are near the sea for the most part are the result each of its neighbouring river; so too the name of the country from ancient times was attached to the rivers. Thus there is a plain of Hermus, which river rises in Asia from the mountain of Mother Dindymene and runs into the sea near the city of Smyrna in Aeolia; then there is another plain, that of Cayster, a Lydian plain and named from a Lydian river, another plain of Caicus, in Mysia, and the Carian plain of Maeander, stretching to Miletus, the Ionian city. Egypt also the historians Herodotus and Hecataeus

(though possibly the work on Egypt is by another than Hecataeus) both call similarly “the gift of the river,” and Herodotus has shown by very clear proofs that this is so, owing to the coincidence of country and river sharing the same name. For that Aegyptus was the old name of the river which the Egyptians and others living outside Egypt call the Nile, Homer is ample evidence, when he says that Menelaus stationed his ships at the mouth of the river Aegyptus. Since, therefore, any one river, each in various parts of the world, and not great rivers either, can while flowing seaward build up a great stretch of land, by bringing down mud and deposits from the upper lands where are their springs, there is no reason for disbelief about the country of India either, how it comes to be for the most part plain, and has its plain formed by the alluvial deposits of the rivers: as for Hermus and Cayster and Caicus and Maeander or any other rivers of Asia which run out into this inner sea, if you put them all together, you could not, for volume of water, compare them with one of the rivers of India — to say nothing of the largest, Ganges, with which not even the volume of the Nile in Egypt nor the Ister (The Danube) which flows through Europe is worthy to be compared, nay, not even if all were put together do they equal the river Indus, which rises a great river at its very springs, and takes in fifteen tributaries, all greater than the Asian rivers, and, imposing its name as it goes, runs out to join the sea. This for the present must be all I have to say about India; the rest must be put aside for my Indian History.

[1] μὲν ἐποιήθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὔτε Ἀριστόβουλος οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος, οἷς μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἔπομαι, λέγουσιν: οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς εἰκάσαι, πότερα πλοίοις ἐξεύχθη ὁ πόρος, καθάπερ οὖν ὁ Ἑλλήσποντός τε πρὸς Ξέρξου καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος τε καὶ ὁ Ἴστρος πρὸς Δαρείου, ἣ γέφυρα κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διηνεκῆς ἐποιήθη αὐτῷ: δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε πλοίοις μᾶλλον ζευχθῆναι: οὐ γὰρ ἂν δέξασθαι γέφυραν τὸ βάθος τοῦ ὕδατος, οὐδ' ἂν ἐν τοσούδε χρόνῳ ἔργον οὕτως ἄτοπον ξυντελεσθῆναι. [2] εἰ δὲ δὴ πλοίοις ἐξεύχθη ὁ πόρος, πότερα ξυντεθεῖσαι αἱ νῆες σχοίνοις καὶ κατὰ στοῖχον ὀρμισθεῖσαι ἐς τὸ ζεῦγμα ἀπῆρκεσαν, ὥς λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ζευχθῆναι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἣ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἴστρῳ ποταμῷ ζεῦγμα ποιεῖται καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥήνῳ τῷ Κελτικῷ, καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ τὸν Τίγρητα, ὅσακις κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη, ἐγεφύρωσαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔχω ζυμβαλεῖν. [3] καίτοι ταχυτάτῃ γε ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ῥωμαίοις ἡ γεφύρωσις ἢ διὰ τῶν νεῶν γίγνεται, καὶ ταύτην ἐγὼ ἀφηγήσομαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὅτι λόγου ἀξία. αἱ νῆες αὐτοῖς κατὰ πόρου ἀφίενται ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος, οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθύ, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ αἱ πρύμναν κρουόμεναι. ταύτας ὑποφέρει μὲν, οἷα εἰκός, ὁ ῥοῦς, ἀνέχει δὲ κελήτιον ἐπῆρες, ἔστ' ἂν καταστήσῃ ἐς τὸ τεταγμένον χωρίον: καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἥδη καθίεται πλέγματα ἐκ λύγου πυραμοειδῇ πλήρῃ λίθων λογάδων ἀπὸ πρώρας ἐκάστης νεώς, τοῦ ἀνέχειν τὴν ναῦν πρὸς τὸν ῥοῦν. [4] ἅμα δὲ δὴ μία τις τῶν νεῶν [ἅμα δὲ δὴ] ἐσχέθη, καὶ ἄλλη ἀπὸ ταύτης διέχουσα ὅσον ζύμμετρον πρὸς ἰσχὺν τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων ἀντίπρωρος πρὸς τὸ ῥεῦμα ὀρμίζεται: καὶ ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ξύλα τε ἐς εὐθὺ ὀξέως ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ σανίδες ἐγκάρσιαι ἐς τὸ

ξυνδεῖν. καὶ διὰ πασῶν οὕτω τῶν νεῶν, ὅσαι ἱκαναὶ γεφυρῶσαι τὸν πόρον, χωρεῖ τὸ ἔργον. [5] ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ ζεύγματος κλίμακες προβάλλονται καταπηγνύμεναι, τοῦ ἀσφαλεστέραν τοῖς τε ἵπποις καὶ τοῖς ζεύγεσι τὴν ἔφοδον γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἅμα ὡς σύνδεσμος εἶναι τοῦ ζεύγματος. δι' ὀλίγου τε ξυντελεῖται ἅπαν καὶ ξὺν πολλῷ θορύβῳ, καὶ τὸ τεταγμένον ἐν τῷ δρωμένῳ ὁμως οὐκ ἄπεστιν, οἱ τε παρακελευσμοὶ ὡς τύχοιεν κατὰ ναῦν ἐκάστην καὶ αἱ ἐπιτιμήσεις τοῦ ἐκλιποῦς οὔτε τὴν κατάκουσιν τῶν παραγγελμάτων οὔτε τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ ἔργου ἀφαιροῦνται.

VII. As for the method by which Alexander bridged the Indus, neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemaeus, the authors whom I chiefly follow, describe it; nor can I myself make a reasonable conjecture, whether the passage was bridged by boats, as the Hellespont by Xerxes and the Bosphorus and Ister by Dareius, or whether a continuous bridge was built across the stream. I am inclined to the idea that the bridging was by boats; since the depth of the river would not admit of a bridge, nor could so extraordinary a work have been completed in so little time. Again, if the stream was bridged with boats, whether the boats were lashed together by ropes and then moored in order and so formed the bridge, as Herodotus of Halicarnassus says that the Hellespont was bridged; or in the way in which the Roman bridge is made on the Ister, and on the Celtic Rhine, and in which they bridged the Euphrates and Tigris, as often as they were obliged to do so — this too I cannot say. Yet the quickest way of bridging I know is the Roman by use of boats, and I shall here describe it, for it merits description. The boats are, at the given signal, allowed to float down-stream, yet not bows on, but as if backing. So then the stream, as is natural, carries them down, but a rowing boat holds them up till it manoeuvres them into the appointed place. Then wicker crates made pyramid-shape full of unhewn stones are let down from the bows of each ship to hold it against the stream. And when one ship is thus made fast, and then another, just at the right interval to carry the superstructure safely, it is anchored head up-stream; and on both boats timbers are accurately and smartly laid, and planks crosswise to bind them together. Then the work goes on throughout all the boats, so many as are needed for the bridging. On either side of the bridge ladders are thrown out, and made fast, so that the passage may be safer for horses and baggage animals, and also to bind the bridge together; and in quite a short time, and with much bustle, the whole work is completed; and yet there is good order in the course of the work; instructions called from ship to ship, and reproofs of shirked work, do not spoil the hearing of the orders, nor the speed of the operation.

[1] Ῥωμαίοις μὲν δὴ οὕτω ταῦτα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐπῆσκηται: Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὅπως ἐξεύχθη ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μηδὲ οἱ συστρατεύσαντες αὐτῷ εἶπον. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ ὡς ἐγγυτάτω τούτων ἐξεῦχθαι, ἢ εἰ δὴ τι ἀλλήμηχανῇ, ἐκείνη ἐχέτω. [2] ὡς δὲ διέβη πέραν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτῷ θύει κατὰ νόμον Ἀλέξανδρος, ἅρας δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς Τάξιλα ἀφίκετο, πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τὴν μεγίστην τῶν μεταξὺ Ἰνδοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ

Ἵδασπου. καὶ ἐδέχετο αὐτὸν Ταξίλης ὁ ὕπαρχος τῆς πόλεως καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῆδε Ἴνδοι φιλίως. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προστίθησιν αὐτοῖς χώραν τῆς ὁμόρου ὅσης ἐδέοντο. [3] ἦκον δὲ ἐνταῦθα παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Ἀβισάρου πρέσβεις τοῦ τῶν ὀρείων Ἰνδῶν βασιλέως ὃ τε ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἀβισάρου καὶ ἄλλοι ξὺν αὐτῷ οἱ δοκιμώτατοι, καὶ παρὰ Δοξάρους νομάρχου ἄλλοι, δῶρα φέροντες. καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὖ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Ταξίλοις θύει ὅσα οἱ νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ ἵππικόν. καὶ ἀποδείξας σατράπην τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν Φίλιππον τὸν Μαχάτα φρουράν τε ἀπολείπει ἐν Ταξίλοις καὶ τοὺς ἀπομάχους τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ νόσον: αὐτὸς δὲ ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἵδάσπην ποταμόν. [4] ἐπέκεινα γὰρ τοῦ Ἵδάσπου Πῶρος αὐτῷ εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ἐγνωκῶς εἶργειν τοῦ πόρου αὐτὸν ἢ περῶντι ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ταῦτα ὡς ἔγνω Ἀλέξανδρος, Κοῖνον μὲν τὸν Πολεμοκράτους πέμψας ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν τὰ πλοῖα ὅσα παρεσκεύαστο αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόρου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ξυντεμόντα κελεύει φέρειν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἵδάσπην ποταμόν. [5] καὶ ξυνετμήθη τε τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐκομίσθη αὐτῷ, ὅσα μὲν βραχύτερα διχῇ διατμηθέντα, αἱ τριακόντοροι δὲ τριχῇ ἐτμήθησαν, καὶ τὰ τμήματα ἐπὶ ζευγῶν διεκομίσθη ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ Ἵδάσπου κάκει ξυμπεχθέντα ναυτικὸν αὐθις δὴ ὁμοῦ ὤφθη ἐν τῷ Ἵδάσπῃ. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ἦν τε δύναμιν ἔχων ἦκεν ἐς Τάξιλα καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν Ἰνδῶν, οὓς Ταξίλης τε καὶ οἱ ταύτῃ ὕπαρχοι ἦγον, ἦει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἵδάσπην ποταμόν.

VIII. These then are the long-established methods of the Romans; but how Alexander bridged the Indus I do not pretend to say, for even those who served under him did not tell us. Still, I am inclined to think that he approximated to this way of bridging; yet if it was by some other means, let it pass. After taking his army across, Alexander sacrificed according to custom. Then leaving the Indus he marched to Taxila, a great and prosperous city. It is indeed the largest of all which lie between the river Indus and the Hydaspes. He was received there by Taxiles, the governor of the city, and the Indians of this district, in a friendly manner; and Alexander added to them so much of the neighbouring territory as they requested. Here then joined him envoys from Abisarus, the king of the Indian hill-tribes, and the brother of Abisarus and others with him, the most notable men, others also from Doxareus the governor of the district, bringing gifts. There also, at Taxila, Alexander offered the customary sacrifices, and held an athletic and cavalry contest. He appointed Philip son of Machatas satrap of the Indians of this territory, and left behind a garrison, and any invalided soldiers he had; then he marched on towards the river Hydaspes.

For he had learnt that Porus was on the far side of the Hydaspes with all his army, determined to prevent his crossing, or at least to attack him, should he attempt it. On learning this, Alexander sent Coenus son of Polemocrates back to the river Indus, ordering him to take to pieces the boats that had been got ready at the crossing of the Indus and bring them to the Hydaspes. The boats were duly dismembered and transported; the shorter ones in two sections, but the thirty-oar ships cut into three, and the sections were brought in carts to the

bank of the Hydaspes. There the flotilla was put together again, and again seen in full force, now on the Hydaspes. Then Alexander, taking the force with which he arrived at Taxila and also five thousand Indians, led by Taxiles and the governors of the district, marched to the Hydaspes.

[1] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός τε κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, καὶ Πῶρος κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ὄχθην ὤφθη ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τῷ στίφει. ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ ἡ κατεστρατοπεδευκóτα εἶδεν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς μένων ἐφύλαττε τὸν πόρον· ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ εὐπορώτερα, ἐπὶ ταῦτα φρουρὰς διαπέμψας καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἐπιστήσας ἐκάστοις εἶργειν ἐπενόει [ἀπὸ] τοῦ πόρου τοὺς Μακεδόνας. [2] ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κινητέα καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει ἡ στρατιὰ πολλαχῇ, ὥς τὸν Πῶρον ἀμφίβολον γίνεσθαι. διελὼν δὴ ἐς πολλὰ τὸν στρατὸν τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἦγε τῆς χώρας τὰ μὲν πορθῶν ὅσα πολέμια, τὰ δὲ σκοπῶν ὅπῃ εὐπορώτερος αὐτῷ ὁ ποταμὸς φανεῖται, τοὺς δὲ, τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοις [καὶ] ἄλλοις ἐπιτάξας, καὶ αὐτοὺς πολλαχῇ διέπεμπε. [3] σῖτος δὲ αὐτῷ πάντοθεν ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ὑδάσπου χώρας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ξυνεκομίζετο, ὥς δῆλον εἶναι τῷ Πῶρῳ ὅτι ἐγνωκῶς εἶη προσλιπαρεῖν τῇ ὄχθῃ, ἔστε τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μείον γενόμενον τοῦ χειμῶνος πολλαχῇ παραδοῦναι οἱ τὸν πόρον· τά τε πλοῖα αὐτῷ ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ παραπλέοντα καὶ αἱ διφθέραι τῆς κάρφης ἐμπιπλάμεναι καὶ ἡ ὄχθη πᾶσα πλήρης φαινομένη τῇ μὲν ἱππέων, τῇ δὲ πεζῶν, οὐκ εἶα ἡρεμεῖν τὸν Πῶρον, οὐδὲ ἐν τι ἐπιλεξάμενον ἐς φυλακὴν ζύμφορον ἐς τοῦτο ἐκ πάντων παρασκευάζεσθαι. [4] ἄλλως τε ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε οἱ ποταμοὶ πάντες οἱ Ἰνδικοὶ πολλοῦ τε ὕδατος καὶ θολεροῦ ἔρρεον καὶ ὀξέος τοῦ ρεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ὥρα ἔτους ἢ μετὰ τροπὰς μάλιστα τὰς ἐν θέρει τρέπεται ὁ ἥλιος· ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ ὕδατά τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀθρόα τε καταφέρεται ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ αἱ χιόνες αἱ τοῦ Καυκάσου, ἐνθεν περ τῶν πολλῶν ποταμῶν αἱ πηγαὶ εἰσι, κατατηκόμεναι αὐξουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ μέγα· χειμῶνος δὲ ἔμπαλιν ἰσχουσιν ὀλίγοι τε γίνονται καὶ καθαροὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἔστιν ὅπου περάσιμοι, πλὴν γε δὴ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ Γάγγου καὶ τυχόν καὶ ἄλλου του· ἀλλ' ὅ γε Ὑδάσπησιν περατὸς γίνεται.

IX. On the bank of the Hydaspes Alexander pitched his camp; and Porus was observed on the opposite bank with all his forces and with his squadron of elephants. Where Porus observed that Alexander had encamped, he guarded the crossing himself; but at the other parts of the river where a crossing was possible he posted guards, appointing commanders to each guard, and determined to keep the Macedonians from attempting to cross. Alexander observing this thought well himself to move his army about in different directions, so as to keep Porus in uncertainty. He therefore broke up his army into several detachments, and some he led hither and thither over the country, partly destroying any enemy possessions, and partly reconnoitring for good places for crossing the river; other troops he attached to different commanders, one after another, and kept sending them also in different directions. Supplies came into his camp from all directions of the country this side of the Hydaspes, so that it was evident to Porus that he had determined to

keep to the bank, until the water of the river falling during the winter gave him a chance of crossing the river at various points. His boats too sailing along in this and that direction, the rafts made of skins being filled with the chaff, and the bank filled with troops, here cavalry and there infantry, gave Porus no chance of rest, nor permitted him to choose one position most suitable for guarding and concentrate upon that. Then, besides, about that time all the rivers of India were running with a big and turbulent stream, and with a swift current; for it was the season when the sun is just making its bend towards the summer turning; (An awkward way of expressing the May solstice. Some editors suspect and emend the text.) and at this season heavy rains come down into the land of India and the snows of the Caucasus, whence spring most of the rivers, are melting and greatly increase the volume of water; but in winter the rivers stop again, become smaller and clear in appearance, and fordable in places; except the Indus and Ganges, and possibly another; the Hydaspes at any rate becomes fordable.

[1] ταύτην οὖν τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους προσμένειν ἐς τὸ φανερόν ἔφασκεν, εἰ ἐν τῷ τότε εἶργοιτο: ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν μείον ἐφεδρεύων ἔμενεν, εἴ πῃ λάθοι ὑφαρπάσας ὁξέως τὸν πόρον. ἥ μὲν δὴ αὐτὸς Πῶρος κατεστρατοπεδεύκει πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, ἔγνω ἀδύνατος ὦν περᾶσαι ὑπὸ πλήθους τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ ὅτι πολλὴ στρατιὰ καὶ αὐτὴ τεταγμένη τε καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὠπλισμένη ἐκβαίνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν: [2] οἱ τε ἵπποι οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ ἐθελῆσαι οὐδὲ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ὄχθης τῆς πέραν, προσκειμένων σφίσιν εὐθὺς τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ τῇ τε ὄψει ἅμα καὶ τῇ φωνῇ φοβούντων, οὐδ' ἂν ἔτι πρόσθεν μείναι ἐπὶ τῶν διφθερῶν κατὰ τὸν πόρον, ἀλλ' ἐκπηδᾶν γὰρ ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφορῶντες πέραν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας [καὶ] ἔκφρονες γιγνόμενοι. [3] κλέψαι οὖν ἐπενόει τὴν διάβασιν ὧδε πράττων. νύκτωρ παραγαγὼν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τῆς ὄχθης τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἱππέων βοήν τε ἐποίει καὶ ἡλαλάζετο τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ διαβάσει συσκευαζομένων θόρυβος παντοδαπὸς ἐγίνετο. καὶ ὁ Πῶρός τε ἀντιπαρῆει πρὸς τὴν βοήν ἐπάγων τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς ἔθος αὐτὸν τῆς ἀντιπαραγωγῆς καθίστη. [4] ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦτο ἐγίνετο καὶ βοή μόνον καὶ ἀλαλαγμός ἦν, οὐκέτι ὁ Πῶρος μετεκινεῖτο πρὸς τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τῶν ἱππέων, ἀλλὰ κενὸν γὰρ γνοὺς τὸν φόβον κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδῳ ἔμενε: σκοποὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πολλαχοῦ τῆς ὄχθης καθειστήκεσαν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὥς ἐξείργαστο αὐτῷ ἄφοβον τὸ τοῦ Πῶρου εἰς τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις μηχανᾶται τι τοῖονδε.

X. For this summer season, then, Alexander openly announced that he would wait, if he were prevented from crossing at the time; but none the less he stayed there watching, if by any chance he might, without being seen, make a swift dash and effect the crossing. Where Porus himself had encamped, on the bank of the Hydaspes, he recognized that it was impossible to cross, both owing to the number of the elephants, and because there was a great army, and well ordered, and carefully armed, ready to attack his troops as they landed. Then he thought that the horses would not be willing even to set foot on the other side, as the elephants would immediately advance to

attack them, and scare them both by their appearance and their trumpeting; nay, further, they would not even stay on the rafts made of skins during the transit, but would at once jump off into the water if they caught sight of the elephants from afar, and become terrified. So he determined to make a secret crossing in this way. At night he took the greater part of his cavalry in this and that direction along the bank, and made much noise and raised the Greek war-cry, and in all other ways every sort of disturbance was made which was likely when an army was preparing to cross. Porus then kept moving parallel with the noise, bringing up his elephants, and Alexander led him on to make a habit of this counter-movement. But when this had gone on some time, and there was nothing but shouting and raising of the war-cry, Porus no longer kept moving about towards the cavalry dashes, but realizing that the alarm was false remained in camp where he was; though he had set scouts at various points of the bank. But Alexander, when he had calmed Porus' nervousness towards these nightly attempts, contrived the following device.

[1] ἄκρα ἦν ἀνέχουσα τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, ἵνα ἐπέκαμπτεν ὁ ποταμὸς λόγου ἀξίως, αὐτῇ τε δασεῖα ἰδῇ παντοίων δένδρων καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν νῆσος ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ὑλώδης τε καὶ ἀστιβῆς ὑπ' ἐρημίας. ταύτην καταμαθὼν τὴν νῆσον καταντικρὺ τῆς ἄκρας, ἀμφοτέρα ὑλώδη τὰ χωρία καὶ οἷα κρῦναι τῆς διαβάσεως τὴν ἐπιχειρήσιν, ταύτῃ ἔγνω διαβιβάζειν τὸν στρατόν. [2] ἀπέχει δὲ ἢ τε ἄκρα καὶ ἡ νῆσος τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίου. παρὰ πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ὄχθην φυλακαὶ τε αὐτῷ καθεστηκυῖαι ἦσαν, διαλείπουσαι ὅσον ζύμμετρον ἐς τὸ ξυνοῦραν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ κατακοῦειν εὐπετῶς ὁπόθεν τι παραγγέλλοιτο, καὶ πανταχόθεν βοαὶ τε νύκτωρ ἐπὶ πολλὰς νύκτας ἐγίνοντο καὶ πυρὰ ἐκαίετο. [3] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔγνω ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ πόρῳ, κατὰ μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον φανερώς αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς διαβάσεως παρεσκευάζετο. καὶ Κρατερὸς ὑπελέλειπτο ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τὴν τε αὐτοῦ ἔχων ἱπαρχίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ Παραπαμισαδῶν ἱππέας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τε Ἀλκέτου καὶ τὴν Πολυπέρχοντος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς νομάρχας τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε Ἰνδῶν καὶ τοὺς ἅμα τούτοις τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους. [4] παρηγγέλλετο δὲ Κρατερῷ μὴ πρὶν διαβαίνειν τὸν πόρον πρὶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι Πῶρον ζῆν τῇ δυνάμει ὥς ἐπὶ σφῶς ἢ φεύγοντα μαθεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ νικῶντας: ἦν δὲ μέρος μὲν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν Πῶρος ἐπ' ἐμέ ἄγῃ, μέρος δέ τι ὑπολειφθῇ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἐλέφαντες, σὺ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὥς μένειν κατὰ χώραν: εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ζύμπαντας ἅμα οἱ ἄγῃ Πῶρος ἐπ' ἐμέ, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ὑπολείποιτό τι ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, σὺ δὲ διαβαίνειν σπουδῇ: οἱ γὰρ ἐλέφαντες μόνον, ἔφη, ἄποροι εἰσι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκβαίνοντας ἵππους, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὰ εὐπορος.

XI. From the bank of the Hydaspes projected a headland, where the river made a considerable bend; it was thick with every sort of tree, and opposite it was an island in the river, wooded and desolate, untrampled as it was by foot of man. Observing this island opposite the headland, both being well wooded, and suited to hide the attempt at crossing, Alexander determined to take his army over at this point. The headland and island were about a hundred and

fifty stades distant from the great camp. Alexander had posted guards all along the bank, at distances from which it was possible to see one another and to hear easily from whatever point any order was passed on; and from all sides cries at night were raised, over several nights, and fires kept burning.

But when Alexander had determined to attempt the passage, preparations for crossing were made openly in the camp; and Craterus was left in charge of the camp, with his own cavalry regiment and the cavalry of the Arachotians and of the Parapamisadae; and of the Macedonian phalanx, the brigade of Alcetas and Polysperchon, and the governors of the Indians of these districts, and those with them, the five thousand Indians. Craterus was ordered not to attempt a crossing till Porus and his army had left his camp to attack Alexander's forces, or till he had learnt that Porus was in flight, and the Greeks conquerors; "but should Porus take a part of his army and lead it against me" (Alexander continued) "and another part be left behind at his camp, and any elephants, do you still stay where you are; if, however, Porus leads all his elephants against me, but some portion of the army is left behind at the camp, then do you cross with all dispatch; for it is only the elephants which are dangerous to disembarking horses; the rest of the force will not trouble them."

[1] ταῦτα μὲν Κρατερῷ ἐνετέλλετο. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς νήσου τε καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου, ἵνα αὐτῷ Κρατερὸς ὑπελέλειπτο, Μελέαγρος τε καὶ Ἄτταλος καὶ Γοργίας ξὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις ἱππεῦσί τε καὶ πεζοῖς ἐτετάχατο: καὶ τούτοις διαβαίνειν παρηγγέλλετο κατὰ μέρος, διελόντας τὸν στρατόν, ὅποτε ξυνεχομένους ἤδη ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἴδοιεν. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν τε ἐταίρων τὸ ἄγημα καὶ τὴν Ἡφαιστιώονος ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου τε καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Βάκτρων καὶ Σογδιανῶν καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας ἱππέας καὶ Δάας τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τὴν Κλείτου τε καὶ Κοίνου τάξιν καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας ἦγεν ἀφανῶς πολὺ τι ἀπέχων τῆς ὄχθης, τοῦ μὴ καταφανῆς εἶναι ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν νήσον καὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἐνθεν διαβαίνειν αὐτῷ ἢ ἐγνωσμένον. [3] καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπληροῦντο τῆς νυκτὸς αἱ διφθέραι τῆς κάρφης, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἤδη παρενηνεγμένοι, καὶ κατερράπτοντο ἐς ἀκρίβειαν: ὕδωρ τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τῆς νυκτὸς λάβρον ἐπιγίγνεται. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἢ παρασκευὴ τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἢ ἐς τὴν διάβασιν οὐ φανερά κατέστη, τῷ κτύπῳ τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλων καὶ τῷ θορύβῳ τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν παραγγελμάτων τῶν τε βροντῶν καὶ τοῦ ὄμβρου ἀντιπαταγούντων. [4] καὶ τῶν πλοίων δὲ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῷ ξυντετμημένα παρεκεκόμιστο ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καὶ ἀφανῶς αὐθις ξυμπεπηγμένα ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ ἐκρύπτετο, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ αἱ τριακόντοροι. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἔω ὃ τε ἄνεμος καὶ ὁ ὄμβρος κεκοίμητο. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄλλη στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ἢ ἱππικὴ τῶν διφθερῶν ἐπιβάσα καὶ ὅσους τῶν πεζῶν τὰ πλοῖα ἐδέχετο ἐπέρα κατὰ τὴν νήσον, ὥς μὴ πρόσθεν ὀφθεῖεν πρὸς τῶν σκοπῶν τῶν ἐκ πόρου καθεστηκότων πρὶν παραλλάξαντας τὴν νήσον ὀλίγον ἔτι ἀπέχειν τῆς ὄχθης.

XII. Such were Craterus' orders; but between the island and the great camp, where Craterus had been left, Meleager and Attalus and Gorgias were

posted with the mercenary cavalry and infantry; and they too had been ordered to make a crossing in sections, dividing the force, so soon as they should see the Indians already entangled in the battle.

Alexander himself selected the special squadron of the Companions, and the cavalry regiment of Hephaestion, and of Perdikkas and Demetrius, and the cavalry from Bactria and Sogdiana and the Scythian horsemen, with the Dahae, mounted archers, and, of the phalanx, the bodyguard, and the brigade of Cleitus and Coenus, the archers and the Agrianes; he led this force secretly, keeping some distance from the bank, so that he might not be seen marching towards the island and the rock, where he had determined to cross. And there, during the night, the rafts made of hides, which had already some time before been brought along, were filled with chaff, and were carefully sewn together; and there fell a very violent rain during the night. So Alexander's preparations and his attempt to make the crossing were all the more concealed; the thunder-claps and the rain counteracted the clatter of the arms and the commotion arising from the commands; and most of the boats, which had been broken into sections, had been transported to this place, and being put together again out of sight were hidden in the wood; the thirty-oar ships with the rest. But towards dawn the wind and the rain had quieted down, and the cavalry had embarked on the rafts, and all the infantry which the boats could take, crossed by the island; so that they might not be seen by the scouts which Porus had posted, before they had passed the island and were already near the bank.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιβὰς τριακοντόρου ἐπέρα καὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ Πτολεμαῖος τε καὶ Περδίκκας καὶ Λυσίμαχος οἱ σωματοφύλακες καὶ Σέλευκος τῶν ἐταίρων, ὁ βασιλεύσας ὕστερον, καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν οἱ ἡμίσεες· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὑπασπιστὰς ἄλλαι τριακόντοροι ἔφερον. ὥς δὲ τὴν νῆσον παρήλλαξεν ἡ στρατιά, φανερῶς ἤδη ἐπεῖχον τῇ ὄχθῃ· καὶ οἱ σκοποὶ κατιδόντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὁρμὴν ὥς ἐκάστοις τάχους οἱ ἵπποι εἶχον ἤλαυνον ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν Πῶρον. [2] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐκβάς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τριακοντόρων ἀναλαβὼν ξυνέταττε τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐκβαίνοντας τῶν ἱππέων. οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς πρῶτοι ἐτετάχατο αὐτῷ ἐκβαίνειν· καὶ τούτους ἄγων προῆει ἐν τάξει. ἔλαθε δὲ οὐκ ἐς βέβαιον χωρίον ἐκβάς ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν τόπων, ἀλλὰ ἐς νῆσον γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν μεγάλην, ἣ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον νῆσος οὕσα ἔλαθεν, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕδατι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀποτεμνομένην ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης γῆς. [3] καὶ ἅμα ἠϋξήκει τὸ ὕδωρ ὁ ὄμβρος λάβρος τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς νυκτὸς κατασχών, ὥστε οὐκ ἐξεύρισκον αὐτῷ οἱ ἱππεῖς τὸν πόρον, καὶ δέος ἦν αὐθις ἄλλου δεῆσαι αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει ἴσου τῷ πρῶτῳ πόνου. ὥς δὲ ἐξευρέθη ποτὲ ὁ πόρος, ἦγε κατ' αὐτὸν χαλεπῶς· ἦν γὰρ τῶν μὲν πεζῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς μαστοὺς τὸ ὕδωρ ἵνα περ τὸ βαθύτατον αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἵππων ὅσον τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑπερίσχειν τοῦ ποταμοῦ. [4] ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεπέρατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας παρήγαγε τό τε ἄγλημα τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱππαρχῶν τοὺς κρατίστους ἐπιλεξάμενος· τοὺς δὲ ἱπποτοξότας τῆς πάσης ἵππου προέταξε· τῶν δὲ πεζῶν πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς τοὺς βασιλικούς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σέλευκος, ἐπέταξε τῇ ἵππῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὸ ἄγλημα τὸ βασιλικόν· ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς

ἄλλους ὑπασπιστάς, ὡς ἐκάστοις αἱ ἡγεμονίαι ἐν τῷ τότε ξυνέβαινον: κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ τοξόται αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Ἀγριαῖνες [καὶ] οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπέστησαν. οὕτως ἐκτάξας τὸν μὲν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐν κόσμῳ

XIII. Alexander then himself embarked on a thirty-oared boat and began the passage, and with him were Ptolemaeus and Perdikkas and Lysimachus, the officers of his bodyguard, and Seleucus, one of the Companions, who afterwards became king; and half of the bodyguard too. The rest of these were taken by other thirty-oar boats. And when the force passed the island, they were now in full sight, as they approached the bank; and the scouts, observing their oncoming, with all the speed of their horses rode off to Porus. Meanwhile Alexander disembarked first himself; and then took over those from the other thirty-oar boats; and as the cavalry kept disembarking, he marshalled them in order; for he had instructed the cavalry to disembark first; and then taking these with him he advanced in fighting array. However, without being aware, he had disembarked, from want of local knowledge, not on the solid land, but on an island; a large one, it is true; and this was chiefly why he did not discover it was an island; but yet it was parted from the other side by the river with no very great stream. At the same time the rain, which was violent, and kept on all night, had swollen the river, so that the mounted men did not find the ford, and there was some apprehension that to complete the crossing he must repeat all the former labour. But when at last the ford was found, Alexander led on, though with difficulty, across it. For the water, at its shallowest, was over the breasts of the foot-soldiers, so deep that the horses only kept their heads above the river. But when this part also of the river was successfully passed, he led round to his right wing the picked squadron of the cavalry, selecting the best of the other cavalry regiments; the mounted archers he set in front of the whole line of cavalry; then next to the cavalry he marshalled, of the infantry, the royal guards, under Seleucus; then next to them the royal regiment; and in touch with these the rest of the foot-guards, according as each had precedence for that day; on the wings of the phalanx on either side he stationed the archers and the Agrianes and the javelin-throwers.

[1] βάδην ἔπεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν, οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέοντας τῶν ἐξακισχιλίων: αὐτοὺς δέ, ὅτι κρατεῖν ἐδόκει τῇ ἵππῳ, τοὺς ἱππέας μόνους ἀναλαβὼν σπουδῇ ἡγεῖτο, ὄντας ἐς πεντακισχιλίους. Ταύρωνι δὲ τῷ τοξάρχη προσέταξε τοὺς τοξότας ἐπάγειν τῇ ἵππῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς σπουδῇ. [2] γνώμην δὲ ἐπεποίητο, ὡς εἰ μὲν προσμίζειαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πῶρον ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἀπάσῃ, ἢ κρατήσιν αὐτῶν οὐ χαλεπῶς τῇ ἵππῳ προσβαλὼν ἢ ἀπομαχεῖσθαι γε ἔστε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπιγενέσθαι: εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν τῆς διαβάσεως ἄτοπον γενομένην οἱ Ἴνδοι ἐκπλαγέντες φεύγοιεν, οὐ πόρρωθεν ἔξεσθαι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν, ὡς πλείονα ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει τὸν φόνον γενόμενον ὀλίγον ἔτι ὑπολείπεσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον. [3] Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ λέγει τὸν Πῶρου παῖδα φθάσαι ἀφικόμενον σὺν ἄρμασιν ὡς ἐξήκοντα πρὶν τὸ ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου τῆς μικρᾶς περᾶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον: καὶ τοῦτον δυνηθῆναι ἂν εἶρξαι Ἀλέξανδρον

τῆς διαβάσεως χαλεπῶς καὶ μηδενὸς εἵργοντος περαιωθέντα, εἶπερ οὖν καταπηδήσαντες οἱ Ἴνδοι ἐκ τῶν ἄρμάτων προσέκειντο τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἐκβαίνοντων: ἀλλὰ παραλλάξαι γὰρ ξὺν τοῖς ἄρμασι καὶ ἀκίνδυνον ποιῆσαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν διάβασιν: καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἀφεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς ἵπποτοξότας, καὶ τραπῆναι αὐτοὺς οὐ χαλεπῶς, πληγὰς λαμβάνοντας. [4] οἱ δὲ καὶ μάχην λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκβάσει γενέσθαι τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν ξὺν τῷ παιδί τῷ Πώρου ἀφιγμένων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἱππέας. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀφικέσθαι ξὺν μείζονι δυνάμει τὸν Πώρου παῖδα, καὶ αὐτόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον τρωθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Βουκεφάλαν, φίλτατον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὄντα τὸν ἵππον, καὶ τοῦτον τρωθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ Πώρου. ἀλλὰ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ὅτῳ καὶ ἐγὼ ξυμφέρομαι, ἄλλως λέγει. [5] ἐκπεμφθῆναι μὲν γὰρ τὸν παῖδα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πώρου λέγει καὶ οὗτος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἐξήκοντα μόνᾳ ἄρματα ἄγοντα. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς Πῶρον ἀκούσαντα ἐκ τῶν σκοπῶν, ὅτι δὴ ἢ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος διαβέβηκεν τοῦ Ὑδάσπου τὸν πόρον ἢ μέρος γέ τι τῆς στρατιᾶς, ξὺν ἐξήκοντα ἄρμασι μόνοις ἐκπέμψαι τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα: [6] ἃ δὴ ὥς μὲν ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν ἐκπεμπόμενα πολλὰ τε καὶ οὐκ εὐζωνα ἐς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἦν, ὥς δὲ εἰς τὸ εἶρξαι τε τοὺς οὐπῶ πεπερακότας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς ἤδη ἐκβεβηκόσιν ἐπιθέσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἀξιόμαχα. ἀλλὰ δισχιλίους γὰρ λέγει ἱππέας ἄγοντα ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ Πώρου τὸν παῖδα, ἄρματα δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι: φθάσαι δὲ περάσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τὸν τελευταῖον πόρον.

XIV. With his army therefore thus marshalled, Alexander ordered the infantry forces to follow at a foot pace and in marching formation; their number being nearly six thousand. Then he himself, as he seemed to be superior in the cavalry, took the cavalry only and advanced at all speed; the cavalry numbering about five thousand. He directed, however, Tauron the commander of the archers to lead them also on with the cavalry, and also at full speed. And he had determined that should Porus and his detachment attack him with their full force, either he would easily overcome them with his cavalry, by charging them, or he would fight on the defensive till his infantry should get into action. If, however, the Indians in face of the extraordinary boldness of the crossing should take to flight, he would be close up to them during the flight; and the greater the slaughter during the withdrawal the less trouble there would be for him in the future.

Aristobulus, however, says that Porus' son arrived with sixty chariots before Alexander took across from the small island (On the size of the island, see above, V. 13.) the latter part of his troops; and that he could, indeed, have prevented Alexander's crossing, since he got over with much difficulty even when no one opposed him, if only the Indians had leapt from their chariots and attacked the foremost of those coming to land. In point of fact, however, he drove past with his chariots, and thus allowed Alexander to cross without risk; and Alexander launched against this force his mounted archers, and with no great difficulty turned them to flight, many being wounded. Others say that there was actually a battle at the landing, of Porus' son and the force which

came with him, against Alexander and his cavalry. For Porus' son actually did arrive (they say) with a superior force, and Alexander was wounded by him and his horse Bucephalas killed; his favourite horse, and wounded, moreover, by Porus' son. But Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, with whom I — agree, gives a different account. For he too states that Porus sent his son, but not with only sixty chariots. For it is not likely that Porus, learning from his scouts that either Alexander had himself forded the Hydaspes or a part of his army, would have sent out his own son with merely sixty chariots. If these were sent merely for reconnaissance, they were too many; they were not handy for a withdrawal; if they were sent to keep an enemy, which had not yet crossed, from doing so, and to fight with such as had crossed, they were by no means equal to the task. He relates, on the other hand, that Porus' son had two thousand cavalry with him, when he reached the place, and a hundred and twenty chariots; but that Alexander was too quick and had by then passed even the last crossing from the island.

[1] καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺτους τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐκπέμψαι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ οὗτος λέγει τοὺς ἵπποτοξότας, αὐτὸν δὲ ἄγειν τοὺς ἱππέας: προσάγειν γὰρ οἰηθῆναι Πῶρον ζὺν τῇ πάσῃ δυνάμει: τὴν δὲ ἵππον ταύτην προτεταγμένην αὐτῷ προπορεύεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ. [2] ὥς δὲ κατέμαθεν ἀτρεκῶς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὀξέως ἐπιτεσεῖν αὐτοῖς ζὺν τῇ ἅμφ' αὐτὸν ἵππῳ: τοὺς δὲ ἐγκλιῖναι, ὥς Ἀλέξανδρόν τε αὐτὸν κατείδον καὶ τὸ στίφος ἅμφ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἱππέων οὐκ ἐπὶ μετώπου, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἱλας ἐμβεβληκός. καὶ τούτων ἱππέας μὲν πεσεῖν ἐς τετρακοσίους, πεσεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πῶρου τὸν παῖδα: τὰ δὲ ἄρματα αὐτοῖς ἵπποις ἀλῶναι ἔν τε τῇ ἀποχωρήσει βαρέα γενόμενα καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ ὑπὸ πηλοῦ ἀχρεῖα. [3] Πῶρος δέ, ὥς αὐτῷ ὅσοι ἱππεῖς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς διεσώζοντο Ἀλέξανδρόν τε αὐτὸν πεπερακότα ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς τὸ καρτερώτατον καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τετελευτηκότα ἡγγεῖλαν, ἐγίνετο μὲν καὶ ὥς ἀμφίβολος τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταντικρὺ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου οἱ ζὺν Κρατερῷ ὑπολελειμμένοι ἐπιχειροῦντες τῇ διαβάσει ἐφαίνοντο: [4] εἴλετο δ' οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐλάσας ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ πρὸς τὸ καρτερώτατόν τε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα διαγωνίσασθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ὀλίγους τῶν ἐλεφάντων σὺν οὐ πολλῇ στρατιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀπέλιπεν, ὥς φοβεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης τοὺς ζὺν Κρατερῷ ἱππέας. αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν τε ἵππον ἀναλαβὼν πᾶσαν, ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἱππέας, καὶ τὰ ἄρματα πάντα, τριακόσια ὄντα, καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων διακοσίους καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ὅ τι περ ὄφελος, ἐς τρισμυρίους, ἤλαυνεν ὥς ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον. [5] ὥς δὲ ἐνέτυχε χωρίῳ, ἵνα οὐ πηλὸς αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ψάμμου γὰρ ζύμπαν ἦν ἄπεδον καὶ στερεὸν ἐς τὰς ἐφόδους τε καὶ ἀναστροφὰς τῶν ἵππων, ἐνταῦθα ἔτασσε τὴν στρατιάν, πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπὶ μετώπου, διέχοντα ἐλέφαντα ἐλέφαντος οὐ μείον πλέθρου, ὥς πρὸ πάσης τε τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν πεζῶν παραταθῆναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπὶ μετώπου καὶ φόβον πάντῃ παρέχειν τοῖς ἅμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἱππεῦσιν. [6] ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ ἡξίου ἐς τὰ διαλείποντα τῶν ἐλεφάντων τολμῆσαι ἄν τινα ὥσασθαι τῶν πολέμιων, οὔτε ζὺν ἵπποις διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἵππων, πεζοὺς τε ἔτι μείον: κατὰ

στόμα τε γὰρ ἂν πρὸς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν προσβαλλόντων εἵργεσθαι καὶ καταπατηθῆσενθαι ἐπιστρεψάντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐλεφάντων. [7] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ ἐτετάχατο, οὐκ ἴσον τὸ μέτωπον τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπέχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐν δευτέρῳ μετώπῳ μετὰ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ὅσον ἐς τὰ διαλείποντα ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἐμβεβλήσθαι τοὺς λόχους. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὰ κέρατα ἔτι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πεζοὶ ἐφεστηκότες, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τῶν πεζῶν ἡ ἵππος αὐτῷ ἐτέτακτο καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τὰ ἄρματα ἐκατέρωθεν.

XV. It is Ptolemaeus also who narrates that Alexander at first sent against Porus' son and his force the mounted archers; but that he himself led on the cavalry, expecting that Porus was coming up with all his army; and that this cavalry, marshalled by him in the van, preceded the rest of the Greek troops. But on learning accurately the number of the Indians from his scouts, he fell upon them sharply with the cavalry he had with him; they gave way when they perceived Alexander himself and the serried mass of cavalry round him, attacking not on a front but squadron by squadron. Of the Indians there fell as many as four hundred horsemen, and Porus' son also fell; and the chariots, with their teams, were captured in the retreat, driving heavily and useless in the action itself because of the mud.

Porus, however, so soon as the cavalry which escaped in the flight reported to him that Alexander himself had crossed with his army in full force, and that his son had fallen in the fight, was in two minds from this additional reason, that those in the camp opposite, who had been left behind with Craterus, were now seen attempting the passage. He chose, in any case, to advance towards Alexander himself with all his force, and fight to a finish against the strongest part of the Macedonians and their King himself. Yet none the less he left behind a few of the elephants and a small force by his camp, to scare away the cavalry under Craterus from the bank. Then taking all his cavalry, about four thousand horse, and all the chariots, some three hundred, and two hundred of the elephants, and the best of the infantry, about thirty thousand, he advanced against Alexander. And reaching a place which was not muddy, but being sandy was all level and solid for charges and manœuvres of cavalry, he drew up his army in this way. First the elephants on the front, distant each from each about a hundred feet, so that they should form a line in front of the whole infantry line, and at all points terrify the cavalry of Alexander. For in any case he did not expect that any of the enemy would dare to force a way through the gaps between the elephants, certainly not on horseback, since the horses would take fright, and still less foot-soldiers, who would be kept back by the heavy armed troops advancing in line and then would be trampled down by the elephants turning upon them. Behind these elephants were stationed the foot-soldiers, not on the same front as the elephants, but holding the second line after them, so that the columns were fitted, more or less, into the intervals left by the animals. Porus had besides stationed on the wings foot-soldiers, stretching even beyond the line of elephants. Then on each flank of the infantry the cavalry was posted, and in front of the cavalry the chariots, on

both sides.

[1] αὕτη μὲν ἡ Πόρου τάξις ἦν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἤδη καθεώρα τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐκτασσομένους, ἐπέστησε τοὺς ἱππέας τοῦ πρόσω, ὡς ἀναλαμβάνειν τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς αἰε προσάγοντας. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ αὐτῷ δρόμῳ συνάψασα ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐκτάξας ἐπῆγεν, ὡς μὴ καματηροὺς τε καὶ πνευστιῶντας ἀκμῆσι παραδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀλλὰ ἐς κύκλους παριππεύων ἀνέπαυε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἔστε καταστήναι αὐτοῖς τὸν θυμόν. [2] ὡς δὲ τὴν τάξιν κατείδε τῶν Ἰνδῶν, κατὰ μέσον μὲν, ἵνα οἱ ἐλέφαντες προεβέβληντο καὶ πυκνὴ ἡ φάλαγξ κατὰ τὰ διαλείποντα αὐτῶν ἐπετέτακτο, οὐκ ἔγνω προάγειν, αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ὀκνήσας ἅπερ ὁ Πῶρος τῷ λογισμῷ ξυνθεῖς ταύτη ἔταξεν: ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς μὲν ἅτε ἱπποκρατῶν τὴν πολλὴν τῆς ἵππου ἀναλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας τῶν πολέμιων παρήλαυνεν, ὡς ταύτῃ ἐπιθησόμενος. [3] Κοῖνον δὲ πέμπει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, τὴν Δημητρίου καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἔχοντα ἱππαρχίαν, κελεύσας, ἐπειδὴν τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς στίφος τῶν ἱππέων ἰδόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἀντιπαριππεύωσιν, αὐτὸν κατόπιν ἔχεσθαι αὐτῶν: τῶν πεζῶν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα Σελεύκῳ καὶ Ἀντιγένει καὶ Ταύρωνι προσέταξεν ἄγειν, μὴ πρόσθεν δὲ ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου πρὶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τεταραγμένην τὴν τε φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας κατιδῶσιν. [4] ἤδη τε ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας, ὄντας ἐς χιλίους, ὡς ταράξαι τοὺς ταύτῃ ἐφεστηκότας τῶν πολέμιων τῇ πυκνότητὶ τε τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ τῶν ἵππων τῇ ἐπελάσει. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας παρήλαυνεν ὀξέως ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν βαρβάρων, κατὰ κέρας ἔτι τεταραγμένοις ἐμβαλεῖν σπουδῇ ποιούμενος, πρὶν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἐκταθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἵππον.

XVI. This then was the disposition of Porus. But Alexander, seeing the Indians already getting into battle array, halted his cavalry from any further advance, so as to await the infantry as they came up behind. And when the phalanx, coming on at a rapid pace, had joined the advance forces, Alexander did not at once put them in battle order and lead them forward, so as not to confront them while tired and out of breath with the enemy who were fresh, but moving his cavalry round rested his infantry till they had recovered their fighting spirit. On sighting the Indian disposition, however, he decided not to advance by the centre, where the advance line of elephants had been thrown forward, and where the phalanx, in close formation, was posted in the intervals between them, hesitating just for those very reasons which Porus had foreseen when making this disposition; but since his own superiority lay in cavalry, he took with him the majority of his cavalry and rode up to the enemy's left wing, intending to make his attack there. Coenus he sent to the right, with the regiments of Demetrius and his own; he commanded him that so soon as the Indians should perceive the solid body of cavalry and advance their cavalry to meet it, he should keep behind them. Seleucus and Antigenes and Tauron Alexander commanded to lead the infantry phalanx; but they were not to take part in the action till they observed the enemy's main body of infantry and their cavalry thrown into confusion by his own cavalry force.

By now they were within range; and Alexander launched his mounted archers — about a thousand strong — at the Indians' left wing, to throw into confusion those of the enemy who were stationed there both by the severity of the volleys of arrows and the charge of the cavalry. Then he himself with the Companions' cavalry rode rapidly against the enemy left, hastening to charge them, in their confusion, while they were still in line formation, before their cavalry could change into massed formation.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ τε Ἴνδοι τοὺς ἵππεας πάντοθεν ξυναλίσαντες παρίππευον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες τῇ ἐλάσει, καὶ οἱ περὶ Κοῖνον, ὡς παρήγγελτο, κατόπιν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφαίνοντο. ταῦτα ξυνιδόντες οἱ Ἴνδοι ἀμφίστομον ἠναγκάσθησαν ποιῆσαι τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἵππου, τὴν μὲν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὴν πολλήν τε καὶ κρατίστην, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Κοῖνόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἅμα τούτῳ ἐπέστρεφον. [2] τοῦτο τε οὖν εὐθὺς ἐτάραξε τὰς τάξεις τε καὶ τὰς γνώμας τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἰδὼν τὸν καιρὸν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐπιστροφῇ τῆς ἵππου ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς καθ' αὐτόν, ὥστε οὐδὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν ἐδέξαντο τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἵππεων οἱ Ἴνδοί, ἀλλὰ κατηρ[ρ]άχθησαν ὥστε εἰς τεῖχος τι φίλιον τοὺς ἐλέφαντας. [3] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ ἐπιστάται τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀντεπῆγον τῇ ἵππῳ τὰ θηρία, καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ αὐτῇ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀντεπῆει πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἔς τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας αὐτῶν ἀκοντίζοντες καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ θηρία περισταδὸν πάντοθεν βάλλοντες. καὶ ἦν τὸ ἔργον οὐδενὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγώνων ἐοικός· τὰ τε γὰρ θηρία ἐπεκθέοντα ἐς τὰς τάξεις τῶν πεζῶν, ὅπῃ ἐπιστρέψειεν, ἐκεράϊζε καίπερ πυκνὴν οὖσαν τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων φάλαγγα, καὶ οἱ ἵππεις οἱ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοῖς πεζοῖς ἰδόντες ξυνεσθηκὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιστρέψαντες αὐθις καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπήλαυνον τῇ ἵππῳ. [4] ὡς δὲ πάλιν ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ τε ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολὺ προέχοντες, ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας αὐθις κατελήθησαν. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πᾶσα ἡ ἵππος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς μίαν ἵλην ἤδη ξυνηγμένη, οὐκ ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι αὐτῷ ἐς τήνδε τὴν τάξιν καταστάσα, ὅπῃ προσπέσοι τῶν Ἰνδῶν ταῖς τάξεσι, ξὺν πολλῷ φόνῳ ἀπελύοντο. [5] καὶ ἐς στενὸν ἤδη κατελιγμένῳ τῶν θηρίων οὐ μείω πρὸς αὐτῶν οἱ φίλιοι ἤπερ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐβλάπτοντο ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστροφαῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ὀθισμοῖς καταπατούμενοι. τῶν τε οὖν ἵππεων, οἷα δὴ ἐν στενῷ περὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας εἰλουμένων, πολὺς φόνος ἐγίγνετο καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ πολλοὶ κατηκοντισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες τὰ μὲν τιτρωσκόμενοι, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῶν πόνων καὶ ἐρμηία ἡγεμόνων οὐκέτι διακεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἦσαν, [6] ἀλλ' οἷα δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἔκφρονες φίλοις τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πολεμίοις προσφερόμενοι πάντα τρόπον ἐξώθουν τε καὶ κατεπάτουν καὶ κατέκαινον. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες, ἅτε ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ τε καὶ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν σφῶν προσφερόμενοι τοῖς θηρίοις, ὅπῃ μὲν ἐπιφέροιντο εἶκον, ἀποστραφέντων δὲ εἶχοντο ἐσακοντίζοντες· οἱ δὲ Ἴνδοι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρεφόμενοι τὰ πλείω ἤδη πρὸς ἐκείνων ἐβλάπτοντο. [7] ὡς δὲ καματηρά τε ἦν τὰ θηρία καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἐρρωμένοι αἱ ἐκδρομαὶ ἐγίγνοντο, ἀλλὰ συριγμῷ μόνον διαχρώμενα ὥστε αἱ πρύμναν κρούμεναι νῆες ἐπὶ πόδα ὑπεχώρουν, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος περιβάλλει ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν ἵππον τῇ πάσῃ τάξει, τοὺς πεζοὺς δὲ ξυνασπίσαντας ὡς ἐς πυκνοτάτην ζύγκλεισιν

ἐπάγειν τὴν φάλαγγα ἐσήμηνε. καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τῶν Ἰνδῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων κατεκόπησαν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ: ἐκόπτοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ πανταχόθεν ἥδη προσκειμένων σφίσι τῶν Μακεδόνων. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἵνα διέσχεν ἡ ἵππος ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς φυγὴν πάντες ἐπεστράφησαν.

XVII. Meantime the Indians, concentrating all their cavalry from every quarter, kept riding parallel to Alexander, on the flank of their own line, to oppose his charge; and Coenus and his troops, according to orders, began to appear in their rear. Seeing this the Indians were compelled to throw their cavalry into a double formation, one division, the more numerous and strongest, facing Alexander, the other wheeled round to meet Coenus and his force. This of course at once upset both the formations and the intentions of the Indians, and Alexander, perceiving the opportunity, precisely during this about-turn of the cavalry attacked the troops on his front, so that the Indians did not even wait to receive the charge of Alexander's cavalry, but fell hurriedly back upon their elephants, as if to some friendly sheltering wall. Meanwhile the drivers of the elephants brought up their animals against Alexander's cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx for its part boldly advanced to meet the elephants, hurling javelins at their drivers, and, forming a ring round the animals, volleyed upon them from all sides. And the action was now without parallel in any previous battle; for the elephants, charging out into the line of infantry, whichever way they turned, began to devastate it, dense though the Macedonian phalanx was; and the Indian cavalry, seeing the action had settled down to an infantry battle, wheeled off again and themselves charged the Macedonian cavalry. But when a second time Alexander's forces had the mastery over them, much superior, as they were, both in strength and experience, they fell back again on the elephants. Meanwhile all Alexander's cavalry having become concentrated into one body — not by order, but forced into this concentration in the course of the battle itself — wherever it fell upon the Indian ranks, inflicted much slaughter before it withdrew. And by this time the elephants were crowded into a narrow space, and their own side were as much damaged by them as the enemy, trodden down in their manœuvrings and their chargings. The Indian cavalry, therefore, which was cramped round the elephants in a narrow space, suffered much loss; and the most part of the drivers of the elephants had been shot down, and of the elephants, some had been wounded, and others, from weariness and loss of drivers, no longer kept apart in the mellay, but as if maddened by the disaster they kept colliding with friends and foes alike and in all sorts of ways kept pushing, trampling, and destroying. The Macedonians, however, having good room, and able to attack the animals according to their own discretion, gave way wherever they charged, but followed close as they withdrew, and kept shooting at them with javelins. The Indians, on the other hand, were retreating among the elephants and already were receiving the greater part of their damage from them. But when the elephants wearied and their charges were no longer vigorous, but, merely

trumpeting, began to retreat gradually like ships backing, Alexander himself threw his cavalry in a circle around their whole division, and then gave signal for the infantry, locking shields and concentrating into the most compact mass possible, to move up in full phalanx. So it was that the Indian cavalry, save only a few, were all cut down in the action; but their infantry also was being cut down on all sides, as the Macedonians by this time were pressing hard upon them. And now, where there was a gap in Alexander's cavalry, they all turned and fled.

[1] καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Κρατερός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῆς στρατιᾶς [τε] τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ὑπολελειμμένοι ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, ὡς νικῶντα λαμπρῶς κατείδον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπέρων καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν πόρον. καὶ οὗτοι οὐ μείονα τὸν φόνον ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐποίησαν, ἀκμηῆτες ἀντὶ κεκμηκότων τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιγενόμενοι τῇ διώξει [2] ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πεζοὶ μὲν ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες τῶν δισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἐς τρισχιλίους, τὰ δὲ ἄρματα ξύμπαντα κατεκόπη: καὶ Πώρου δύο παῖδες ἀπέθανον καὶ Σπιτάκης ὁ νομάρχης τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ ἀρμάτων οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ ἱπάρχαι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς Πώρου ξύμπαντες... ἐλήφθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες, ὅσοι γε αὐτῶν μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀπέθανον. [3] τῶν δὲ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον πεζοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ ἐξακισχιλίων τῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ γενομένων ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα ἀπέθανον: ἱππεῖς δὲ τῶν μὲν ἵπποτοξοτῶν, οἱ δὴ καὶ πρῶτοι τοῦ ἔργου ἦψαντο, δέκα: τῆς δὲ ἐταιρικῆς ἵππου ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἱππέων ὡς διακόσιοι. [4] Πῶρος δὲ μεγάλα ἔργα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀποδειξάμενος μὴ ὅτι στρατηγοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτου γενναίου, ὡς τῶν τε ἱππέων τὸν φόνον κατεῖδε καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ πεπτωκότας, τοὺς δὲ ἐρήμους τῶν ἡγεμόνων λυπηροὺς πλανωμένους, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν αὐτῷ οἱ πλείους ἀπολώλεσαν, οὐχ ἥπερ Δαρεῖος ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ἐξάρχων τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῆς φυγῆς ἀπεχώρει, ἀλλὰ ἔστε γὰρ ὑπέμενέ τι τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ξυνεστηκός, ἐς τοσόνδε ἀγωνισάμενος, [5] τετρωμένος δὲ τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμον, ὃν δὴ γυμνὸν μόνον ἔχων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀνεστρέφετο ἄπο γὰρ τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος ἦρκει αὐτῷ τὰ βέλη ὁ θώραξ περιττός ὢν κατὰ τε τὴν ἰσχὴν καὶ τὴν ἀρμονίαν, ὡς ὕστερον καταμαθεῖν θεωμένοις ἦν', τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρει ἐπιστρέψας τὸν ἐλέφαντα. [6] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος μέγαν τε αὐτὸν καὶ γενναῖον ἄνδρα ἰδὼν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ σῶσαι ἐπεθύμησε. πέμπει δὴ παρ' αὐτὸν πρῶτα μὲν Ταξίλην τὸν Ἰνδόν: καὶ Ταξίλης προσιπτεύσας ἐφ' ὅσον οἱ ἀσφαλὲς ἐφαίνετο τῷ ἐλέφαντι ὃς ἔφερε τὸν Πῶρον ἐπιστῆσαι τε ἡξίου τὸ θηρίον, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι οἱ ἔτι φεύγειν, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου λόγων. [7] ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν ἄνδρα ἐχθρὸν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸν Ταξίλην ἐπιστρέψας ἀνήγετο ὡς ἀκοντίσων: καὶ ἂν καὶ κατέκανε τυχόν, εἰ μὴ ὑποφθάσας ἐκεῖνος ἀπήλασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πώρου πρόσω τὸν ἵππον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ Πώρῳ χαλεπὸς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἄλλους τε ἐν μέρει ἔπεμπε καὶ δὴ καὶ Μερόην ἄνδρα Ἰνδόν, ὅτι φίλον εἶναι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ Πώρῳ τὸν Μερόην ἔμαθεν. Πῶρος δὲ ὡς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Μερόου ἤκουσε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δίψους ἅμα ἐκρατεῖτο, ἐπέστησέ τε τὸν ἐλέφαντα καὶ κατέβη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ: ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τε καὶ ἀνέψυξεν, ἄγειν αὐτὸν σπουδῇ ἐκέλευσεν παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον.

XVIII. At the same time Craterus and the other officers of the army who had been left behind on the bank of the Hydaspes, seeing Alexander carrying off a conspicuous victory, themselves began to cross the river; and these wrought equal slaughter in the Indian retreat, coming into the pursuit fresh, in place of Alexander's wearied troops.

Of the Indians there perished nearly twenty thousand foot, and horsemen about three thousand; all the chariots were destroyed; two sons of Porus perished, and Spitaces, the governor of the Indians of this district, with the commanders of the elephants and the chariots, and all the cavalry commanders and other commanding officers of Porus' army... and all the surviving elephants were captured. But of Alexander's army, foot-soldiers of the number of about eighty perished, out of a force which had been six thousand strong in the first attack; as for the cavalry, ten of the mounted archers, who were the first to begin the action; and of the Companions' cavalry about twenty, with two hundred of the rest of the cavalry.

Porus had acquitted himself manfully in the course of the engagement, not only as a commander-in-chief, but also as a brave soldier; but when he saw the slaughter of his cavalry, and of the elephants, some fallen on the field, and some wandering in distress, having lost their riders, and when most of his infantry had perished, he did not copy the example of the great king Darius, and set his own men an example of flight, but so long as any part of the Indian troops held their ground in the fight, so long he battled on bravely, but when wounded in the right shoulder — the only unprotected part of his body as he moved about in the battle — for his corslet guarded the rest of his body from the missiles, being unusually strong and unusually well fitted, as those who saw afterwards could observe — on receiving this wound he wheeled his elephant and retreated. Alexander having seen him play a great and gallant part in the battle desired to save him. He sent therefore to him first Taxiles the Indian; and Taxiles, riding up as near as he thought safe to the elephant on which Porus was riding, requested him to halt his animal, since further flight was unavailing, and to hear what Alexander's message was; but Porus seeing in Taxiles an old enemy turned his elephant and rode up to pierce him with a javelin; and indeed he might perchance have slain him, had not Taxiles, just in time, wheeled his horse further away from Porus. Alexander, however, did not even on this show anger against Porus, but sent others, in relays, and finally an Indian, Meroes, having learnt that this Meroes had long been a friend of Porus. But Porus, hearing Meroes' message, and being also much distressed by thirst, halted his elephant and dismounted; and after drinking, and recovering his strength, bade Meroes conduct him at once to Alexander.

[1] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἤγετο: Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς προσάγοντα ἐπύθετο, προσιπτεύσας πρὸ τῆς τάξεως ζῶν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἐταίρων ἀπαντᾷ τῷ Πύρρῳ: καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸν ἵππον τό τε μέγεθος ἐθαύμαζεν, ὑπὲρ πέντε πήχεις μάλιστα ξυμβαῖνον, καὶ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεδουλωμένος τῇ γνώμῃ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ προσέλθοι ὑπὲρ βασιλείας τῆς αὐτοῦ πρὸς

βασιλέα ἄλλον καλῶς ἠγωνισμένους. [2] ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος προσειπὼν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὃ τι οἱ γενέσθαι ἐθέλοι. Πῶρον δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι λόγος ὅτι: βασιλικῶς μοι χρῆσαι, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ, τοῦτο μὲν ἔσται σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Πῶρε, ἐμοῦ ἕνεκα: σὺ δὲ σαυτοῦ ἕνεκα ὃ τι σοὶ φίλον ἀξίου. ὁ δὲ πάντα ἔφη ἐν τούτῳ ἐνεῖναι. [3] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τούτῳ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῷ λόγῳ ἡσθεὶς τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τῷ Πῶρῳ τῶν τε αὐτῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔδωκεν καὶ ἄλλην ἔτι χώραν πρὸς τῇ πάλᾳ οὕσῃ πλείονα τῆς πρόσθεν προσέθηκεν: καὶ οὕτως αὐτός τε βασιλικῶς κεχρημένος ἦν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐκ τούτου ἐς ἅπαντα πιστῷ ἐχρήσατο. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Πῶρόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ποταμοῦ Ἰνδοῦς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίους Ἠγήμονος μηνὸς Μουνυχιῶνος. [4] ἵνα δὲ ἡ μάχη ξυνέβη καὶ ἔνθεν ὀρμηθεὶς ἐπέρασε τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμὸν πόλεις ἔκτισεν Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ τὴν μὲν Νίκαιαν τῆς νίκης τῆς κατ' Ἰνδῶν ἐπώνυμον ὠνόμασε, τὴν δὲ Βουκεφάλαν ἐς τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ Βουκεφάλα τὴν μνήμην, ὃς ἀπέθανεν αὐτοῦ, οὐ βληθεὶς πρὸς οὐδενός, [5] ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ καύματος τε καὶ ἡλικίας ἦν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη καματηρὸς γενόμενος, πολλὰ δὲ πρόσθεν ζυγκαμῶν τε καὶ συγκινδυνεύσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀναβαινόμενός τε πρὸς μόνου Ἀλεξάνδρου [ὁ Βουκεφάλας οὗτος], ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ἀπηξίου ἀμβάτας, καὶ μεγέθει μέγας καὶ τῷ θυμῷ γενναῖος. σημεῖον δὲ οἱ ἦν βοὸς κεφαλὴ ἐγκεχαραγμένη, ἐφ' ὅτῳ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔφερεν: οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι λευκὸν σῆμα εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, μέλας ὢν αὐτός, ἐς βοὸς κεφαλὴν μάλιστα εἰκασμένον. [6] οὗτος ὁ ἵππος ἐν τῇ Οὐξίων χώρᾳ ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προεκήρυξεν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν Οὐξίους, εἰ μὴ ἀπάξουσιν αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππον: καὶ ἀπήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ κηρύγματι. τοσὴδε μὲν σπουδὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἦν, τόσος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβος τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐς τοσόνδε τετιμῆσθω ὁ Βουκεφάλας οὗτος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκα.

XIX. Porus was then conducted to Alexander, who learning of his approach rode and met him in advance of the line with a few of the Companions; then halting his horse, he admired the great size of Porus, who was over five cubits in height, and his handsomeness, and the appearance he gave of a spirit not yet tamed, but of one brave man meeting another brave man after an honourable struggle against another king for his kingdom. Then Alexander first addressing him bade him say what he desired to be done with him. Porus is said to have replied: "Treat me, Alexander, like a king." And Alexander, pleased with the reply, answered: "It shall be as you desire, Porus, for my part; do you for your part ask what you desire." He replied that everything was contained in this one request. Alexander, then, all the more pleased with this reply, gave back to Porus his sovereignty over the Indians of his realm, and added also other besides his former territory even greater in extent; thus did he treat as a king a brave man, and from then on found him in all things faithful. This then was the issue of the battle of Alexander against Porus and the Indians on the far side of the Hydaspes; in the archonship at Athens of Hegemon and in the month Munychion.

In the plains where the battle was fought, and from which he set out to cross the Hydaspes, Alexander founded cities. The first he called Victoria, (Greek, Nicaea, now perhaps Mong.) from the victory over the Indians; the other, Bucephala, (Now perhaps Jelalpur.) in memory of his horse Bucephalas which died there, not wounded by anyone, but from exhaustion and age. For he was about thirty years old, and was a victim to fatigue; but up to then he had shared Alexander's toils and dangers in plenty, never mounted by any but Alexander himself, since Bucephalas would brook no other rider; in stature he was tall, and in spirit courageous. His mark was an ox-head branded upon him, and hence his name Bucephalas; others, however, say that he had a white mark on his head — the rest being black — which was exactly like an ox-head. In the Uxian territory Alexander once lost him, and issued a proclamation throughout that territory that he would massacre every Uxian unless they brought him back his horse; immediately after the proclamation Bucephalas was restored to him. Such was Alexander's devotion to him, and such was the terror Alexander inspired in the natives. And now I must cease my panegyric on Bucephalas, which I make for Alexander's sake.

[1] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἀποθανόντες ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κεκόσμηντο τῷ πρόποντι κόσμῳ, ὁ δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐπινίκια ἔθουε, καὶ ἀγὼν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτῷ γυμνικὸς καὶ ἵππικὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, ἵνα περ τὸ πρῶτον διέβη ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ. [2] κρατερὸν μὲν δὴ ξὺν μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑπελείπετο τὰς πόλεις ἄστινας ταύτῃ ἐκτιζεν ἀναστήσοντά τε καὶ ἐκτειχοῦντα: αὐτὸς δὲ ἤλανθεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς προσχώρους τῇ Πώρου ἀρχῇ Ἰνδούς. ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῷ ἔθνει Γλαυγανῖκαι, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, ὡς δὲ Πτολεμαῖος, Γλαῦσαι. ὁποτέρως δὲ ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα οὐ μοι μέλει. [3] ἐπῆει δὲ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν τε ἐταίρων ἱππέων ἔχων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἀπὸ φάλαγγος ἐκάστης ἐπιλέκτους καὶ τοὺς ἵπποτοξότας σύμπαντας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας: καὶ προσεχώρουν αὐτῷ ὁμολογία πάντες. [4] καὶ ἔλαβε πόλεις μὲν ἑς τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ, ὧν ἵνα ὀλίγιστοι ἦσαν οἰκήτορες πεντακισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἦσαν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους: καὶ κώμας πλήθει τε πολλὰς ἔλαβε καὶ πολυανθρώπους οὐ μείον τῶν πόλεων. καὶ ταύτης τῆς χώρας Πῶρῳ ἄρχειν ἔδωκεν. καὶ Ταξίλῃ δὲ διαλλάττει Πῶρον καὶ Ταξίλῃν ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω ἑς τὰ ἦθη τὰ αὐτοῦ. [5] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ παρὰ τε Ἀβισάρου πρέσβεις ἦκον, ἐνδιδόντες αὐτόν τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Ἀβισάρην καὶ τὴν χώραν ὅσης ἦρχε. καίτοι πρό γε τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Πῶρον γενομένης Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπενόει Ἀβισάρης καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν Πῶρῳ τάττεσθαι: τότε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσι παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπεμψε, χρήματά τε κομίζοντα καὶ ἐλέφαντας τεσσαράκοντα δῶρον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [6] ἦκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ παρὰ Πώρου ἄλλου του ὑπάρχου Ἰνδῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Ἀβισάρην διὰ τάχους ἰέναι παρ' αὐτόν κελεύει ἐπαπειλήσας, εἰ μὴ ἔλθοι, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὄνεται ἦκοντα ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἵνα οὐ χαίρήσῃ ἰδών. [7] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φραταφέρνης τε ὁ Παρθυαίων καὶ Ὑρκανίας σατράπης τοὺς καταλειφθέντας παρὰ οἱ Θρᾶκας ἄγων ἦκεν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ παρὰ Σισικόττου τοῦ Ἀσσακηνῶν σατράπου ἄγγελοι, ὅτι τὸν

τε ὑπαρχον σφῶν ἀπεκτονόντες εἶεν οἱ Ἀσσακηνοὶ καὶ ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεστηκότες. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους Φίλιππον ἐκπέμπει καὶ Τυρίεσιν σὺν στρατιᾷ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν καταστησομένους καὶ κοσμήσοντας. [8] αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμὸν προὔχῳρει. τούτου τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου τὸ μέγεθος μόνου τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἀνέγραψεν: εἶναι γάρ ἴνα ἐπέρασεν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων τε καὶ τῶν διφθερῶν ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸ μὲν ρεῦμα ὀξὺ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου πέτραις μεγάλαις καὶ ὀξείαις, καθ' ὧν φερόμενον βία τὸ ὕδωρ κυμαίνεσθαι τε καὶ καχλάζειν, τὸ δὲ εὖρος σταδίους ἐπέχειν πεντεκαίδεκα. [9] τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῶν διφθερῶν περῶσιν εὐμαρῇ γενέσθαι τὸν πόρον, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις διαβάλλοντας ἐποκειλάντων πολλῶν πλοίων ἐπὶ ταῖς πέτραις καὶ συναρ[ρ]αχθέντων οὐκ ὀλίγους αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι διαφθαρῆναι. [10] εἴη ἂν οὖν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου ξυντιθέντι τεκμηριοῦσθαι, ὅτι οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀναγέγραπται τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος, ὅσοις ἐς τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους δοκεῖ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ εἶναι τὸ εὖρος, ἵνα μέσως ἔχει αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰνδός: ἵνα δὲ στενότητάς τε καὶ διὰ στενότητα βαθύτατος ἐς τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ξυνάγεσθαι: καὶ ταῦτα πολλαχῇ εἶναι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου τεκμαίρομαι ἐπιλέξασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον, ἵναπερ τὸ πλατύτατον ἦν τοῦ πόρου, ὡς σχολαιτέρῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ ρεύματι.

XX. As soon as the due tributes of respect had been paid to those who fell in the battle, Alexander sacrificed to the gods the customary thanksgivings of victory, and held a contest of athletics and cavalry games on the bank of the Hydaspes where he first crossed with his army. Craterus, with part of the forces, he left behind to build and fortify the cities he was founding here. Then he himself advanced towards the Indians who bordered on Porus' kingdom. The name of the tribe was Glauganicae, as Aristobulus says, but Ptolemy calls them Glausae; I do not trouble myself which was the exact form of the name. Alexander invaded their country, with half of the Companions' cavalry, and picked men of the infantry from each phalanx, all the mounted archers, the Agrianes, and the unmounted archers; and the tribesmen all made their surrender to him. So he captured thirty-seven cities; of these, the least populated had above five thousand inhabitants; many of them had over ten thousand. He captured also a large number of villages, not less populous than their cities. He gave the rule of this territory to Porus; Porus also he reconciled to Taxiles, and then dismissed Taxiles back to his own tribes.

Meanwhile envoys came from Abisares, offering to Alexander surrender of Abisares himself and the country over which he ruled. And yet before the battle with Porus, Abisares had the intention of ranging himself on Porus' side. But now he sent his own brother with the other envoys to Alexander, bringing treasure, and forty elephants, as a gift to Alexander. There came also to Alexander envoys from the self-governing Indians, and from a governor of certain Indians, also called Porus. Alexander on this quickly sent a message to Abisares bidding him come to him, threatening, if he should not come, that Abisares should behold him come with his army, and would have cause to rue

the sight.

In the meantime Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea and Hyrcania came to Alexander, bringing the Thracians left behind with him; there came also messengers from Sisicottus satrap of the Assacenians, to say that the Assacenians had assassinated their governor and had broken away from Alexander. Against these Alexander sent Philippus and Tyriaspes with an army to subdue the territory of the Assacenians and bring it into order.

Then he himself moved towards the river Acesines. Of this river Acesines only, among the rivers of India, Ptolemaeus son of Lagus has described the size; its stream, he says, at the point where Alexander crossed it with his army, on the boats and hides, is very swift, with great and sharp rocks; the water rushes down over these, foaming and roaring; the breadth is fifteen stades. For those who crossed on the hides, he says, the crossing was easy; but a good number of those who made the transit in the boats were lost in the stream, since several boats were dashed upon the rocks and so were wrecked. From this account one may conjecture that writers are not far from the truth who have given the size of the river Indus as forty stades in breadth at its mean width; but that where it is narrowest, and for that reason deepest, it shrinks to some fifteen stades; and that this is in many places its breadth. Further, I gather that Alexander chose the widest part of the river Acesines to cross, that he might have the current slower.

[1] περάσας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν Κοῖνον μὲν ξὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τάξει ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ προστάζας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ὑπολελειμμένης στρατιᾶς τῆς διαβάσεως, οἱ τὸν τε σῆτον αὐτῷ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἡδῆ ὑπηκόου τῶν Ἰνδῶν χώρας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια παρακομίζειν ἔμελλον. [2] Πῶρον δὲ ἐς τὰ αὐτοῦ ἦθη ἀποπέμπει, κελεύσας Ἰνδῶν τε τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενον καὶ εἴ τινας παρ' αὐτῷ ἔχοι ἐλέφαντας, τούτους δὲ ἀναλαβόντα[ς] ἰέναι παρ' αὐτόν. αὐτὸς δὲ Πῶρον τὸν ἕτερον τὸν κακόν, ὅτι ἐξηγγέλθη πεφευγέναι ἀπολιπὼν τὴν χώραν ἣς ἤρχεν, ἐπενόει διώκειν σὺν τοῖς κουφοτάτοις τῆς στρατιᾶς. [3] ὁ γὰρ Πῶρος οὗτος, ἔστε μὲν πολέμια ξυνειστῆκει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον Πῶρον, πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρον πέμπων αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ οἷ χώραν ἐνεδίδου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Πῶρου μᾶλλον ἢ φιλία τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου: ὥς δὲ ἀφειμένον τε ἐκείνον καὶ πρὸς τῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλης πολλῆς ἄρχοντα ἔμαθε, τότε δὴ φοβηθεὶς, οὐχ οὕτω τι Ἀλεξάνδρον, ὥς τὸν Πῶρον ἐκείνον τὸν ὁμώνυμον, φεύγει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀναλαβὼν ὅσους τῶν μαχίμων ξυμπεῖσαι ἡδυνήθη μετασχεῖν οἱ τῆς φυγῆς. [4] ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐλαύνων Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραῶτην ποταμόν, ἄλλον αὖ τοῦτον Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, τὸ μὲν εὖρος οὐ μείονα τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου, ὀξύτητι δὲ τοῦ ῥοῦ μείονα. ὅσῃν δὲ τῆς χώρας ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραῶτην ἐπῆλθε, φυλακὰς ὑπέλιπεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις χωρίοις, ὅπως οἱ ἀμφὶ Κρατερόν τε καὶ Κοῖνον δι' ἀσφαλείας ἐπέρχοντο τῆς χώρας τὴν πολλὴν προνομεύοντες. [5] ἐνταῦθα Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐκπέμπει δούς αὐτῷ μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς, πεζῶν μὲν φάλαγγας δύο, ἱππέων δὲ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Δημητρίου ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας, ἐς τὴν Πῶρου τοῦ ἀφεστηκότος χώραν, κελεύσας παραδίδόναι ταύτην Πῶρῳ

τῷ ἄλλῳ, καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα πρὸς ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ὑδραώτου ποταμοῦ αὐτόνομα ἔθνη Ἰνδῶν νέμεται, καὶ ταῦτα προσαγαγόμενον τῷ Πώρῳ ἄρχειν ἐγγχειρίσαι. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπέρα τὸν Ὑδραώτην ποταμόν, οὐ καθάπερ τὸν Ἀκεσίην χαλεπῶς. [6] προχωροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπέκεινα τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ Ὑδραώτου τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς καθ' ὁμολογίαν προσχωρεῖν ξυνέβαινεν, ἥδη δὲ τινας ξὺν ὅπλοις ἀπαντήσαντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑποφεύγοντας ἐλὼν βία κατεστρέψατο.

XXI. When therefore he had crossed the river, Alexander left Coenus with his brigade on the bank, bidding him supervise the crossing of the remainder of the army; for they were to convoy thither the corn from the part of India already subject to him, and all other necessaries. Porus he sent back to his own kingdom, with orders that he should select the most warlike of the Indians, and any elephants he had with him, and bring these to join him. Then Alexander purposed to pursue with the lightest of his troops the other Porus, the bad one, because he was reported to have left his own province and fled. For this Porus, as long as Alexander's relations had remained unfriendly towards the first Porus, had sent envoys to Alexander, offering surrender of himself and his province, rather from hatred of the other Porus than from any friendly feelings towards Alexander; but learning that he had been released, and was now ruler of a considerable new province, besides his own, he became alarmed, not so much about Alexander as about his namesake, and fled from his country, taking with him so many of the warlike tribesmen as he could persuade to share his flight.

In pursuit of him Alexander arrived at the river Hydraotes, another Indian river, in breadth not less than the Acesines, but inferior in swiftmess of current. In all the country which he had traversed, as far as the Hydraotes, he left guards in the most convenient spots, so that the troops with Craterus and Coenus might with safety traverse the greater part of the country in their search for provision. Here he despatched Hephaestion, giving him part of the army, two phalanxes of foot-soldiers, and of cavalry, his own regiment, and that of Demetrius, and half the archers, to the province of the rebellious Porus, bidding him hand this province to the other Porus, together with any other independent Indian tribes dwelling along the banks of the Hydaspes; these too he was to take over, and give them to Porus to govern. Then he himself crossed the Hydraotes, not with the difficulties which the Acesines had caused. Then as he continued on the farther bank of the Hydraotes most of the tribesmen came and surrendered voluntarily, some in fact who had actually come to meet him under arms. Others again he captured when attempting flight, and subdued them by force.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐξαγγέλλεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Καθαίους αὐτοὺς τε παρασκευάζεσθαι ὥς πρὸς μάχην, εἰ προσάγοι τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ὅσα ὁμορὰ σφισιν ἔθνη ὡσαύτως αὐτόνομα, καὶ ταῦτα παρακαλεῖν ἐς τὸ ἔργον: [2] εἶναι δὲ τήν τε πόλιν ὀχυρὰν πρὸς ἣ ἐπενόουν ἀγωνίσασθαι, Σάγγαλα ἦν τῇ πόλει ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Καθαῖοι εὐτολμότατοί τε καὶ τὰ πολέμια κράτιστοι ἐνομίζοντο, καὶ

τούτοις κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ὀξυδράκαι, ἄλλο Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος, καὶ Μαλλοί, ἄλλο καὶ τοῦτο: ἐπεὶ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν στρατεύσαντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Πῶρόν τε καὶ Ἀβισάρην ζύν τε τῇ σφετέρᾳ δυνάμει καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ἀναστήσαντας οὐδὲν πράζοντας τῆς παρασκευῆς ἄξιον ξυνέβη ἀπελθεῖν. [3] ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, σπουδῇ ἤλαυνεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Καθαίους. καὶ δευτεραῖος μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ὑδραῶτου πρὸς πόλιν ἦκεν ἧ ὄνομα Πίμπραμα: τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο τῶν Ἰνδῶν Ἀδραῖσται ἐκαλοῦντο. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ προσεχώρησαν ὁμολογία Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. [4] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναπαύσας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν στρατιὰν τῇ τρίτῃ προὔχῳρει ἐπὶ τὰ Σάγγαλα, ἵνα οἱ Καθαῖοι τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρόσχωροι αὐτοῖς ξυνεληλυθότες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ γηλόφου οὐ πάντῃ ἀποτόμου: κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦ γηλόφου ἀμάξας περιστήσαντες ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἐστρατοπέδευον, ὡς τριπλοῦν χάρακα προβεβλήσθαι [πρὸ] τῶν ἀμαξῶν. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τό τε πλῆθος κατιδὼν τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν, ὡς μάλιστα πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐν καιρῷ οἱ ἐφαίνετο παρετάσσετο: καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵπποτοξότας εὐθύς ὡς εἶχεν ἐκπέμπει ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀκροβολίζεσθαι κελεύσας παριππεύοντας, ὡς μῆτε ἐκδρομὴν τινα ποιήσασθαι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς πρὶν ξυνταχθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ ὡς πληγὰς γίγνεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐντὸς τοῦ ὀχυρώματος. [6] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἄγλημα κατέστησε καὶ τὴν Κλείτου ἱπαρχίαν, ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας: κατὰ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ἐτέτακτο τὴν τε αὐτοῦ ἔχων ἱπαρχίαν καὶ τὰς τῶν πεζεταίρων τάξεις: ἐπὶ κέρως δὲ ἐκατέρου οἱ τοξόται αὐτῷ διχῇ διακριθέντες ἐτάχθησαν. [7] ἐκτάσσοντι δὲ αὐτῷ παρεγένοντο καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀπισθοφυλακίας πεζοί τε καὶ ἱππεῖς. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα διελὼν παρήγαγεν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν τῶν προσγενομένων πυκνοτέραν τὴν ζύγκλεισιν τῆς φάλαγγος ποιήσας αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τεταγμένην παρήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀμάξας. ταύτῃ γὰρ εὐπροσοδώτερον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο τὸ χωρίον καὶ οὐ πυκναὶ ὡσαύτως αἱ ἄμαξαι ἐφειστήκεσαν.

XXII. Meanwhile it was reported to Alexander that some of the self-governing Indians, in particular the people called Cathaeans, were getting themselves ready for battle, in case Alexander should approach their country, and were urging to the same enterprise all other self-governing tribes on their borders. Their city, it was said, was a very strong one, and there they proposed to make their stand. Its name was Sangala, (Some authorities identify Sangala with Lahore. Cathaea was, according to Strabo (xv. 1), the kingdom of Sopeithes (Book VI, c. 2, below).) and the Cathaeans themselves were considered very brave and very powerful in war; in the same mood with them were the Oxydracae, another Indian tribe, and Mallians, another; not long before, in fact, Porus and Abisares had marched against them with their force and had also stirred up many other self-governing Indian tribes against them; but they had achieved nothing commensurate with so great a host, and so had retreated.

When this was reported to Alexander he marched at full speed against the

Cathaeans. In two days after leaving the river Hydraotes he came to a city named Pimprama; this tribe of Indians is called the Adraistae. They surrendered by agreement to Alexander. The next day Alexander rested his troops, and on the third marched towards Sangala, where the Cathaeans and their neighbours who had joined them were arrayed in front of the city on a hill not equally steep on all sides; round about the hill they had arranged their waggons and were camping within them; thus the waggons formed a triple line of defence.

But Alexander, perceiving the large number of the tribesmen and the nature of the place, made his counter dispositions as seemed best for the exigencies of the moment; the mounted archers without delay he despatched against them, with orders to keep riding along the front and shoot at long range, so that the Indians should not make any sally before he had marshalled his forces and that they might already be wounded even within their stronghold, before the battle began. He himself on the right wing posted the special squadron of cavalry and Cleitus' Horse, next to them, his bodyguard, and then the Agrianes; Perdicas was posted on his left with his own Horse and the brigades of the Companions' infantry. On either wing he had stationed the archers, equally divided.

Now while Alexander was thus arranging his troops there came up the infantry and cavalry of the rearguard. Of these, he divided up the cavalry and sent them off to either wing; and by means of the infantry who thus joined him he increased the solidity of his phalanx. Then himself taking the cavalry posted on the right, he led them against the waggons on the Indians' left. For the ground on this side seemed easier, and the waggons were not packed so closely.

[1] ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἵππον προσαγαγοῦσαν οὐκ ἐξέδραμον οἱ Ἴνδοι ἔξω τῶν ἀμαξῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβεβηκότες αὐτῶν ἀφ' ὕψηλοῦ ἡκροβολίζοντο, γνοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι οὐκ εἴη τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἔργον καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου πεζὸς ἐπῆγε τῶν πεζῶν τὴν φάλαγγα. [2] καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν πρώτων ἀμαξῶν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐβίασαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς; πρὸ δὲ τῶν δευτέρων οἱ Ἴνδοι παραταξάμενοι ῥᾶον ἀπεμάχοντο, οἷα δὴ πυκνότεροί τε ἐφεσθηκότες ἐλάττονι τῷ κύκλῳ καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐ κατ' εὐρυχωρίαν ὡσαύτως προσαγόντων σφίσιν, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τε πρώτας ἀμάξας ὑπεξῆγον καὶ κατὰ τὰ διαλείμματα αὐτῶν ὥς ἐκάστοις προὐχώρει ἀτάκτως προσέβαλλον: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ὁμῶς ἐξώσθησαν οἱ Ἴνδοι βιασθέντες πρὸς τῆς φάλαγγος. [3] οἱ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τῶν τρίτων ἔμενον, ἀλλὰ ὥς τάχους εἶχον φυγῇ εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατεκλείσθησαν. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιεστρατοπέδευσε τοῖς πεζοῖς τὴν πόλιν ὅσα γε ἡδυνήθη αὐτῷ περιβαλεῖν ἢ φάλαγξ: ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐπέχον τὸ τεῖχος τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κυκλώσασθαι οὐ δυνατὸς ἐγένετο: [4] κατὰ δὲ τὰ διαλείποντα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα καὶ λίμνη οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ τείχους ἦν, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπέταξεν ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς λίμνης, γνοὺς οὐ βαθεῖαν οὔσαν τὴν λίμνην καὶ ἅμα εἰκάσας ὅτι φοβεροὶ γενόμενοι οἱ Ἴνδοι ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ἥττης ἀπολείψουσι τῆς νυκτὸς τὴν πόλιν. [5] καὶ συνέβη οὕτως ὅπως εἶκασεν: ἀμφὶ γὰρ δευτέραν

φυλακὴν ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τοῦ τείχους οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐνέκυρσαν ταῖς προφυλακαῖς τῶν ἰππέων· καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι αὐτῶν κατεκόπησαν πρὸς τῶν ἰππέων, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι φυλάσσεται ἐν κύκλῳ ἡ λίμνη ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐθις ἀνεχώρησαν. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ χάρακί τε διπλῶ περιβάλλει ἵναπερ μὴ εἶργεν ἡ λίμνη τὴν πόλιν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς λίμνης ἀκριβεστέρας κατέστησεν. αὐτὸς δὲ μηχανὰς προσάγειν τῷ τείχει ἐπενόει, ὥς κατασεῖν τὸ τεῖχος. αὐτομολήσαντες δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τινες φράζουσιν, ὅτι ἐν νῷ ἔχοιεν αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Ἰνδοὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἵναπερ τὸ ἐκλιπὲς ἦν τοῦ χάρακος. [7] ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου ἐπιτάττει ἐνταῦθα, τῶν τε ὑπασπιστῶν αὐτῷ δοὺς χιλιαρχίας τρεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας ξύμπαντας καὶ μίαν τάξιν τῶν τοξοτῶν, ἀποδείξας τὸ χωρίον, ἥπερ μάλιστα εἵκαζε βιάσασθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους· σὺ δὲ ἐπειδὴν αἴσθη, ἔφη, βιαζομένους ταύτη, αὐτὸς μὲν ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ εἶργειν τοὺς βαρβάρους τοῦ πρόσω, τὸν δὲ σαλπικτὴν κέλευε σημαίνειν· ὑμεῖς δέ, ἄνδρες ἡγεμόνες, ἐπειδὴν σημανθῇ, ζὺν τοῖς καθ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι ζυντεταγμένοι ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸν θόρυβον, ἵνα ἂν ἡ σάλπιγξ παρακαλῇ. ἀποστατήσω δὲ οὐδὲ ἐγὼ τοῦ ἔργου.

XXIII. Since, however, the Indians did not sally out from the line of waggons upon the cavalry as it rode up, but mounted on them instead and shot volleys of arrows from them, Alexander, recognizing that the action was not work for cavalry, leapt down from his horse and on foot led to the attack the phalanx of foot-soldiers. From the first line of waggons the Macedonians easily forced the Indians; but before the second line the Indians drew themselves up in order and with less difficulty defended themselves, since they were in denser formation in a smaller circle, and the Macedonians could not approach them, as before, through an open space, while they were removing the first row of waggons and then charging in without order through the spaces between, just as each man made his way. Yet even from this second line the Indians were forced back by the phalanx. And now they no longer attempted to make a stand at the third line of waggons, but with all speed retreated and shut themselves into the city. For this day, then, Alexander camped with his infantry round the city, so far at least as the phalanx could surround; for since the wall stretched a considerable distance he could not entirely surround it with his troops while encamped, but in the intervals, where there was a lake also, not far from the wall, he posted his cavalry surrounding the lake, as he noticed that the lake was shallow and also conjectured that the Indians, terrified from the previous defeat, would desert the city at night. It fell out exactly as he conjectured; about the second watch, sure enough, the greater part of them slipped out from the wall and fell in with the cavalry outposts; the first-comers were cut down by the cavalry; the next, perceiving that the lake was guarded all round, retired again into the city.

Alexander, however, threw a double stockade all round, where the lake did not guard the city, and posted his outposts round about the lake more carefully. Then he himself proposed to bring up engines against the wall, to

batter it. But some of the inhabitants of the city deserted to him; and these told him that the Indians proposed to slip out of the city that night, by the lake, just where there was the gap in the stockade. Then he posted there Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, giving him three regiments of the bodyguards, all the Agrianes, and one brigade of archers, and pointing out the place where he most conjectured that the tribesmen would try to force their way; “so soon,” he said, “as you perceive them to be trying to force a way through here, you yourself will, with your army, prevent their going farther; and will at once bid the bugler to sound an alarm; and you, officers, on this signal, will each with his appointed forces make for the disturbance wherever the bugle calls you. Nor shall I myself be a laggard in this action.”

[1] ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παρήγγειλεν: Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἀμάξας τε ἐκ τῶν ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ φυγῇ ἀμαξῶν ταύτῃ ξυναγαγὼν ὡς πλείστας κατέστησεν ἐγκαρσίας, ἵνα πολλὰ ἐν νυκτὶ τὰ ἄπορα φαίνεται τοῖς φεύγουσι, καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τοῦ κεκομμένου τε καὶ οὐ καταπληθέντος συνῆσαι ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε λίμνης καὶ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ ταῦτ’ αὐτῷ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐξειργάσαντο. [2] ἦδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ τετάρτην φυλακὴν καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, καθάπερ ἐξηγγέλλετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀνοίξαντες τὰς ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην πύλας δρόμῳ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἐφέροντο. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθον τὰς ταύτῃ φυλακὰς οὐδὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐπ’ αὐταῖς τεταγμένον, ἀλλὰ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τε σαλπικταὶ ἐσήμεινον αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν στρατιὰν ὀπλισμένην τε καὶ συντεταγμένην ἔχων ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους. [3] τοῖς δὲ αἱ τε ἄμαξαι ἐμποδὼν ἦσαν καὶ ὁ χάραξ ἐν μέσῳ καταβεβλημένος: ὡς δὲ ἦ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον προσέκειντο αὐτοῖς τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐκπίπτοντας διὰ τῶν ἀμαξῶν κατακαίνοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀποστρέφονται αὐθις ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει ἐς πεντακοσίους. [4] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Πῶρος ἀφίκετο τοὺς τε ὑπολοίπους ἐλέφαντας ἅμα οἷ ἄγων καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους, αἱ τε μηχαναὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυμπεπηγμέναι ἦσαν καὶ προσήγοντο ἦδη τῷ τείχει. ἀλλὰ οἱ Μακεδόνες, πρὶν καὶ κατασεισθῆναι τι τοῦ τείχους, ὑπορύττοντές τε αὐτοὶ πλίνθινον ὄν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἐν κύκλῳ πάντῃ προσθέντες αἰροῦσι κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν. [5] καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐς μυρίου καὶ ἑπτακισχιλίους, ἐάλωσαν δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑπτὰ μυριάδας καὶ ἄρματα τριακόσια καὶ ἵπποι πεντακόσιοι. τῆς δὲ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατιᾷς ἀπέθανον μὲν ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐν τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ, τραυματῖαι δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεκρῶν ἐγένοντο, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λυσίμαχος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ. [6] θάψας δὲ ὡς νόμος αὐτῷ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας Εὐμενὴ τὸν γραμματέα ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὰς δύο πόλεις τὰς ξυναφεστῶσας τοῖς Σαγγάλαις δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων ἐς τριακοσίους, φράσσοντα[ς] τοῖς ἔχουσι τὰς πόλεις τῶν τε Σαγγάλων τὴν ἄλωσιν καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔσται χαλεπὸν ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπομένουσιν τε καὶ δεχομένοις φιλίως Ἀλέξανδρον: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλοις τισὶ γενέσθαι τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ὅσοι ἐκόντες σφᾶς ἐνέδοσαν. [7] οἱ δὲ ἦδη γὰρ ἐξηγγέλλτο αὐτοῖς κατὰ κράτος ἐαλωκότα πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰ Σάγγαλὰ φοβεροὶ

γενόμενοι ἔφευγον ἀπολιπόντες τὰς πόλεις. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπειδὴ ἐξηγγέλθη αὐτῶν ἡ φυγή, σπουδῇ ἐδίωκεν: ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφθασαν ἀποφυγόντες, διὰ μακροῦ γὰρ ἡ δίωξις ἐγίνετο, ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἀσθενεῖα ὑπελείποντο, οὗτοι ἐγκαταληφθέντες πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέθανον ἐς πεντακοσίους μάλιστα. [8] ὥς δὲ ἀπέγνω διώκειν τοῦ πρόσω τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἐπανελθὼν ἐς τὰ Σάγγαλα τὴν πόλιν μὲν κατέσκαψε, τὴν χώραν δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοῖς πάλαι μὲν αὐτονόμοις, τότε δὲ ἐκουσίως προσχωρήσασι προσέθηκεν. καὶ Πῶρον μὲν ζὺν τῇ δυνάμει τῇ ἄμφ’ αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπει ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αἱ προσκεχωρήκεσαν, φρουρὰς εἰσάξοντα εἰς αὐτάς, αὐτὸς δὲ ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑφασιν ποταμὸν προῦχώρει, ὥς καὶ τοὺς ἐπέκεινα Ἰνδοῦς καταστρέψαιτο. οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο αὐτῷ πέρας τι τοῦ πολέμου ἔσσε ὑπελείπετό τι πολέμιον.

XXIV. Such were Alexander’s orders; and Ptolemaeus, gathering together as many as possible of the waggons left behind in the first flight, set them crosswise, that the fugitives at night might find a good many obstacles; moreover, he ordered any part of the stockade which had been cut but not yet fixed down to be joined up at different points between the lake and the wall. This his men completed by night. It was now about the fourth watch, and the tribesmen, as Alexander had been informed, opened the gates leading to the lake and ran towards it. Yet they did not escape the guards on this side, nor yet Ptolemaeus, who was posted in charge of them; but at once his buglers sounded the alarm, and he with his forces fully armed and in good order moved against the tribesmen. These found their way barred by the waggons, and the stockade thrown in the intervening space. And when the bugle sounded and Ptolemaeus and his troops pressed hard upon them, cutting them down as fast as they tried to slip out between the waggons, they turned and fled back to the city. Some five hundred perished in this withdrawal.

Meanwhile Porus arrived, bringing with him the rest of the elephants and some five thousand Indians, and Alexander already had his siege engines put together, and they were now being brought up to the wall. But the Macedonians, before any part of the wall was battered, began to undermine it, for it was of brick, and then setting up their ladders all round, captured the city by assault. And in the capture of the city there perished some seventeen thousand of the Indians, and over seventy thousand were captured, with three hundred waggons, and five hundred horsemen. Of Alexander’s force were lost rather under a hundred in the entire siege; the wounded were out of proportion to the slain, over twelve hundred; among them several of the officers and Lysimachus the officer of the bodyguard.

Alexander, when he had buried the dead, after his custom, sent Eumenes (Eumenes of Cardia was clerk or secretary to Alexander, as he had been to Philip. Plutarch and Nepos wrote his Life. He was not popular with the Macedonian leaders, and was slain by Antigonos, after a striking career both as soldier and diplomat.) the clerk of the two cities which had rebelled at the same time as Sangala, giving him three hundred cavalry, to announce to the

defenders of the cities the capture of Sangala, and to proclaim that Alexander would not treat them harshly if they stayed where they were and received Alexander in a friendly way, just as he had shown no harshness to any other of the self-governing Indians who had voluntarily surrendered. But they (for they had already heard that Alexander had captured Sangala by assault) were terrified, left their cities, and took to flight. Alexander pursued them hotly, as soon as their flight was reported to him, but most of them had got safe away, for the pursuit began after some interval had passed. Any that had been left behind through infirmity during the withdrawal were captured there and put to death by the army, up to the number of five hundred. But deciding not to pursue the fugitives further, Alexander returned to Sangala, razed the city to the ground, and gave over the territory to those Indians who had formerly been self-governing but recently had surrendered voluntarily. Porus with his force he sent back to the cities which had surrendered, to set garrisons in them; and he with his army advanced to the Hyphasis, to subdue the Indians of that district also. For he felt there could be no end of the war as long as any hostility remained.

[1] τὰ δὲ δὴ πέραν τοῦ Ὑφάσιος εὐδαίμονά τε τὴν χώραν εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθοὺς μὲν γῆς ἐργάτας, γενναίους δὲ τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἐς τὰ ἴδια δὲ σφῶν ἐν κόσμῳ πολιτεύοντας· πρὸς γὰρ τῶν ἀρίστων ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς πολλούς, τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲν ἕξω τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς ἐξηγεῖσθαι, πληθὺς τε ἐλεφάντων εἶναι τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις πολὺ τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ μεγέθει μεγίστους καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ. [2] ταῦτα δὲ ἐξαγγελλόμενα Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν παρώξυνεν ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ πρόσω ἰέναι: οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ἐξέκαμνον ἤδη ταῖς γνώμαις, πόνους τε ἐκ πόνων καὶ κινδύνους ἐκ κινδύνων ἐπαναιρούμενον ὀρῶντες τὸν βασιλέα: ξύλλογοί τε ἐγίνοντο κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν μὲν τὰ σφέτερα ὀδυρομένων, ὅσοι ἐπιεικέστατοι, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀκολουθήσειν, οὐδ' ἦν ἄγῃ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπισχυριζομένων. ταῦτα ὥς ἐπύθετο Ἀλέξανδρος, πρὶν καὶ ἐπὶ μεῖζον προελθεῖν τὴν ταραχὴν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τὴν ἀθυμίαν, συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν τάξεων ἔλεξεν ὧδε. [3] ὀρῶν ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες τε καὶ ξύμμαχοι, οὐχ ὁμοίᾳ ἔτι τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπομένους μοι ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους, ξυνήγαγον ἐς ταυτό, ὥς ἢ πείσας ἄγειν τοῦ πρόσω ἢ πεισθεῖς ὀπίσω ἀποστρέφεσθαι. εἰ μὲν δὴ μεμποί εἰσιν ὑμῖν οἱ μέχρι δεῦρο πονηθέντες πόνοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἡγούμενος, οὐδὲν ἔτι προὔργου λέγειν μοι ἔστιν. [4] εἰ δὲ Ἰωνία τε πρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ τούσδε τοὺς πόνους ἔχεται καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος καὶ Φρύγες ἀμφοτέροι καὶ Καππαδόκαι καὶ Παφλαγόνες καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ Κᾶρες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Παμφυλία δὲ καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Αἴγυπτος ζὺν τῇ Λιβύῃ τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ Ἀραβίας ἔστιν ἃ καὶ Συρία ἢ τε κοίλῃ καὶ ἡ μέση τῶν ποταμῶν, [5] καὶ Βαβυλῶν δὲ ἔχεται καὶ τὸ Σουσίον ἔθνος καὶ Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ ὅσων Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι ἐπῆρχον, καὶ ὅσων δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον, τὰ ὑπὲρ τὰς Κασπίας πύλας, τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Καυκάσου, ὁ Τανάϊς, τὰ πρόσω ἔτι τοῦ Τανάϊδος, Βακτριανοί, Ὑρκάνιοι, ἡ θάλασσα ἡ Ὑρκανία, Σκύθας τε ἀνεστείλαμεν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον, ἐπὶ τούτοις μέντοι καὶ ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ρεῖ, ὁ Ὑδάσπης διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας, ὁ Ἀκεσίνης, ὁ Ὑδραῶτης, τί

ὀκνεῖτε καὶ τὸν Ὑφασιν καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ὑφάσιος γένη προσθεῖναι ἢ ἡμετέρα Μακεδόνων τε ἀρχῇ; ἢ δέδωκε μὴ δέξωνται ὑμᾶς ἔτι ἄλλοι βάρβαροι ἐπιόντας; [6] ὦν γε οἱ μὲν προσχωροῦσιν ἐκόντες, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀλίσκονται, οἱ δὲ ἀποφυγόντες τὴν χώραν ἡμῖν ἔρημον παραδιδόασιν, ἢ δὴ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἐκοῦσι προσχωρήσαςι προστίθεται.

XXV. On the other side of the Hyphasis, so it was reported to Alexander, the country was fertile, the men good labourers of the soil and valiant warriors, who managed their own affairs in an orderly manner; most of them were under aristocracies, yet these made no demands other than reasonable. These people also had a number of elephants, a good many more than the other Indians, and these were, moreover, very large and courageous. This report only stirred Alexander to a desire for still further advance; but the Macedonians' spirits were already flagging, seeing the King undertaking toils after toils and dangers after dangers; meetings took place in the camp of men who grumbled at their present fate — those of the better kind — and of others who maintained stoutly that they would follow no farther, not even though Alexander should lead them. When Alexander heard of this, before this disturbance in the troops and their despair grew worse, he summoned the brigadiers and addressed them thus:

“I observe that you, Macedonians and allied forces, are not following me into dangers any longer with your old spirit. I have summoned you together, either to persuade you and go forward, or to be persuaded by you and turn back. If indeed there is any fault to find with the labours you have hitherto endured, and with me who have led you through them, there is no object in my speaking further. If, however, by these your labours Ionia is now in our hands, the Hellespont, both Phrygias, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Phoenicia, Egypt, with the Greek part of Libya, part of Arabia, Lowland Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susia, Persia, Media, with all the nations subject to Persia and Media, and those that were not; if the regions beyond the Caspian gates, the parts beyond the Caucasus, and on the other side of the Tanais, Bactria, Hyrcania, the Hyrcanian Sea; if we have driven the Scythians into the desert; if, besides all this, the river Indus runs through territory now our own, the Hydaspes likewise, the Acesines, and the Hydraotes, why do you hesitate to add to this your Macedonian empire the tribes beyond the Hyphasis? Do you fear lest tribesmen yet remaining may withstand your approach? Why, some of them surrender readily, some run away, and are captured, some desert their country and leave it open for you, which we have handed over to our allies and those who have voluntarily come over to us.

[1] πέρας δὲ τῶν πόνων γενναῖω μὲν ἀνδρὶ οὐδὲν δοκῶ ἔγωγε ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πόνους, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐς καλὰ ἔργα φέρουσιν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ πολεμεῖν ποθεῖ ἀκοῦσαι ὃ τι περ ἔσται πέρας, μαθέτω ὅτι οὐ πολλὴ ἔτι ἡμῖν ἡ λοιπὴ ἔστιν ἔσπε ἐπὶ ποταμόν τε Γάγγην καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἃν θάλασσαν: ταύτη δὲ, λέγω ὑμῖν, ξυναφῆς φανέται ἢ Ὑρκανία θάλασσα: ἐκπεριέρχεται γὰρ γῆν

πέρὶ πᾶσαν ἡ μεγάλη θάλασσα. [2] καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπιδείξω Μακεδόσι τε καὶ τοῖς
ξυμμαχοῖς τὸν μὲν Ἰνδικὸν κόλπον ξύρρουν ὄντα τῷ Περσικῷ, τὴν δὲ
Ὑρκανίαν θάλασσαν τῷ Ἰνδικῷ: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ εἰς Λιβύην
περιπλευσθήσεται στόλῳ ἡμετέρῳ τὰ μέχρι Ἡρακλέους Στηλῶν: ἀπὸ δὲ
Στηλῶν ἡ ἐντὸς Λιβύῃ πᾶσα ἡμετέρα γίγνεται καὶ ἡ Ἀσία δὴ οὕτω πᾶσα, καὶ
ὅροι τῆς ταύτης ἀρχῆς οὕσπερ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὅρους ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησε. [3] νῦν δὲ δὴ
ἀποτρεπομένων πολλὰ μὲν μάχιστα ὑπολείπεται γένη ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ὑφάσιος
ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἑάν θάλασσαν, πολλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων ἔτι ἐπὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν ὡς
ἐπὶ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, καὶ τὰ Σκυθικὰ γένη οὐ πόρρω τούτων, ὥστε δέος μὴ
ἀπελθόντων ὀπίσω καὶ τὰ νῦν κατεχόμενα οὐ βέβαια ὄντα ἐπαρθῇ πρὸς
ἀπόστασιν πρὸς τῶν μήπω ἐχομένων. [4] καὶ τότε δὴ ἀνόνητοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται οἱ
πολλοὶ πόνοι ἢ ἄλλων αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεήσει πόνων τε καὶ κινδύνων. ἀλλὰ
παραμείνατε, ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες καὶ ξύμμαχοι. πονούντων τοι καὶ
κινδυνεύοντων τὰ καλὰ ἔργα, καὶ ζῆν τε ζῶν ἀρετῇ ἡδὺν καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν
κλέος ἀθάνατον ὑπολειπομένους. [5] ἢ οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι ὁ πρόγονος ὁ ἡμέτερος οὐκ
ἐν Τίρυνθι οὐδὲ Ἀργεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἢ Θήβαις μένων ἐς
τοσόνδε κλέος ἦλθεν ὡς θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι ἡ δοκεῖν: οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ
Διονύσου, ἀβροτέρου τούτου θεοῦ ἢ καθ' Ἡρακλέα, ὀλίγοι πόνοι. ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς
γε καὶ ἐπέκεινα τῆς Νύσης ἀφίγμεθα καὶ ἡ Ἄορνος πέτρα ἡ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ
ἀνάλωτος πρὸς ἡμῶν ἔχεται. [6] ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔτι ὑπόλοιπα τῆς Ἀσίας
πρόσθετε τοῖς ἤδη ἐκτεμένοις καὶ τὰ ὀλίγα τοῖς πολλοῖς. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς
τί ἂν μέγα καὶ καλὸν κατεπέπρακτο, εἰ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καθήμενοι ἱκανὸν
ἐποιούμεθα ἀπόνως τὴν οἰκείαν διασώζειν, Θρᾷκας τοὺς ὁμόρους ἢ
Ἰλλυριοὺς ἢ Τριβαλλοὺς ἢ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειοι ἐς τὰ
ἡμέτερα, ἀναστέλλοντες; [7] εἰ μὲν δὴ ὑμᾶς πονούντας καὶ κινδυνεύοντας
αὐτὸς ἀπόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἐξηγούμενος ἦγον, οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἂν
προεκάμνετε ταῖς γνώμαις, τῶν μὲν πόνων μόνοις ὑμῖν μετόν, τὰ δὲ ἄθλα
αὐτῶν ἄλλοις περιποιούντες: νῦν δὲ κοινοὶ μὲν ἡμῖν οἱ πόνοι, ἴσον δὲ μέτεστι
τῶν κινδύνων, τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται ξύμπασιν. [8] ἢ τε χώρα ὑμέτερα καὶ
ὑμεῖς αὐτῆς σατραπεύετε. καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ μέρος νῦν τε ἐς ὑμᾶς τὸ πολὺ
ἔρχεται καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐπεξέλθωμεν τὴν Ἀσίαν, τότε οὐκ ἐμπλήσας μὰ Δὶ ὑμᾶς,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερβαλὼν ὅσα ἕκαστος ἐλπίζει ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀπιέναι
οἴκαδε ἐθέλοντας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποπέμψω ἢ ἐπανάζω αὐτός, τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ
μένοντας ζηλωτοὺς τοῖς ἀπερχομένοις ποιήσω.

XXVI. "I set no limit of labours to a man of spirit, save only the labours
themselves, such as lead on to noble emprises. Yet should any desire to know
what will be the limit of this our actual warfare, I may tell him that there
remains no great stretch of land before us up to the river Ganges and the
eastern sea. This sea, I assure you, you will find that the Hyrcanian Sea joins;
for the great sea of ocean circles round the entire earth. Yes, and I shall
moreover make clear to Macedonians and allies alike that the Indian gulf
forms but one stretch of water with the Persian gulf, and the Hyrcanian Sea
with the Indian gulf. And from the Persian gulf our fleet shall sail round to
Libya, (Africa is regarded as part of Asia. On these seas, and the ideas held by

early geographers, see Cary and Warmington, *Ancient Explorers*, Methuen.) right up to the Pillars of Heracles; and from the Pillars all Libya that lies within (*i e* all known Africa, lying between Gibraltar and Egypt.) is becoming ours; and all Asia likewise, and the boundaries of the empire in Asia, those boundaries which God set for the whole earth. But if you flinch now, there will be many warlike races left behind on the far side of the Hyphasis up to the Eastern Sea, and many too stretching from these to the Hyrcanian Sea towards the north wind, and not far from these, again, the Scythian tribes, so that there is reason to fear that if we turn back now, such territory as we now hold, being yet unconsolidated, may be stirred to revolt by such as we do not yet hold. Then in very truth there will be no profit from our many labours; or we shall need once more, from the very beginning, more dangers and more labours. But, do you abide constant, Macedonians and allies. It is those who endure toil and who dare dangers that achieve glorious deeds; and it is a lovely thing to live with courage, and to die, leaving behind an everlasting renown. Or do you not know that our forefather (Heracles.) would never have risen to such heights of glory by remaining in Tiryns or in Argos, nay, not even in the Peloponnese or Thebes, as to become, and to be held to be, a god, who was aforesaid a man? Nay, even Dionysus, a god of higher rank than Heracles, braved labours not a few; but we have actually passed beyond Nysa, and the rock Aornos, which Heracles could not take, we have taken. Add now to the possessions you have already won what yet remains of Asia; to the many, add the few. For indeed what great or noble thing could we ourselves have achieved, had we sat still in Macedonia and thought it as enough to guard our own home without labour, merely reducing the Thracians on our borders, or Illyrians, or Triballians, or even such Greeks as might not be useful to us?

“If then while you were bearing labours and braving dangers I had led you, myself, your leader, without labours and without dangers, you would not unnaturally have become weary in your hearts; when you alone had all the labours, and were procuring the prizes thereof for others; but it is not so; our labours are shared in common; we bear an equal part in dangers; the prizes are open to all. For the land is yours; it is you who are its viceroys; the greater part of the treasure comes to you, and when we master all Asia, then — by Heaven! — I will not merely satisfy you, but will surpass the utmost hope of good things for each of you, I will send home all who desire to go home or will myself lead them back; those who stay, I shall make to be envied by those who go back.”

[1] ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος Ἀλεξάνδρου πολὺν μὲν χρόνον σιωπῇ ἣν οὔτε ἀντιλέγειν τολμώντων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος οὔτε ζυγῶρειν ἐθελόντων. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πολλάκις μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκέλευε λέγειν τὸν βουλούμενον, εἰ δὴ τις τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ λεχθεῖσι γινώσκει: ἔμενε δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡ σιωπῇ: ὃν γὰρ δὲ ποτε θαρσύνσας Κοῖνος ὁ Πολεμοκράτους ἔλαξε τοιαύδε. [2] ἐπειδὴ αὐτός, ὃ βασιλεῦ, οὐ κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἐθέλει

Μακεδόνων ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ πείσας μὲν ἄξιν φῆς, πεισθεὶς δὲ οὐ βιάσσεσθαι, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶνδε ποιήσομαι ἐγὼ τοὺς λόγους, οἳ καὶ προτιμώμενοι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰ ἄθλα τῶν πόνων οἱ πολλοὶ ἤδη κεκομισμένοι καὶ τῷ κρατιστεύειν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους πρόθυμοί σοι ἐς πάντα ἐσμέν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς πολλῆς. [3] οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ταύτης τὰ καθ' ἥδονῃν ἐκείνοις ἐρῶ, ἀλλὰ ἃ νομίζω σύμφορά τέ σοι ἐς τὰ παρόντα καὶ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα μάλιστα ἀσφαλῆ εἶναι. δίκαιος δέ εἰμι καθ' ἡλικίαν τε μὴ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὰ δοκοῦντα βέλτιστα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ σοῦ μοι οὔσαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξίωσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις τε καὶ κινδύνοις ἐς τόδε ἀπροφάσιστον τόλμαν. [4] ὅσῳ γάρ τοι πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα σοὶ τε ἡγουμένῳ καταπέπρακται καὶ τοῖς ἅμα σοὶ οἰκοθεν ὀρμηθεῖσι, τοσῶδε μᾶλλον τι ξύμφορόν μοι δοκεῖ πέρας τι ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις. αὐτὸς γάρ τοι ὄρᾳς, ὅσοι μὲν Μακεδόνων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἅμα σοὶ ὠρμήθημεν, ὅσοι δὲ ὑπολελειμμέθα: [5] ὧν Θετταλοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ Βάκτρων εὐθύς οὐ προθύμους ἔτι ἐς τοὺς πόνους αἰσθόμενος οἶκαδε, καλῶς ποιῶν, ἀπέπεμψας: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἳ μὲν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς πρὸς σοῦ οἰκισθείσαις κατῳκισμένοι οὐδὲ οὗτοι πάντῃ ἐκόντες μένουσιν: οἳ δὲ ξυμπονοῦντές τε ἔτι καὶ ξυγκινδυνεύοντες, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ στρατιά, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολωλέκασιν, οἳ δὲ ἐκ τραυμάτων ἀπόμαχοι γεγενημένοι ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπολελειμμένοι εἰσίν, [6] οἳ πλείους δὲ νόσῳ ἀπολώλασιν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ὑπολείπονται, καὶ οὔτε τοῖς σώμασιν ἔτι ὡσαύτως ἐρρωμένοι, ταῖς τε γνώμασι πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον προκεκμηκότες. καὶ τούτοις ξύμπασιν πόθος μὲν γονέων ἐστίν, ὅσοις ἔτι σώζονται, πόθος δὲ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν, πόθος δὲ δὴ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς τῆς οἰκείας, ἣν ξὺν τῷ ἐκ σοῦ πορισθέντι σφίσιν κόσμῳ μεγάλοι τε ἀντὶ μικρῶν καὶ πλούσιοι ἐκ πενήτων ἀναστρέφοντες ξύγγνωστοὶ εἰσιν ἐπιδεῖν ποθοῦντες. [7] σὺ δὲ νῦν μὴ ἄγειν ἄκοντας: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁμοίοις ἔτι χρήσῃ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους, οἷς τὸ ἐκούσιον ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀπέσται: ἐπανελθὼν δὲ αὐτός [τε], εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν σαυτοῦ ἰδὼν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταστησάμενος καὶ τὰς νίκας ταύτας τὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐς τὸν πατρῶον οἶκον κομίσας οὕτω δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄλλον στόλον στέλλεσθαι, εἰ μὲν βούλει, ἐπ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἔω ᾠκισμένα Ἰνδῶν γένη, εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον, εἰ δέ, ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα Καρχηδονίων τῆς Λιβύης. ταῦτα δὲ σὸν ἤδη ἐξηγεῖσθαι. [8] ἔφονται δέ σοι ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες καὶ ἄλλοι Ἑλλήνες, νέοι τε ἀντὶ γερόντων καὶ ἀκμῆτες ἀντὶ κεκμηκόντων, καὶ οἷς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τὸ ἀπείρατον ἔς τε τὸ παραυτίκα οὐ φοβερὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίδα ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσται: οὗς καὶ ταύτῃ ἔτι προθυμότερον ἀκολουθήσειν σοι εἰκός, ὀρῶντας τοὺς πρότερον ξυμπονήσαντάς τε καὶ ξυγκινδυνεύσαντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἦθη ἐπανεληλυθότας, πλουσίους τε ἀντὶ πενήτων καὶ ἀντὶ ἀφανῶν τῶν πάλα εὐκλεεῖς. [9] καλὸν δέ, ὃ βασιλεῦ, εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο, καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ εὐτυχεῖν σωφροσύνη. σοὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡγουμένῳ καὶ στρατιᾷν τοιαύτην ἄγοντι ἐκ μὲν πολεμίων δέος οὐδέν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἀδόκητά τε καὶ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀφύλακτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστί. τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Κοίνου θόρυβον γενέσθαι

XXVII. To this effect, and in this manner, spoke Alexander; and for a long

time there was silence; no one dared to oppose the King on the spur of the moment, nor was yet willing to agree. But in this interval Alexander often invited any to speak who wished to speak, if he really held opposite views to those he had expressed; yet even so silence reigned long, and only after some time Coenus, Polemocrates' son, plucked up his courage and spoke thus: "Seeing that you, sir, do not yourself desire to command the Macedonians tyrannically, but expressly state that you will lead them on only by gaining their approval, and failing this you will not compel them, I shall not speak these words on behalf of us here present, who, being held in honour beyond the rest, have, most of us, already received the prizes of our labours, and in virtue of our authority, because we have power, are in all things heartily ready beyond others to forward your interests; rather I shall speak for most of the army. And even on their behalf I shall not say merely what is pleasing to them, but what I consider useful to yourself for the moment and safest for the future. In virtue of my age it is proper that I should not conceal such views as appear best, and also in virtue of my repute among my comrades, which comes from you, and of my undisputed courage in all labours and dangers hitherto. For just because very many and very great achievements have been wrought by yourself our leader, and by those who set out from home with you, just for that reason I judge it the more expedient to set some limit to these labours and these dangers. For you yourself see what a large body of Macedonians and Greeks we are who set forth with you, and how many we are who are now left; the Thessalians you sent home straight from Bactria, perceiving that they had little heart for labours; and you did well. But of the rest of the Greeks, some have been settled in the cities which you have founded; and they do not all remain there willingly; others, sharing with you labours and dangers, both they and the Macedonian forces, have lost part of their number in battle; and part have become invalided from wounds, and have been left behind, some here, some there, in Asia; but most of them have died of sickness, and of all that host only a few are left, and even they no longer with their old bodily strength, and with their spirit even more wearied. These, one and all, have longing for parents, if they yet survive, longing for wives and children, longing even for their homeland, which they may pardonably long to revisit, with the treasure received from you, returning as great men, instead of little, and rich men instead of poor. But do not be a leader of unwilling troops. You will not find them like-minded towards dangers, when in their efforts no spirit of willingness will remain; rather do you yourself, if so it seems good, return to your own home, and revisit your own mother, and ordain the affairs of the Greeks, and bring back the guerdon of these many great victories to your ancestral house, and then, if so you desire, fit out another expedition, to attack these same Indian tribes that dwell towards the east; or if you prefer, to the Euxine sea; or else to Carchedon and the parts of Libya beyond Carchedon. It is for you to take the lead in all this. There will follow you other Macedonians, other Greeks, young in place of

old, fresh in place of wearied; men to whom warfare will have no terrors for the moment, for want of experience of war, and will inspire their eagerness from their hopes of the future, men who therefore will follow you with even greater heartiness, seeing those who have borne labours and dared dangers before them returned safely to their own homes; rich, who once were poor, and famous, who once were nameless. A noble thing, O King, above all others, is the spirit of self-restraint when all goes well with us. For you indeed, as our leader, and as commander of such an army, there is no fear from any enemies; but to all men the stroke of fortune comes unlooked for, and thence unguarded.”

[1] ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις: πολλοῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ δάκρυα προχυθέντα ἔτι μᾶλλον δηλῶσαι τό τε ἀκούσιον τῆς γνώμης ἐς τοὺς πρόσω κινδύνους καὶ τὸ καθ’ ἡδονήν σφισιν εἶναι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἀχθεσθεὶς τοῦ τε Κοίνου τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ τῷ ὄκνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων διέλυσε τὸν ξύλλογον: [2] ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ζυγκαλέσας αὐτὸς ξὺν ὀργῇ τοὺς αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ἰέναι ἔφη τοῦ πρόσω, βιάσασθαι δὲ οὐδένα ἄκοντα Μακεδόνων ξυνέπεσθαι: ἔξιν γὰρ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσοντας τῷ βασιλεῖ σφῶν ἐκόντας: τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀπιέναι οἵκαδε ἐθέλουσιν ὑπάρχειν ἀπιέναι καὶ ἐξαγγέλλειν τοῖς οἰκείοις, ὅτι τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπανήκουσιν ἀπολιπόντες. [3] ταῦτα εἰπόντα ἀπελθεῖν ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν μηδὲ τινα τῶν ἐταίρων προσέσθαι αὐτῆς τε ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἐς τὴν τρίτην ἔτι ἀπ’ ἐκείνης, ὑπομένοντα, εἰ δὴ τις τροπὴ ταῖς γνώμαις τῶν Μακεδόνων τε καὶ ξυμμάχων, οἷα δὲ ἐν ὄχλῳ στρατιωτῶν τὰ πολλὰ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἐμπεσοῦσα εὐπειθεστέρους παρέξει αὐτούς. [4] ὥς δὲ σιγὴ αὐτῇ πολλὴ ἦν ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀχθόμενοι μὲν τῇ ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ δηλοὶ ἦσαν, οὐ μὴν μεταβαλλόμενοι γε ὑπ’ αὐτῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει οὐδὲν μείον ἐθύετο, θυομένῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερά. [5] τότε δὴ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεῖους αὐτῷ συναγαγόν, ὥς πάντα ἐς τὴν ὀπίσω ἀναχώρησιν αὐτῷ ἔφερεν, ἐκφαίνει ἐς τὴν στρατιάν, ὅτι ἔγνωσται ὀπίσω ἀποστρέφειν.

XXVIII. At the close of Coenus’ speech there was some applause among the bystanders, many even shed tears, a proof, if it were needed, of the reluctance of their feelings towards further progress, and of the joy with which they would hail a retreat. But Alexander, irritated at Coenus’ freedom of language and at the want of courage of the other officers, dismissed the conference; and calling for next day the same officers once more he angrily affirmed that he himself was going on, but that he would compel no Macedonian, against his will, to go with him; for he would have, he said, others who would, of free will, follow their King. As for those who wished to return home, they might do so, and might tell abroad to their friends that they had come back, leaving their King surrounded by foes. With this he went back to his tent, and did not admit even any of the Companions during that day and till the third day after, waiting to see if the Macedonians and allies might change their minds, as often happens in a crowd of soldiers, and such change

coming over them might render them more amenable. But when there continued dead silence through the camp, and it was clear that the men were annoyed at his temper, but in no mood to change their minds because of it, then, Ptolemaeus son of Lagus tells us, he none the less offered sacrifices with a view to crossing the river. But as he sacrificed, the victims proved unfavourable. Then he called together the eldest of the Companions and chiefly his particular friends, and since everything now was pointing to a withdrawal, he proclaimed openly to the army that he had decided to turn back.

[1] οἱ δὲ ἐβόων τε οἷα ἂν ὄχλος ξυμμιγῆς χαίρων βοήσσειε καὶ ἐδάκρυον οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν: οἱ δὲ καὶ τῇ σκηνῇ τῇ βασιλικῇ πελάζοντες ἠϋχοντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ, ὅτι πρὸς σφῶν μόνων νικηθῆναι ἠνέσχετο. ἔνθα δὴ διελὼν κατὰ τάξεις τὴν στρατιὰν δώδεκα βωμοὺς κατασκευάζειν προστάττει, ὕψος μὲν κατὰ τοὺς μεγίστους πύργους, εὖρος δὲ μείζονας ἔτι ἢ κατὰ πύργους, χαριστήρια τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐς τοσόνδε ἀγαθοῦσιν αὐτὸν νικῶντα καὶ μνημεῖα τῶν αὐτοῦ πόνων. [2] ὥς δὲ κατεσκευασμένοι αὐτῷ οἱ βωμοὶ ἦσαν, θύει δὴ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὡς νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ ἵππικόν. καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν τὴν μέχρι τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ποταμοῦ Πώρῳ ἄρχειν προσέθηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραῶτην ἀνέστρεφε. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ὑδραῶτην, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην αὖ ἐπανήει ὀπίσω. [3] καὶ ἐνταῦθα καταλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν ἐξωκοδομημένην, ἣντινα Ὑφαιστίων αὐτῷ ἐκτειχίσαι ἐτάχθη: καὶ ἐς ταύτην ξυνοικίσας τῶν τε προσχώρων ὅσοι ἐθέλονται κατωκίζοντο καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὃ τι περ ἀπόμαχον, αὐτὸς τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ κατάπλῳ παρεσκευάζετο τῷ ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν. [4] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης τε ὁ τῆς ὁμόρου Ἀβισάρη χώρας ὑπαρχος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀβισάρου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἰκεῖοι, δῶρά τε κομίζοντες ἃ μέγιστα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς καὶ τοὺς παρ' Ἀβισάρου ἐλέφαντας, ἀριθμὸν ἐς τριάκοντα: Ἀβισάρην γὰρ νόσφ' ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι ἐλθεῖν. ξυνέβαινον δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπεμφθέντες πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἀβισάρην. [5] καὶ ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπῶς πιστεύσας οὕτως ἔχειν Ἀβισάρη τε τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας σατραπεύειν ἔδωκεν καὶ Ἀρσάκην τῇ Ἀβισάρου ἐπικρατεῖα προσέθηκεν: καὶ φόρους οὐστινας ἀποίσουσι τάξας θύει αὖ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ ποταμῷ. καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην αὖ διαβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ἦκεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῆς τε Νικαίας καὶ τῶν Βουκεφάλων ὅσα πρὸς τῶν ὄμβρων πεπονηκότα ἦν ζῶν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκόσμει.

XXIX. At this they all cried aloud as a mixed multitude would shout in joy, and most of them began to weep; others drew near the royal tent and invoked blessings on Alexander, since he had allowed himself to be defeated by them, and none others. Then he divided the army into twelve parts and ordered an altar to be set up for each part, in height like to the greatest towers, and in breadth greater even than towers would be, as thank-offerings to the gods who had brought him so far victorious, and as memorials of his labours. And when the altars were made ready, he sacrificed upon them, according to custom, and held a contest of athletics and cavalry exercises. All the territory as far as the

Hyphasis he gave also to Porus to rule over, and then he himself began to return towards the Hydraotes. Crossing this, he came again to the Acesines, and there he found the city already built which Hephaestion had been appointed by him to fortify; into this he settled any of the neighbouring tribesmen who volunteered, and such of the mercenaries as were no longer fit for service, and himself made preparations for the voyage down to the Great Sea.

Meantime there came to him Arsaces the governor of the territory next to Abisares, with Abisares' brother, and his other relatives, bringing gifts, such as the Indians account of chief value, and the elephants from Abisares, up to the number of thirty; for Abisares himself had been unable, through illness, to attend. There came also with these the envoys sent by Alexander to Abisares. Thus, being easily assured that the facts were as stated, he gave to Abisares the governorship of his own province, and attached Arsaces to the administration of Abisares; and having arranged for the tributes they should bring he sacrificed also at the river Acesines. Then crossing the Acesines he came to the Hydaspes, where he restored, by help of his troops, the parts of the cities of Nicaea and Bucephala which had been damaged by rains, and also put all else in order in the province,

BOOK VI.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἐπειδὴ παρεσκευάσθησαν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ταῖς ὄχθαις πολλαὶ μὲν τριακόντοροι καὶ ἡμιόλια, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐς παρακομιδὴν στρατιᾶς ποταμῷ εὖπορα, ἔγνω καταπλεῖν πρότερον μὲν γε ἐν τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ κροκοδειλίσκατα τὸν Ὑδάσπην ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν. [2] ἰδὼν, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν πλην Νείλου, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου κυάμους πεφυκότας ὁποίους ἡ γῆ ἐκφέρει ἡ Αἰγυπτία, καὶ [ὁ] ἀκούσας ὅτι ὁ Ἀκεσίνης ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν, ἔδοξεν ἐξευρηκέναι τοῦ Νείλου τὰς ἀρχάς, [3] ὡς τὸν Νεῖλον ἐνθένδε ποθὲν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀνίσχοντα καὶ δι' ἐρήμου πολλῆς γῆς ῥέοντα καὶ ταύτῃ ἀπολλύοντα τὸν Ἰνδόν τὸ ὄνομα, ἔπειτα, ὁπόθεν ἄρχεται διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης χώρας ῥεῖν, Νεῖλον ἤδη πρὸς Αἰθιοπῶν τε τῶν ταύτῃ καὶ Αἰγυπτίων καλούμενον ἢ, ὡς Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν, ἐπώνυμον τῆς Αἰγύπτου Αἴγυπτον, οὕτω δὲ ἐσδιδόναι ἐς τὴν ἐντὸς θάλασσαν. [4] καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα γράφοντα ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῆς γῆς ἄλλα τε γράψαι καὶ ὅτι δοκοίῃ αὐτῷ ἐξευρηκέναι τοῦ Νείλου τὰς πηγάς, μικροῖς δὴ τισι καὶ φαύλοις ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων τεκμαιρόμενον. [5] ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀτρεκέστερον ἐξήλεγξε τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ἰνδῷ, οὕτω δὲ μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τὸν μὲν Ὑδάσπην τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ, τὸν Ἀκεσίνην δὲ τῷ Ἰνδῷ τό τε ὕδωρ ξυμβάλλοντας καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι συγχωροῦντας, τὸν Ἰνδόν δὲ ἐκδιδόντα ἤδη ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, δίστομον τὸν Ἰνδόν ὄντα, οὐδέν τι αὐτῷ προσήκον τῆς γῆς τῆς Αἰγυπτίας: τῆνικαῦτα δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τοῦτο τὸ ἀμφὶ τῷ Νεῖλῳ γραφὲν ἀφελεῖν. [6] καὶ τὸν κατάπλουν τὸν κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἐπινοοῦντα παρασκευασθῆναι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷδε κελεῦσαι τὰς ναῦς. αἱ δὲ ὑπηρεσίαι αὐτῷ ἐς τὰς ναῦς συνεπληρώθησαν ἐκ τῶν συνεπομένων τῇ στρατιᾷ Φοινίκων καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων.

I. SINCE Alexander had all ready for him on the banks of the Hydaspes a good many thirty-oars and smaller galleys, (There are crocodiles also in the Ganges.) and several transports for horses and other vessels useful for the conveyance of an army by river, he determined to sail down the Hydaspes to the Great Sea. He had already seen crocodiles in the Indus, and in no other river except the Nile; and besides this had observed on the banks of the Acesines beans growing, of the same sort as the land of Egypt produces; and having heard that the Acesines runs into the Indus, he fancied that he had found the origin of the Nile. His idea was that the Nile rose somewhere thereabouts in India, flowed through a great expanse of desert, and there lost its name of Indus; and then, where it began to flow through civilized country, was now called Nile by the Ethiopians in those parts and the Egyptians, as Homer, in his epic, called it Egyptus after Egypt; and so finally ran out into the Inland Sea. Nay, when writing to Olympias about the country of India, Alexander among other things stated that he thought he had discovered the springs of the Nile; drawing a conclusion about matters of so much

importance from very slender indications. But when he had more accurately investigated the geography of the river Indus, he learnt from the inhabitants that the Hydaspes joins its stream to the Acesines, and the Acesines to the Indus, and both there resign their names; but that the Indus then flows out into the Great Ocean, by two mouths; and that the Indus has nothing whatever to do with Egypt. On this he cancelled the part of the letter to his mother which dealt with the Nile. Then, with the idea of sailing down the rivers to the ocean, he caused the boats to be made ready for him for this purpose. The crews of his boats were made up from the Phoenicians, Cyprians, Carians and Egyptians who had accompanied the expedition.

[1] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Κοῖνος μὲν ἐν τοῖς πιστοτάτοις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὦν τῶν ἐταίρων νόσῳ τελευτᾷ: καὶ τοῦτον θάπτει ἐκ τῶν παρόντων μεγαλοπρεπῶς. αὐτὸς δὲ ξυναγαγὼν τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καὶ ὅσοι Ἰνδῶν πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένοι ἦσαν βασιλέα μὲν τῆς ἐαλωκυίας ἥδη Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἀπέδειξε Πῶρον, ἐπτά μὲν ἐθνῶν τῶν ξυμπάντων, πόλεων δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τὰς δισχιλίας. τὴν στρατιὰν δὲ διένειμεν ὥδε: [2] αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς τε ἅμα οἱ ξύμπαντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀνεβίβασε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ τὸ ἄγημα τῶν ἱππέων. κρατερὸς δὲ αὐτῷ μοῖράν τε τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ Ὑδάσπου τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἦγεν: κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν ὄχθην τὸ πλεῖστον τε καὶ κράτιστον τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας Ἡφαιστίων προὐχώρει ἄγων, ἥδη ὄντας ἐς διακοσίους: τούτοις δὲ ἦν παρηγγελμένον ὡς τάχιστα ἄγειν ἵνα περ τὰ Σωπεΐθου βασιλεία. [3] Φιλίππῳ δὲ τῷ σατράπῃ τῆς ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ Βακτρίους γῆς διαλιπόντι τρεῖς ἡμέρας παρήγγελο ἐπεσθαι ξὺν τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτόν. τοὺς ἱππέας δὲ τοὺς Νυσαίους ὀπίσω ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὴν Νύσαν. τοῦ μὲν δὴ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς Νέαρχος αὐτῷ ἐξηγεῖτο, τῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ νεῶς κυβερνήτης ἦν Ὀνησίκριτος, ὃς ἐν τῇ ξυγγραφῇ, ἦντινα ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυνέγραψε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐψεύσατο, ναύαρχον ἑαυτὸν εἶναι γράψας, κυβερνήτην ὄντα. [4] ἦν δὲ τὸ ξύμπαν πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ὡς λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ὃ μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἔπομαι, τριακόντοροι μὲν ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα, τὰ δὲ πάντα πλοῖα σὺν τοῖς ἱππαγωγοῖς τε καὶ κερκούροις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ποτάμια ἢ τῶν πάλαι πλεόντων κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἢ ἐν τῷ τότε ποιηθέντων οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέοντα τῶν δισχιλίων.

II. At this time Coenus, one of the most trusty of the Companions of Alexander, died of illness. So far as could be done, Alexander gave him a magnificent funeral. Then, calling together the Companions and such Indian envoys as had come to visit him, he proclaimed Porus King of so much of India as he had captured up to that time, that is, of seven nations in all, and of cities in these nations more than two thousand in number. The army he then divided as follows; he embarked on the ships with him all the bodyguard, the archers, the Agrianes, and the special squadron of cavalry. Craterus led along the right bank of the Hydaspes a division of the infantry and the cavalry. Along the other bank Hephaestion advanced, leading the greatest and strongest part of the army and the elephants, of which there were now some two hundred; this force was under orders to make at full speed for the palace

of Sopeithes. Philip the satrap of the country west of the Indus, towards Bactria, had orders also to wait three days and then follow with his forces. The cavalry of Nysa he sent back there. Nearchus he appointed admiral of all the fleet, and the pilot of his own vessel was Onesicritus, who in the history he wrote of Alexander told this falsehood among others, that he was admiral, though a mere pilot. The entire number of ships, according to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, whom I chiefly follow, was eighty ships of thirty oars, and the entire number of boats with the transports, the light galleys, and any other river craft that had either been long plying on the rivers or that had been then constructed, came to nearly two thousand.

[1] ὥς δὲ ζύμπαντα αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαστο, ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω ὁ μὲν στρατὸς ἐπέβαινε τῶν νεῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔθυε τοῖς θεοῖς ὥς νόμος καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ ὅπως οἱ μάντιες ἐξηγοῦντο. καὶ ἐπιβάς τῆς νεῶς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώρας ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης ἔσπενδεν ἐς τὸν ποταμόν, τὸν τε Ἀκεσίνην ξυνεπικαλούμενος τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ, ὄντινα μέγιστον αὐτῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν ξυμβάλλειν τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ ἐπέπυστο καὶ οὐ πόρρω αὐτῶν εἶναι τὰς ξυμβολάς, καὶ τὸν Ἰνδόν, ἐς ὄντινα ὁ Ἀκεσίνης ζὺν τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ ἐμβάλλει. [2] ἐπὶ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ προπάτορι σπείσας καὶ Ἀμμωνι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὅσοις αὐτῷ νόμος σημῆναι ἐς ἀναγωγὴν κελεύει τῇ σάλπιγγι. ἅμα τε δὴ ἐσημάνθη καὶ ἀνήγοντο ἐν κόσμῳ. παρήγγελο γὰρ ἐφ' ὅσων τε τὰ σκευοφόρα πλοῖα ἐχρῆν τετάχθαι καὶ ἐφ' ὅσων τὰ ἵππαγωγά, ἐφ' ὅσων τε τὰς μαχίμους τῶν νεῶν, ὥς μὴ συμπίπτειν ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τὸν πόρον εἰκὴ πλεούσας· καὶ ταῖς ταχυναυτούσαις φθάνειν οὐκ ἐφίετο ἔξω τῆς τάξεως. [3] ἦν δὲ ὁ τε κτύπος τῆς εἰρεσίας οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐοικώς, ἅτε ἀπὸ πολλῶν νεῶν ἐν ταῦτῳ ἐρεσσομένων, καὶ βοῇ ἀπὸ τε τῶν κελευστῶν ἐνδιδόντων τὰς ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἀναπαύλας τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐρετῶν ὁπότε ἀθρόοι ἐμπίπτοντες τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἐπαλαλάξειαν· αἱ τε ὄχθαι, ὑψηλότεραι τῶν νεῶν πολλαχῇ οὔσαι, ἐς στενόν τε τὴν βοὴν ξυνάγουσαι καὶ τῇ ξυναγωγῇ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ μέγα ἠῤῥημένην ἐς ἀλλήλας ἀντέπεμπον, καὶ πού καὶ νάπαι ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ τε ἐρημίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀντιπέμψει τοῦ κτύπου καὶ αὗται ξυνεπελάμβανον· [4] οἱ τε ἵπποι διαφαινόμενοι διὰ τῶν ἵππαγωγῶν πλοίων, οὐ πρόσθεν ἵπποι ἐπὶ νεῶν ὀφθέντες ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Διονύσου ἐπ' Ἰνδοῦς στόλον οὐκ ἐμέμνηντο γενέσθαι ναυτικόν', ἔκπληξιν παρῆχον τοῖς θεωμένοις τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥστε οἱ μὲν αὐτόθεν τῇ ἀναγωγῇ παραγενόμενοι ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐφωμάρτουν, [5] ἐς ὅσους δὲ τῶν ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσκεχωρηκότων Ἰνδῶν ἡ βοῇ τῶν ἐρετῶν ἢ ὁ κτύπος τῆς εἰρεσίας ἐξίκετο, καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ κατέθεον καὶ ξυνείποντο ἐπάδοντες βαρβαρικῶς. φιλωδοὶ γάρ, εἴπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, Ἰνδοὶ καὶ φιλορχήμονες ἀπὸ Διονύσου ἔτι καὶ τῶν ἅμα Διονύσῳ βακχευσάντων κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν.

III. Then, when everything had been got ready, at dawn the army began its embarkation, and Alexander sacrificed to the gods according to his custom, and to the river Hydaspes according to the instructions of the seers. Then himself embarking he poured a libation into the river out of a golden bowl from the bows, calling upon the Acesines together with the Hydaspes, since he had learned that it is the greatest of all the tributaries of the Hydaspes, and

also that the meeting of the waters was not far away; and he also called upon the Indus, into which, with the Hydaspes, the Acesines runs. And then when he had likewise poured a libation to Heracles his ancestor and to Ammon and to the other gods to whom he usually made offering, he bade the bugle sound for departure. On the sound of the bugle they started in due order. For instructions had been given as to the exact distances apart for the baggage vessels, for the horse transports, and for the warships, so that they should not, by sailing irregularly, collide one with the other. Even those which sailed most swiftly were not permitted to break ranks. It was very remarkable to hear the sound of the rowing, when so large a fleet all began rowing at one and the same moment, and the calls of the boatswains giving the beginning and the pauses of each stroke, and the noise of the rowers, when all together they fell upon the swirling water and raised their rowers' chanties; the banks too, being often higher than the ships, enclosed the sound into a narrow funnel, and making it by this compression even more resonant, reverberated it from side to side. Glens also here and there on either side of the river by their emptiness and their re-echoings all helped the swelling of the sound. The horses, too, visible in the horse-transports — and no horses had hitherto been seen on shipboard in India (for the Indians had no recollection that the expedition of Dionysus also to India was by ship) — caused the utmost astonishment to the tribesmen who beheld them; so that those who were present at the departure of the fleet followed with it a long distance, and those Indians from among those who had submitted to Alexander, to whom the clamour of the oarsmen and the beat of the oars reached, came also running down to the bank and followed singing their own wild songs. For the Indians are of all people most musical, and from the days of Dionysus down and of those who revelled with him in India are great lovers of the dance.

[1] οὕτω δὴ πλέων τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατέσχευεν, ἵναπερ Ἡφαιστίωνί τε καὶ Κρατερῷ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀντιπέρας ὄχθαις παρήγγελο. μέινας δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἡμέρας δύο, ὥς καὶ Φίλιππος αὐτῷ ξὺν τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ ἀφίκετο, τοῦτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμὸν ἐκπέμπει ξὺν οἷς ἔχων ἦκε, τάξας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ τὴν ὄχθην πορεύεσθαι: τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ Κρατερόν τε καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα αὐθις ἐκπέμπει, παραγγείλας ὅπως χρῆ τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπλει κατὰ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμὸν οὐδαμοῦ μείονα ἐν τῷ κατάπλῳ εἴκοσι σταδίων τὸ εὖρος, προσορμιζόμενος δὲ ὅπῃ τύχοι ταῖς ὄχθαις τοὺς προσοικοῦντας τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἐνδιδόντας σφᾶς ὁμολογίας παρελάμβανεν, ἥδη δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν χωρήσαντας βία κατεστρέψατο. [3] αὐτὸς δὲ ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Μαλλῶν τε καὶ Ὀξυδρακῶν γῆν σπουδῇ ἔπλει, πλείστους τε καὶ μαχिमωτάτους τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν πυνθανόμενος καὶ ὅτι ἐξηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας ἀποτεθεῖσθαι εἰς τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας τῶν πόλεων, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐγνωκέναι διὰ μάχης ἰέναι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ σπουδῇ πλείονι ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ καθεστηκόσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἐνδεεῖ τε ἔτι τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τεταραγμένῳ προσφέρηται. [4] ἐνθεν δὲ ὠρμήθη τὸ δεύτερον, [καὶ] πέμπτη

ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν ξυμβολὴν τοῦ τε Ὑδάσπου καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου. ἵνα δὲ ξυμβάλλουσιν οἱ ποταμοὶ οὗτοι, στενότατος εἷς ποταμὸς ἐκ τοῖν δυοῖν γίγνεται καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα αὐτῷ ὀξὺ ἐπὶ τῇ στενότητι καὶ δῖναι ἄτοποι ὑποστρέφοντος τοῦ ῥοῦ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ κυμαίνεται τε καὶ καχλάζει ἐπὶ μέγα, ὥς καὶ πόρρω ἔτι ὄντων ἐξακούεσθαι τὸν κτύπον τοῦ κύματος. [5] καὶ ἦν μὲν προεξηγγελμένα ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ τῶν ἐγχωρίων καὶ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ στρατιᾷ: ὅμως δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλαζεν αὐτῷ ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς ὁ στρατός, ἐς τοσόνδε ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥοῦ κτύπος κατεῖχεν, ὥστε ἐπέστησαν τὰς εἰρεσίας οἱ ναῦται, οὐκ ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ τῶν τε κελευστῶν ὑπὸ θαύματος ἐκσιωπησάντων καὶ αὐτοὶ μετέωροι πρὸς τὸν κτύπον γενόμενοι.

IV. Sailing thus, on the third day Alexander put in where orders had been given to Hephaestion and Craterus to camp at the same place but on opposite banks. There he stayed two days, and when Philippus joined him with the rest of the army, he sent him to the river Acesines with such troops as he had brought, bidding him march along the bank of the Acesines. The troops with Craterus and Hephaestion also he sent on again, giving them instructions as to their route. But he himself sailed on down the river Hydaspes, which never had a less breadth, during the descent, than twenty stades. Then putting in, wherever it was convenient, to the banks, he received in voluntary submission many of the Indians who lived near the Hydaspes; some, who had resisted, he had already subdued. But he sailed at full speed towards the district of the Mallians and the Oxydracae, learning that they were the most numerous and the most warlike of the Indians in these parts, and also because it was reported to him that they had removed their wives and children to the strongest of their cities, and were themselves determined to do battle with him; and for this reason he urged on his voyage with the greater speed, so that he might come upon them not ready for war, but still short of their preparations and in a state of confusion. And so he started again thence, and on the fifth day came to the meeting of the Hydaspes and the Acesines. Where these rivers meet, from the two streams one very narrow stream results; its current is very rapid because of this narrowing, and from the swirling of the stream there are formed dreadful whirlpools; the water boils and dashes noisily, so that from far off one can hear the tumult of the waves. All this had been told to Alexander beforehand by the inhabitants, and by him to his army; but yet when the army approached the meeting waters the noise of the rapids was so loud that the sailors stopped their rowing, not by order, but because the boatswains were struck dumb with amazement, and the sailors themselves were out of their wits from the tumult.

[1] ὥς δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῶν ξυμβολῶν ἦσαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ κυβερνῆται παραγγέλλουσιν ὥς βιασιότατῃ εἰρεσίᾳ χρωμένους ἐξελαύνειν ἐκ τῶν στενῶν, τοῦ μὴ ἐμπιπτούσας τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὰς δίνας ἀναστρέφεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖν γὰρ τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ τῶν ἐπιστροφῶν τοῦ ὕδατος. [2] τὰ μὲν δὴ στρογγύλα πλοῖα ὅσα καὶ ἔτυχεν αὐτῶν περιστραφέντα πρὸς τοῦ ῥοῦ, οὐδέν τι παθόντα ἐν τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ ὅτι μὴ ταράζαντα τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας, κατέστη ἐς εὐθύ, πρὸς

αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥοῦ ὀρθωθέντα: αἱ δὲ μακραὶ νῆες οὐχ ὡσαύτως ἀπαθεῖς ἀπῆλθον ἐν τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ, οὔτε μετέωροι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπικαχλάζοντος κύματος ὡσαύτως οὔσαι, ὅσαι τε δίκροτοι αὐτῶν τὰς κάτω κώπας οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔξω ἔχουσαι τοῦ ὕδατος: [3] καὶ αἱ κῶπαι δὲ αὐτοῖς πλαγίους ἐν ταῖς δίναις γενομένοις συνετρίβοντο, ὅσων γε ἐγκατελήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐ φθασάντων αὐτὰς μετεωρίσαι, ὥς πολλὰς μὲν πονῆσαι τῶν νεῶν, δύο δὲ δὴ περιπεσοῦσας ἀλλήλαις αὐτάς τε διαφραθῆναι καὶ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων ἐν αὐταῖς πολλούς. ὥς δὲ ἐς πλάτος ἦδη ὁ ποταμὸς διέσχεν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ τε ῥοὺς οὐκέτι ὡσαύτως χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ αἱ δῖναι οὐχ ὁμοίᾳ τῇ βίᾳ ἐπέστρεφον. [4] προσορμίσας οὖν τῇ ἐν δεξιᾷ ὄχθῃ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν στρατόν, ἵνα σκέπη τε ἦν τοῦ ῥοῦ καὶ προσβολῇ ταῖς ναυσὶν καὶ τις καὶ ἄκρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιτηδείως ἀνείχεν ἐς τῶν ναυαγίων τε τὴν ξυναγωγὴν καὶ εἴ τινες ἐπ' αὐτῶν ζῶντες ἔτι ἐφέροντο, τούτους τε διέσωσε καὶ ἐπισκευάσας τὰς πεπονηκυίας τῶν νεῶν Νέαρχον μὲν καταπλεῖν κελεύει ἔστ' ἂν ἀφίκηται ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια τοῦ Μαλλῶν ἔθνους, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν οὐ προσχωρούντων καταδρομὴν τῆς χώρας ποιησάμενος καὶ κωλύσας ἐπικουρῆσαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς Μαλλοῖς, οὕτω δὴ αὐθις ξυνέμιξε τῷ ναυτικῷ. [5] καὶ ἐνταῦθα Ἡφαιστίων τε αὐτῷ καὶ Κρατερὸς καὶ Φίλιππος ξὺν τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτοὺς ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦσαν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὴν Πολυπέρχοντος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας καὶ Φίλιππον ξὺν τῇ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν στρατιᾷ διαβιβάσας τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμὸν Κρατερῷ ἄγειν προσέταξε: Νέαρχον δὲ ξὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ πέμπει τρισὶν ἡμέραις τὴν στρατιὰν κελεύσας φθάνειν κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν. [6] τὸν δὲ ἄλλον στρατὸν τριχῇ διένειμε: καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν πέντε ἡμέραις προΐεναι ἔταξεν, ὥς εἴ τινες τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ τεταγμένους φεύγοντες ἐς τὸ πρόσω κατὰ σπουδὴν ἴοιεν, τοῖς ἄμφι Ἡφαιστίωνα ἐμπίπτοντες ἀλίσκωνται: Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Λάγου δοὺς καὶ τούτῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος τρισὶν ἡμέραις ὑπολειπόμενον ἔπεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὥς ὅσοι τὸ ἔμπαιιν ὑποστρέφοιεν αὐτὸν φεύγοντες, [7] οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἄμφι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐμπίπτοιεν. ἐπὰν δὲ ἀφίκωνται ἐς τὰς ξυμβολὰς τοῦ τε Ἀκεσίνου καὶ τοῦ Ὑδραῶτου ποταμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοὺς τε φθάνοντας ὑπομένειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἔστ' ἂν ἦκη αὐτός, καὶ τοὺς ἄμφι Κρατερὸν καὶ Πτολεμαῖον αὐτῷ ξυμβालεῖν.

V. When, however, they drew near the meeting of the waters, then the steersmen bade them row as strenuously as possible and drive their vessels through the narrows, so that the ships might not be caught in the whirlpools and be capsized by them, but rather that they should by their rowing overcome the turmoil of the water. The rounder types of boats, which were twisted about by the stream, suffered nothing serious in this disturbance, except that they caused much anxiety to the crews; they kept a straight course, being in fact held to their direction by the current itself. The long ships, however, did not come off so scathless in the turmoil; they did not ride so easily over the roaring waters; and those that had two tiers of oars hardly kept their lower tier clear of the stream. Moreover, their oars, when the boats were brought broadside on in the swirling waters, were broken — of such, at any rate, as were actually caught by the rapids and did not contrive to skim swiftly over

them, so that many ships were in distress, and two collided with one another, and were themselves wrecked and many from their crews lost. When, however, the river broadened out, at last the stream no longer ran so roughly; and the eddies did not twist the ships about with so much violence. Alexander then bringing his army to land on the right bank — where there was shelter from the current and a landing place for the ships, and where a headland ran out into the river conveniently for the gathering in of the wrecked ships, and any of the crew still left alive on them — contrived to save these, and repaired the damaged ships; after this he bade Nearchus sail down till he reached the boundaries of the Mallian people; he himself made a hasty raid through the country of the tribesmen who had not submitted to him, and so prevented them from bringing help to the Mallians. On this he again joined the flotilla.

Here Hephaestion and Craterus and Philip with their troops joined him again. Alexander then took the elephants, and Polysperchon's brigade, and the mounted archers, and Philip with his force, across the river Hydaspes, and ordered Craterus to take command of them; Nearchus he sent with the fleet, ordering him to be three days in advance of the army in the descent of the river. The remaining forces he divided into three parts; Hephaestion he ordered to go on five days in advance, so that if any who had escaped from his own force were advancing rapidly into the country farther on, they should fall in with Hephaestion's troops and be captured; but Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, to whom he handed over a part of the army, he bade follow him at the interval of three days, so that any who turned back again, fleeing from himself, might likewise fall in with Ptolemaeus and his troops. And as soon as they should arrive at the junction of the Acesines and Hydraotes, there he bade those who went in advance to wait till he himself should arrive and till the forces of Craterus and Ptolemaeus should join up with him.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τῶν πεζεταίρων καλουμένων τὴν Πείθωνος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας τε πάντας καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἐταίρων τοὺς ἡμίσεας διὰ γῆς ἀνύδρου ὡς ἐπὶ Μαλλοὺς ἦγεν, ἔθνος Ἰνδικὸν Ἰνδῶν τῶν αὐτονόμων. [2] καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς ὕδατι οὐ πολλῷ, ὃ δὴ ἀπείχετο τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ σταδίους ἐς ἑκατόν: δειπνοποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν οὐ πολὺν χρόνον παραγγέλλει ὃ τι τις ἔχῃ ἄγγος ἐμπλῆσαι ὕδατος. διελθὼν δὲ τῆς τε ἡμέρας τὸ ἔτι ὑπολειπόμενον καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐς τετρακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίους ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς πόλιν ἀφίκετο, ἐς ἣν ξυμπεφεύγεσαν πολλοὶ τῶν Μαλλῶν. [3] οἱ δὲ οὐποτ' ἂν οἰηθέντες διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔξω τε τῆς πόλεως οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνοπλοι ἦσαν. ἐφ' ὧτε καὶ δῆλος ἐγένετο ταύτην ἀγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἦν ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀγαγεῖν χαλεπὸν ἦν, ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐδὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅτι ἄξει πιστὸν ἐφαίνετο. τούτοις μὲν δὴ οὐ προσδοκήσασιν ἐπιπεσὼν τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἐς ἀλκὴν οἶα δὴ ἀνόπλους τραπέντας: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατεilhθέντων κύκλῳ περιστήσας τῷ τείχει τοὺς ἱππέας, ὅτι μήπω ἢ φάλαγξ τῶν πεζῶν ἠκολουθήκει αὐτῷ, ἀντὶ χάρακος ἐχρήσατο τῇ

ἵππῳ. [4] ὥς δὲ τάχιστα οἱ πεζοὶ ἀφίκοντο, Περδίκκαν μὲν τὴν τε αὐτοῦ ἱππαρχίαν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Κλείτου καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριαῖνας πρὸς ἄλλην πόλιν ἐκπέμπει τῶν Μαλλῶν, οἳ ζυμπεφευγότες ἦσαν πολλοὶ τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν, φυλάσσειν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κελεύσας, ἔργου δὲ μὴ ἔχεσθαι ἔστ' ἂν ἀφίκηται αὐτός, ὥς μηδὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως διαφυγόντας τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀγγέλους γενέσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις ὅτι προσάγει ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος· αὐτὸς δὲ προσέβαλλεν τῷ τείχει. [5] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἐκλείπουσιν, ὥς οὐκ ἂν διαφυλάξαντες αὐτὸ ἔτι, πολλῶν ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τεθνηκότων, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τραυμάτων ἀπομάχων γεγενημένων· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν ζυμφυγόντες χρόνον μὲν τινα ἡμύνοντο ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τε χωρίου καὶ χαλεποῦ ἐς προσβολήν, προσκειμένων δὲ πάντοθεν εὐρώστως τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἐπιφαινομένου τῷ ἔργῳ ἢ τε ἄκρα κατὰ κράτος ἐάλω καὶ οἱ ζυμφυγόντες ἐς αὐτὴν πάντες ἀπέθανον· ἦσαν δὲ ἐς δισχιλίους. [6] Περδίκκας δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐφ' ἣντινα ἐστάλη ἀφικόμενος τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐρήμην καταλαμβάνει, μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ πεφεύγεσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες δρόμῳ ἤλαυνε κατὰ στίβον τῶν φευγόντων· οἱ δὲ ψιλοὶ ὥς τάχους ποδῶν εἶχον αὐτῷ ἐφείποντο. καταλαβὼν δὲ τῶν φευγόντων κατέκοπεν ὅσοι γε μὴ ἔφθασαν ἐς τὰ ἔλη ζυμφυγόντες.

VI. Then he himself took with him the bodyguards, the archers, the Agrianes, and Peitho's brigade of the so-called Infantry Companions, with all the mounted archers, and half the Companions' cavalry; and led them through a waterless country towards the Mallians, an Indian tribe, part of the self-governing Indians. On the first day he camped by a small pond, about a hundred stades from the river Acesines; and when he had dined, and had rested his army a short time, he passed the word along that every vessel anyone had was to be filled with water. Then marching about four hundred stades, during the remainder of that day and through the night, at daybreak he arrived at a city into which many of the Mallians had fled for refuge; but they, never dreaming that Alexander would march against them through this waterless region, were for the most part outside the city and unarmed; Alexander clearly had marched by this route, simply because it was especially difficult for him to march by it, and for that very reason none of his enemies could believe it possible that he would come that way. So then falling upon them all unexpecting he slew the greater part of them, who did not even resist, being as they were unarmed. The rest had fled into the city; and Alexander stationed, therefore, his cavalry round in a cordon; using the cavalry thus instead of a fence, since his infantry force had not yet come up with him. But as soon as ever the infantry did come up, he sent Perdikkas with his own cavalry regiment and that of Cleitus, with the Agrianes, against another city of the Mallians, whither many of the Indians of this district had fled for refuge, bidding him watch those in the city, but not to begin action till he himself should arrive; so as to prevent any fugitives from this city telling the other tribesmen that Alexander was already well on the way. Then he himself attacked the city wall; but the tribesmen deserted the wall, having no hope of

defending it further; a good many of them perished in the assault, others were no longer fit for service from wounds; and taking refuge in the citadel, for some time they continued to defend themselves from this, which was a commanding position, and, besides, difficult to assault. But as the Macedonians pressed on stoutly from all sides, and as Alexander himself was here, there and everywhere in the action, the citadel was taken by assault, and all who had taken refuge there were put to the sword, to the number of about two thousand.

Perdiccas meanwhile arrived at the city to which he had been sent, and found it desolate; but learning that the inhabitants had not long fled, he rode at full speed in the track of the fugitives; and the light-armed infantry followed with the best speed they could on foot. He caught up with and massacred so many of the fugitives as had not managed to escape into the marshes.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ δειπνοποιησάμενός τε καὶ ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἔσπε ἐπὶ πρώτην φυλακὴν ἦει τοῦ πρόσω: καὶ τὴν νύκτα διελθὼν πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν Ὑδραώτην ποταμόν. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν Μαλλῶν τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς διαβεβηκότας ἤδη ἔμαθεν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ διαβαίνουσιν ἐπιγενόμενος περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πόρον πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διέφθειρε. [2] καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς εἶχε ξυνδιαβάς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν πόρον διώκων εἶχετο τῶν φθασάντων ἐς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, οἱ πλείους δὲ κατέφυγον ἔς τι χωρίον ὄχυρόν καὶ τετειχισμένον. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς οἱ πεζοὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ, ἀποστέλλει ἐπὶ τούτους Πείθωνα τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δύο ἱππαρχίας. [3] καὶ οὗτοι δὴ ἐξ ἐφόδου προσβαλόντες λαμβάνουσι τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοὺς καταπεφυγότας ἐς αὐτὸ ἡνδραπόδισαν, ὅσοι γε μὴ ἐν τῇ προσβολῇ διεφθάρησαν. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἄμφι τὸν Πείθωνα διαπραξάμενοι ἐπανῆλθον αὐθις ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. [4] αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων τινὰ πόλιν ἦγεν, ὅτι καὶ ἐς ταύτην ξυμπεφευγέναι τινὰς τῶν Μαλλῶν ἔμαθεν. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐπῆγε τῷ τείχει πάντοθεν πυκνὴν τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ ὑπορυσσόμενα τὰ τεῖχη ἰδόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν βελῶν ἀναστελλόμενοι τὰ μὲν τεῖχη καὶ οὗτοι ἐκλείπουσιν, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν ξυμφυγόντες ἐκεῖθεν ἡμύνοντο: ξυνεισπεσόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγων Μακεδόνων μεταβαλλόμενοι καὶ ξυστραφέντες τοὺς μὲν ἐξέωσαν αὐτῶν, ἀπέκτειναν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὑποστροφῇ ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. [5] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος τὰς τε κλίμακας πάντοθεν κελεύει προστιθέναι τῇ ἄκρᾳ καὶ ὑπορύττειν τὸ τεῖχος. ὡς δὲ πύργος τε ἔπεσεν ὑπορυσσόμενος καὶ τοῦ μεταπυργίου τι παραρραγὲν ἐπιμαχωτέραν ταύτῃ ἐποίησε τὴν ἄκραν, πρῶτος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιβὰς τοῦ τείχους ὦφθη ἔχων τὸ τεῖχος. [6] καὶ τοῦτον ἰδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες αἰσχυρθέντες ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἀνήεσαν. εἶχετό τε ἡδὴ ἡ ἄκρα, καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ μὲν τὰς οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπρασαν καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγκαταλαμβανόμενοι ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ μαχόμενοι αὐτῶν. ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ πάντες ἐς πεντακισχιλίους, ζῶντες δὲ δι' ἀνδρείαν ὀλίγοι ἐλήφθησαν.

VII. Alexander, after seeing that his troops had dined and rested, began his advance again about the first watch. He marched a considerable distance during the night and at daybreak arrived at the river Hydraotes. There he

learned that most of the Mallians had already crossed; he fell in with others who were actually crossing, and slew many of them during the crossing. He crossed himself, there and then, with them by the same crossing, and still pursuing pressed hard upon those who had got away ahead of him. Many of these too he slew; some he captured alive; but the greater number got safe away to a strong fortified position. But Alexander, as soon as his infantry came up with him, sent against these Peitho with his own brigade and two regiments of cavalry. They attacked, and on the first assault captured the stronghold, and enslaved all those who had taken refuge there, except such as had fallen in the assault. Then Peitho and his detachment, having finished all this, returned back again to the camp.

But Alexander himself was now advancing to a city of the Brachmans, learning that some of the Mallians had taken refuge there. And when he arrived there, he led up to the wall his phalanx in close formation on all sides. The inhabitants, seeing their walls undermined, and being dislodged by the missiles, deserted their walls, as the others had, and taking refuge in the citadel defended themselves there. A few Macedonians, however, broke in with them, whereupon they, turning to bay and forming a solid mass, drove out some of the attackers, and slew some twenty-five of them while they attempted to withdraw. Meanwhile Alexander ordered ladders on all sides to be placed against the citadel, and the wall to be undermined. And when a tower, being undermined, fell, and part of the wall between the towers being breached made the citadel easier of assault on that side, Alexander first mounted the wall and all could see him holding it. Observing him, the rest of the Macedonians, feeling ashamed, mounted, one here, and one there. And by this time the citadel was in their hands, and of the Indians some set fire to their houses, and being captured in them, were put to death, but most of them perished fighting. Up to five thousand in all fell, but owing to their brave defence only a few were captured alive.

[1] μείνας δὲ αὐτοῦ μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προὐχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μαλλοὺς. καὶ τὰς μὲν πόλεις ἐκλελοιπότας καταλαμβάνει, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἔμαθεν ὅτι πεφευγότες εἶεν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον. [2] καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐθις μίαν ἡμέραν ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν Πείθωνα μὲν καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν ἱπάρχην πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν, ὧν τε αὐτοὶ ἡγοῦντο ἄγοντας καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ψιλῶν τάξεις δοὺς αὐτοῖς ὅσαι ἱκαναὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον. [3] προσέταξε δὲ παρὰ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἰόντας, εἴ τισι περιτυγχάνοιεν τῶν ἐς τὰς ὕλας ξυμπεφευγόντων, αἱ δὴ πολλαὶ πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἦσαν, τούτους κτείνειν, ὅσοι μὴ ἐθελονταὶ σφᾶς ἐνδιδόειν. καὶ πολλοὺς καταλαμβάνοντες ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις οἱ ἀμφὶ Πείθωνα τε καὶ Δημήτριον ἀπέκτειναν. [4] αὐτὸς δὲ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν Μαλλῶν πόλιν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων πολλοὺς ξυμπεφευγῆναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἐξέλιπον οἱ Ἴνδοι ὡς προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἔμαθον. διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Ὑδραώτην ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄχθαις αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ὑψηλαὶ αἱ ὄχθαι ἦσαν, παρατεταγμένοι ἔμενον, ὡς εἰρζοντες τοῦ πόρου Ἀλέξανδρον. [5]

καὶ ταῦτα ὥς ἤκουσεν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἅμα αὐτῷ πᾶσαν ἦει ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραῶτην, ἵνα περ παρατετάχθαι τοὺς Μαλλοὺς ἐξηγγέλλετο. οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ ἔπεσθαι αὐτῷ ἐτάχθησαν. ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετό τε ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ πέραν τοὺς πολεμίους τεταγμένους κατείδεν, ὥς εἶχεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὸν πόρον ζὺν τῇ ἵππῳ μόνῃ. [6] οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄντα ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρον κατὰ σπουδὴν μὲν, ζυντεταγμένοι δὲ ὁμῶς ἀπεχώρουν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης: καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ζὺν μόνῃ τῇ ἵππῳ εἶπετο. ὥς δὲ κατείδον ἰππέας μόνους, ἐπιστρέψαντες οἱ Ἴνδοι καρτερῶς ἐμάχοντο πλῆθος ὄντες ἐς πέντε μυριάδας. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὥς τὴν τε φάλαγγα αὐτῶν πυκνὴν κατείδε καὶ αὐτῷ οἱ πεζοὶ ἀπῆσαν, προσβολὰς μὲν ἐποιεῖτο ἐς κύκλους παριππεύων, ἐς χεῖρας δὲ οὐκ ἦει τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς. [7] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ παραγίγνονται αὐτῷ οἱ τε Ἀγριᾶνες καὶ ἄλλαι τάξεις τῶν ψιλῶν, ἃς δὴ ἐπιλέκτους ἅμα οἱ ἦγε, καὶ οἱ τοξόται: οὐ πόρρῳ δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ φάλαγξ ἐφαίνετο τῶν πεζῶν. καὶ οἱ Ἴνδοι ὁμοῦ σφισι πάντων τῶν δεινῶν προσκειμένων ἀποστρέψαντες ἤδη προτροπάδην ἔφευγον ἐς πόλιν ὀχυρωτάτην τῶν πλησίον. [8] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπόμενός τε αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε καὶ ὥς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἱ διαφυγόντες κατειλήθησαν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς ἰππεῦσιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐκυκλώσατο τὴν πόλιν: ὥς δὲ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ παρήσαν, ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περιστρατοπεδεύει ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχους, ὅτι οὐ πολὺ τε τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπελείπετο ἐς τὴν προσβολὴν καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τε πορείας μακρᾶς οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ ὑπὸ διώξεως συνεχοῦς οἱ ἵπποι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα κατὰ τὸν πόρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τεταλαιπωρήκεσαν.

VIII. Alexander remained there one day and rested his army, and on the next day began his advance against the remaining Mallians. He found the cities deserted, but learned that the inhabitants had fled into the desert. There again he rested his army one day, and for the next day sent Peitho and Demetrius the cavalry commander back to the river, with the troops they had been in command of, giving them besides these such companies of foot-soldiers as were enough for their enterprise. Alexander commanded them to go along the river bank, and if they should come across any of those who had fled for refuge to the woods, of which there was abundance along the river bank, to put them to death, except such as voluntarily surrendered. Peitho's and Demetrius' troops did, in fact, find large numbers in the woods, and put them to death.

Alexander himself, however, marched against the greatest city of the Mallians, whither it was reported to him many had fled out of the other cities. But even this city the Indians deserted when they learnt of Alexander's approach; and crossing the Hydraotes they stood their ground, drawn up in order, on the banks, since these were of a good height, with the idea of preventing Alexander from crossing. As soon as he heard that, he took all the cavalry which he had with him and marched towards the Hydraotes, where it was reported that the Mallians were marshalled; the infantry was ordered to follow. And when he reached the river and saw the enemy in battle order on the far side, without any hesitation he plunged from the road into the ford with the cavalry only. The enemy, seeing Alexander already in midstream, retired

from the bank rapidly, but in good order, Alexander following on with only his cavalry. But when the Indians saw he had cavalry only, they turned about and made a vigorous resistance, in number about fifty thousand. Alexander, seeing their infantry formation solid, and with his own infantry not yet on the field, kept circling round and making charges, but without coming to close quarters with the Indians. By this time the Agrianes and other companies of the light troops had joined him; these were picked troops which he had in his own force; and also the archers. Not far off the main body of the infantry was visible. The Indians, then, with all these terrors converging upon them, turned, and now in full flight, made for a fortified city near by. Alexander, however, following close upon them slew large numbers, and when the fugitives had been received into the city, he first, marching on, threw his cavalry in a circle round the city, and when his infantry came up, for this day he encamped all round the wall, since he had not much daylight left for the attack, and his army, the infantry from their long march, the cavalry from their close pursuit, and all especially from the crossing of the river, were much distressed.

[1] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία διχῇ διελὼν τὸν στρατὸν τοῦ μὲν ἑτέρου αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Περδίκκας προσῆγε. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οὐ δεξιόμενοι οἱ Ἴνδοι τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν ὁρμὴν τὰ μὲν τεῖχη τῆς πόλεως λείπουσιν, αὐτὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ξυνέφυγον. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν πολίδα τινὰ κατασχίσαντες παρήλθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων: [2] οἱ δὲ ὁμοῦ Περδίκκας τεταγμένοι ὑστέρησαν ὑπερβαίνοντες κατὰ τὰ τεῖχη οὐκ εὐπετῶς, οὐδὲ τὰς κλίμακας οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν φέροντες, ὅτι ἐαλωκέναι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἢ πόλις, ἐρημούμενα τῶν προμαχομένων τὰ τεῖχη ὡς κατείδον. ὥς δὲ ἡ ἄκρα ἐχομένη πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τεταγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι πολλοὶ ἐφάνησαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος, οἱ δὲ προσθέσει ὅπῃ παρείκοι τῶν κλιμάκων βιάσασθαι ἐπειρῶντο ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. [3] Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς βλακεύειν αὐτῷ ἐδόκουν τῶν Μακεδόνων οἱ φέροντες τὰς κλίμακας, ἀρπάσας κλίμακα ἐνὸς τῶν φερόντων προσέθηκε τῷ τείχει αὐτὸς καὶ εἰληθείς ὑπὸ τῇ ἀσπίδι ἀνέβαινεν: ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Πευκέστας ὁ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσπίδα φέρων, ἦν ἐκ τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰλιάδος λαβὼν ἅμα οἷ ἔϊχεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐφέρετο ἐν ταῖς μάχαις: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Λεοννάτος ἀνῆκει κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν κλίμακα ὁ σωματοφύλαξ: κατὰ δὲ ἄλλην κλίμακα Ἀβρέας τῶν διμοιριτῶν τις στρατευομένων. [4] ἤδη τε πρὸς τῇ ἐπάλλξει τοῦ τείχους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ ἐρείσας ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὴν ἀσπίδα τοὺς μὲν ὥθει εἴσω τοῦ τείχους τῶν Ἰνδῶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ ξίφει ἀποκτείνας γεγυμνώκει τὸ ταύτῃ τεῖχος: καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ὑπέρφοβοι γενόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδῇ ὠθούμενοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν κλίμακα συντρίβουσιν αὐτήν, ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἤδη ἀνιόντες αὐτῶν κάτω ἔπεσον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἄπορον ἐποίησαν τὴν ἄνοδον. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους στὰς κύκλῳ τε ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον πύργων ἐβάλλετο, οὐ γὰρ πελάσαι γε ἐτόλμα τις αὐτῷ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, οὐδὲ πόρρῳ τούτων γε ἐσακοντιζόντων ἔτυχε γάρ τι καὶ προσκεχωσμένον ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, δῆλος μὲν ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὢν τῶν τε ὅπλων τῇ λαμπρότητι

καὶ τῷ ἀτόπῳ τῆς τόλμης, ἔγνω δὲ ὅτι αὐτοῦ μὲν μένων κινδυνεύσει μηδὲν ὅτι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἀποδεικνύμενος, καταπηδήσας δὲ εἴσω τοῦ τείχους τυχὸν μὲν αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἐκπλήξει τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ κινδυνεύειν δέοι, μεγάλα ἔργα καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα πυθέσθαι ἄξια ἐργασάμενος οὐκ ἀσπουδεὶ ἀποθανεῖται — ταῦτα γνοὺς καταπηδᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. [6] ἔνθα δὴ ἐρείσθεις πρὸς τῷ τείχει τοὺς μὲν τινὰς ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας καὶ τὸν γε ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ἰνδῶν προσφερόμενόν οἱ θρασύτερον παίσας τῷ ξίφει ἀποκτείνει: ἄλλον δὲ πελάζοντα λίθῳ βαλὼν ἔσχε καὶ ἄλλον λίθῳ, τὸν δὲ ἐγγυτέρω προσάγοντα τῷ ξίφει αὐθις. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι πελάζειν μὲν αὐτῷ οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἔβαλλον δὲ πάντοθεν περιεστηκότες ὅτι τις ἔχων βέλος ἐτύγγανεν ἢ ἐν τῷ τότε ἔλαβεν.

IX. The next day Alexander divided his army, and taking the command of one part himself, began his attack on the wall. The other part he handed over to Perdiccas. Meanwhile the Indians did not await the attack of the Macedonians, but deserted the walls of the city, and themselves fled together to the citadel. Alexander, however, and his troops tore down a small gate and penetrated into the city far in advance of the rest. But those under Perdiccas' command fell behind, having difficulty in getting over the wall; and most of them carried no ladders, since they thought the city had actually been captured, when they saw the walls bereft of their defenders. When, however, it was obvious that the citadel was in the enemy's hands, and in front of it were seen many defenders drawn up to fight from thence, some at once began undermining the wall, others set ladders wherever opportunity offered and tried to force a way into the citadel. But Alexander, thinking that the Macedonians who were bringing the ladders were malingering, seized a ladder from one of those who bore them, and himself set it up against the wall, and gathering himself well under his shield mounted up; and next Peucestas, carrying the sacred shield, which Alexander had taken from the temple of Athena of Ilium and always kept by him, and which was carried before him in battle; and then Leonnatus, the officer of the bodyguard, climbed up; and by another ladder Abreas, one of the Distinguished Service Order. (Literally, one on double pay (for services on the field).) By this time the King was by the battlement of the wall, and leaning his shield against it pushed some of the Indians within the wall, others there and then he slew with his sword, and so stripped that part of wall bare of defenders; but the bodyguards, becoming nervous for their King, hurriedly making their way up the same ladder broke it, so that those already mounting fell down, and prevented the rest from ascending.

But Alexander, standing as he was upon the wall, was shot at all round from the neighbouring towers; for none of the Indians dared to approach him; and also from those in the city, these indeed being within short range, for at this point there was a mound near the wall. Alexander was indeed most conspicuous, both by the splendour of his arms and by his miraculous courage; and he felt that by remaining where he was he would run a very great risk and yet do no achievement worthy of note; but that if he leapt down

within the wall he might perhaps by this very action frighten the Indians, while if he must be endangered, he might die not ignobly, after doing great deeds, worthy for those that came after to hear of. With this thought he leapt down from the wall and into the citadel. There taking firm stand by the wall, he smote with his sword and slew some who came to grips with him, and even the Indians' commander-in-chief, who came very boldly to attack him; another as he approached he checked by hurling a stone, and another in the same way; but anyone who came within striking distance he smote again with his sword. The Indians were no longer ready to approach him; but keeping at a distance showered missiles upon him from all sides, whatever anyone had in his hand, or could lay his hands upon.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Πευκέστας τε καὶ ὁ διμοιρίτης Ἀβρέας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Λεοννάτος, οἳ δὴ μόνοι ἔτυχον πρὶν ζυντριβῆναι τὰς κλίμακας ἀναβεβηκότες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, καταπηδήσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐμάχοντο. καὶ Ἀβρέας μὲν ὁ διμοιρίτης πίπτει αὐτοῦ τοξευθεὶς ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ βάλλεται καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στήθος τοξεύματι ὑπὲρ τὸν μαστόν, ὥστε λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὅτι καὶ πνεῦμα ὁμοῦ τῷ αἵματι ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἐξεπνεῖτο. [2] ὁ δέ, ἔστε μὲν ἔτι θερμὸν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ αἷμα, καίπερ κακῶς ἔχων ἡμύνετο: πολλοῦ δὲ δὴ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἀθρόου οἷα δὴ ζὺν πνεύματι ἐκρύνετος, ἱλιγγός τε αὐτὸν καὶ λειποψυχία κατέσχε καὶ πίπτει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ζυννεύσας. Πευκέστας δὲ περιβὰς πεπτωκότη καὶ ὑπερσχὼν τὴν ἱερὰν τὴν ἐξ Ἰλίου ἀσπίδα πρὸ αὐτοῦ [εἶχε], καὶ Λεοννάτος ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα, οὗτοί τε βάλλονται ἀμφοτέροι καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐγγὺς ἦν ἤδη ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος ἐκλιπεῖν. [3] τοῖς γὰρ Μακεδόσι καὶ ταύτῃ ἐν ἀπόρῳ γεγένητο τὰ τῆς προσβολῆς, ὅτι οἱ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον βαλλόμενόν τε ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει ἰδόντες καὶ πηδῶντα ἔσω ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τε καὶ φόβου μὴ τι αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς πάθῃ οὐ ζὺν νόῳ κινδυνεύων, τὰς κλίμακας ζυντετριφότες ἄλλοι ἄλλας μηχανὰς ἐς τὸ ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις ἐμηχανῶντο, οἱ μὲν πασσάλους ἐμπηγνύοντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος γῆϊνον ὄν, καὶ κατὰ τούτους ἐκκρεμαννύμενοι χαλεπῶς ἀνείρπον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλους ἐπιβαίνοντες. [4] ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἀνελθὼν ἐνρίπτει αὐτὸν κατὰ τοῦ τεύχους ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα περ τὸν βασιλέα ἐώρων κείμενον, ζὺν οἰμωγῇ καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ πάντες. ἤδη τε ἀμφ' αὐτῷ πεπτωκότη καρτερὰ μάχῃ ζυνεισθῆκει ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τῶν Μακεδόνων προασπίζοντος, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ μὲν τὸν μοχλὸν ὅτῳ εἶχετο ἢ κατὰ τὸ μεταπύργιον πύλῃ κατασχίσαντες ἐπ' ὀλίγους παρήεσαν, οἱ δὲ καθ' ὃ τι ἢ πύλῃ διέσχε τοὺς ὅμους ὑποθέντες καὶ ὥσαντες ἐς τὸ ἔσω τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεπέτασαν ταύτῃ τὴν ἄκραν.

VIII. Meanwhile Peucestas and Abreas, of the Distinguished Service Order, and Leonnatus with them, the only men who had managed to get on to the wall before the ladders broke, leapt down also and fought to defend their King. Abreas indeed fell there, shot with an arrow in the face; and Alexander himself also was struck, right through the corslet into his breast over the lung, so that, according to Ptolemy, breath together with blood shot forth from the wound. Yet Alexander, as long as the blood was still warm, kept defending

himself; but when a good deal of blood came forth, in a thick stream, as would be with the breath, he was overcome by dizziness and faintness, and fell there where he stood bending over his shield. Peucestas stood astride of him as he lay there, and holding up before him the sacred shield from Ilium, and Leonnatus on the other side, they two received the showers of missiles while Alexander from loss of blood was near to fainting. For the conduct of the Macedonian assault had come to a deadlock at this point, since those who saw Alexander exposed to missiles on the wall and then leaping inside into the citadel, these, both through ardour and fear lest their King should come to harm by this thoughtless daring, broke down the ladders, and contrived various expedients for scaling the wall, in this difficulty; some hammered pegs into the wall, which was of clay, and clinging to these managed with difficulty to clamber up; others too mounted on their comrades' shoulders. The first to ascend threw himself down from the wall into the city, where they saw the King lying; and all lamented, and raised their battle-cry. And already a severe battle was raging about the fallen King, now one, now another of the Macedonians holding his shield over him, but in the meantime some of the troops had severed the bar with which the gate between the towers was barred, and so passed in in small detachments; others then put their shoulders to a gap broken in the door and pushed it towards the space within the wall, and so opened up the citadel on this side.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ μὲν ἔκτεινον τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν γε πάντας οὐδὲ γυναῖκα ἢ παῖδα ὑπελείποντο, οἱ δὲ ἐξέφερον τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος κακῶς ἔχοντα, οὐπω γινώσκοντες βιώσιμον ὄντα. τὸ δὲ βέλος ἐξελκύσαι ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἐπιτεμόντα τὴν πληγὴν οἱ μὲν Κριτόδημον ἀνέγραψαν, ἱατρὸν Κῶον, τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν, οἱ δὲ Περδίκκαν τὸν σωματοφύλακα, οὐ παρόντος ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἱατροῦ, ἐγκελευσαμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ ξίφει ἐπιτεμεῖν τὴν πληγὴν καὶ κομίσασθαι τὸ βέλος. [2] ἐν δὲ τῇ κομιδῇ φορὰ αἵματος πολλοῦ γίνεται, ὥστε λειποψυχεῖσθαι αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ οὕτω σχεθῆναι αὐτῷ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὸ τῇ λειποψυχίᾳ. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀναγράφονται τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παθήματος, καὶ ἡ φήμη παραδεξαμένη αὐτὰ κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους ψευσαμένους ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διασώζει, οὐδὲ ἀφήσει παραδιδοῦσα καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἄλλοις τὰ ψευδῆ, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς συγγραφῆς παύσεται. [3] αὐτίκα ἐν Ὀξυδράκαις τὸ πάθημα τοῦτο γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὁ πᾶς λόγος κατέχει· τὸ δὲ ἐν Μαλλοῖς ἔθνη αὐτονόμῳ Ἰνδικῷ ξυνέβη, καὶ ἡ τε πόλις Μαλλῶν ἦν καὶ οἱ βαλόντες Ἀλέξανδρον Μαλλοί, οἳ δὴ ἐγνώκεσαν μὲν ξυμμιζαντες τοῖς Ὀξυδράκαις οὕτω διαγωνίζεσθαι, ἔφθη δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλάσας πρὶν τινα ὠφέλειαν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν Ὀξυδρακῶν γενέσθαι ἢ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις τι ἐπωφελεῖσθαι. [4] ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν μάχην τὴν πρὸς Δαρεῖον γενομένην, καθ' ἣντινα ἔφυγε Δαρεῖος οὐδὲ πρόσθεν ἔλξηε τῆς φυγῆς πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον καὶ προσάγοντος ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποθανεῖν, πρὸς Ἀρβήλοις γενέσθαι ὁ πᾶς λόγος κατέχει, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ τὴν πρὸ ταύτης ἐν Ἰσῳ καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἵππομαχίαν πρὸς Γρανίκῳ. [5] ἀλλὰ πρὸς Γρανίκῳ μὲν ξυνέβη ἡ μάχη ἡ ἱππικὴ καὶ πρὸς Ἰσῳ ἡ

αὐθις πρὸς Δαρεῖον μάχῃ, Ἀρβήλα δὲ τοῦ χώρου, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἐσχάτην μάχην Δαρεῖός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐμαχέσαντο, οἱ μὲν τὰ πλεῖστα ξυγγράψαντες λέγουσιν ὅτι ἑξακοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχει, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐλάχιστα, ὅτι ἐς πεντακοσίους. ἀλλὰ ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις γὰρ γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην πρὸς ποταμῷ Βουμήλῳ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος. [6] πόλις δὲ οὐκ ἦν τὰ Γαυγάμηλα, ἀλλὰ κώμη μεγάλη, οὐδὲ ὀνομαστός ὁ χώρος οὐδὲ ἐς ἀκοὴν ἤδὺ τὸ ὄνομα: ἔνθεν δὴ μοι δοκεῖ πόλις οὕσα τὰ Ἀρβήλα ἀπηνέγκατο τὴν δόξαν τῆς μεγάλης μάχης. εἰ δὲ πρὸς Ἀρβήλοις χρή οἶεσθαι γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον ἐκεῖνο ἐς τοσόνδε Ἀρβήλων ἀπέχον, καὶ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γενομένην ναυμαχίαν πρὸς ἰσθμῷ τῷ Κορινθίων ἔξεστι λέγειν ὅτι ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας πρὸς Αἰγίνῃ ἢ Σουνίῳ. [7] καὶ μὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπερασπισάντων ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Πευκέσταν μὲν γενέσθαι ζύμπαντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ Λεοννάτου δὲ οὐκέτι ξυμφέρονται οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ Ἀβρέου τοῦ διμοιρίτου. καὶ οἱ μὲν ξύλῳ πληγέντα κατὰ τοῦ κράνους Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἱλιγγιάσαντα πεσεῖν, αὐθις δὲ ἀναστάντα βληθῆναι βέλει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στήθος: Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου ταύτην μόνην τὴν πληγὴν πληγῆναι λέγει τὴν ἐς τὸ στήθος. [8] τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον πλημμέλημα τῶν ξυγγραψάντων τὰ ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκεῖνο τίθεμαι ἔγωγε. Πτολεμαῖον γὰρ τὸν Λάγου ἔστιν οἱ ἀνέγραψαν ξυναναβῆναί τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κατὰ τὴν κλίμακα ὁμοῦ Πευκέστα καὶ ὑπερασπίσαι κειμένου, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Σωτῆρᾳ ἐπικληθῆναι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον: καίτοι αὐτὸς Πτολεμαῖος ἀναέγραφεν οὐδὲ παραγενέσθαι τοῦτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ στρατιᾶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος ἄλλας μάχεσθαι μάχας καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους βαρβάρους. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν ἐκβολῇ τοῦ λόγου ἀναγεγράφθω μοι, ὥς μὴ ἀταλαίπωρον γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἔπειτα ἀνθρώποις τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων ἔργων τε καὶ παθημάτων ἀφήγησιν.

IX. And now some began to slaughter the Indians, and they slew them all, leaving neither child nor woman; while others carried off the King, who was in very evil plight, on the shield, no longer thinking that he could live. Some authorities recorded that Critodemus, a physician of Cos, by birth of the family of Asclepius, drew out the arrow from the wound, cutting the part which it had struck; others that Perdiccas of the bodyguard, no surgeon being at hand in this emergency, cut the wound with his sword, at Alexander's express command, and so drew out the arrow. In the withdrawal there was a great rush of blood, so that Alexander fainted again, and the haemorrhage was thus checked by his fainting. A great many other stories have been written by the historians about this disaster, and legend has handed them on as the first falsifiers told them, and still keeps them alive to this day; and will indeed never cease handing on these falsehoods to others in turn, unless it be checked by this my history.

To begin with, tradition is unanimous that this disaster happened to Alexander among the Oxydracae; whereas it took place among the Mallians, an independent Indian tribe; the city was a Mallian city, and they were Mallians who wounded Alexander; they had indeed determined to join the Oxydracae and so fight together, but Alexander reached them too quickly,

marching through the desert, before any help had time to reach them from the Oxydracae, or they give any help to the Oxydracae. In the same way, universal tradition has it that the last battle with Dareius, that in which Dareius fled and continued his flight until he was captured by Bessus and his followers, and perished, while Alexander was pressing hard upon him, took place at Arbela; and the battle before this at Issus, and the first, the cavalry battle, at Granicus. Actually, a cavalry battle took place at Granicus, and the second battle against Dareius at Issus; but most historians state that Arbela was six hundred stades away from the place where Dareius and Alexander fought their last battle; those who make the distance least, put it at five hundred stades. But Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus state that the battle took place at Gaugamela by the river Bumodus. Gaugamela, moreover, was not a city but a large village; it was not an important place, and the name has rather an awkward sound; and thus, as I opine, Arbela, being a city, carried off the glory of this great battle. If, however, we must hold that this engagement took place at Arbela when it was actually at such a distance from Arbela, we may as well hold that the naval battle at Salamis took place at the isthmus of Corinth, and the battle of Artemisium in Euboea at Aegina or Sunium.

Then again, as to those who protected Alexander with their shields in his grave danger, all agree that one was Peucestas, but they do not agree about Leonnatus nor yet about Abreas, the winner of the Distinguished Service Order. Then some say that Alexander was struck on the helmet with a club, and became dizzy, and so fell; and then, rising up again, was struck with a shot in the breast, right through his breastplate; but Ptolemaeus son of Lagus states that there was only this one wound, that in the breast. (This passage is given as Ptolemaeus, *Fragm.* 20, in Dübner's edition. Curtius blames Clitarchus and Timagenes for relating that Ptolemaeus was present.) But I reckon the greatest error of those who wrote histories of Alexander to be this; Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, according to some authorities, mounted up with Alexander up the ladder, together with Peucestas, and held his shield over him as he lay there, and for this Ptolemaeus was always called in addition the Saviour; whereas Ptolemaeus himself has recorded that he was not so much as present in this action; but in fact was at the head of his own force and was fighting other battles and against other tribesmen. This much I must be permitted to have said, by way of digression, so that those who come afterwards may give some pains to the narrative of such great deeds and disasters.

[1] ἐν ᾧ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοῦ μένων τὸ τραῦμα ἐθεραπεύετο, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔνθεν περ ὠρμήθη ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαλλοὺς, ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λόγος ἦκεν ὅτι τεθνηκῶς εἶη ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οἰμωγὴ ἦν τῆς στρατιᾶς ξυμπάσης ἄλλου ἄλλῳ παραδιδόντος τὴν φήμην: παυσάμενοι δὲ τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἄθυμοί τε καὶ ἄποροι ἦσαν, ὅστις μὲν ἐξηγούμενος ἔσται τῆς στρατιᾶς [2] ἵπολλοις γὰρ δὴ ἐν ἴσῳ τὰ τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἐδόκει πρὸς τε αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ πρὸς Μακεδόνων καθεστηκέναι, ὅπως δὲ ἀποσωθήσονται ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν,

τοσούτων μὲν ἐθνῶν μαχίμων περιειργόντων σφᾶς ἐν κύκλῳ, τῶν μὲν οὐπω προσκεχωρηκότων, ἃ δὴ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας εἵκαζον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι καρτερῶς, τῶν δὲ ἀποστησομένων ἀφαιρεθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβου, ποταμῶν τε ἐν μέσῳ ἀδιαβάτων τότε δὴ ἐδόκουν εἶναι καὶ πάντα σφίσιιν ἄπορα καὶ ἀμήχανα ἐρήμοις Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφαίνετο. [3] ὥς δὲ ἦκέ ποτε λόγος ὅτι ζῇ Ἀλέξανδρος, τούτῳ μὲν μόγις ξυνεχώρησαν, εἰ δὲ καὶ βιώσιμός ἐστιν, οὐπω ἐπιστεύετο. ὥς δὲ καὶ γράμματα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἦκεν ὅτι ὅσον οὐπω κατελεύσεται ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὐδὲ ταῦτα τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄγαν δέους πιστὰ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πλάττεσθαι γὰρ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν σωματοφυλάκων τε καὶ στρατηγῶν εἰκάζετο.

X. While Alexander was resting here and getting treatment for his wound, the first report reached the camp whence he had set out against the Mallians that he had died from the wound. And first there was a lamentation from all the army as one told the report to another; then, while ceasing their lamentation, they were disheartened and despairing as to the future leader of the host (for both in Alexander's opinion and in the Macedonians' many seemed to be equal in reputation), and despairing too how they might get back safe to their own homes, with all these warlike nations closing them round in a circle, some of whom had not yet surrendered, and these seemed likely to fight stoutly for their freedom; and others were certain to revolt, if the dread of Alexander was removed from them. Then they believed that they were, at the time, in the midst of impassable rivers; and everything seemed to them helpless and hopeless if they had lost Alexander. Yet when news came that Alexander was alive, they hardly believed it; and they could not believe that he could yet survive. But when a letter came from him that he would shortly come to the camp, even then most of them could not believe this for excess of fear; but they thought that it was made up by his bodyguards and officers.

[1] καὶ ταῦτα ἐννοήσας Ἀλέξανδρος, μή τι νεωτερισθεῖν ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἡδυνήθη κομίζεται ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ὑδραῶτου τὰς ὄχθας: καὶ πλέων κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦν γὰρ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς τοῦ τε Ὑδραῶτου καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου, ἵνα Ὑφαιστίων τε ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦν καὶ Νέαρχος τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῷ εἶχεν', ὥς [δὲ] ἐπέλαζεν ἡ ναὺς ἤδη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸν βασιλέα φέρουσα, κελεύει δὴ ἀφελεῖν τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πρύμνης, ὥς καταφανὴς εἶναι πᾶσιν. [2] οἱ δὲ ἔτι ἡπίστουν, ὥς νεκροῦ δῆθεν κομιζομένου Ἀλεξάνδρου, πρὶν γε δὴ προσχούσης τῆς νεῶς τῇ ὄχθῃ ὁ μὲν τὴν χεῖρα ἀνέτεινεν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος: οἱ δὲ ἀνεβόησαν, ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχόντες τὰς χεῖρας, οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον: πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ δάκρυα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνελπίστῳ προεχύθη ἀκούσια. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν κλίνην προσέφερον αὐτῷ ἐκκομιζομένῳ ἐκ τῆς νεῶς, ὁ δὲ τὸν ἵππον προσαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. [3] ὥς δὲ ἐπιβὰς τοῦ ἵππου ὤφθη αὐθις, κρότῳ δὴ πολλῷ ἐπεκτύπησεν ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα, ἐπήχησαν δὲ αἱ τε ὄχθαι καὶ αἱ πλησίον αὐτῶν νάπαι. προσάγων δὲ ἤδη τῇ σκηνῇ καταβαίνει ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ὥστε καὶ βαδίζων ὀφθῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν, οἱ μὲν χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ γονάτων, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος αὐτῆς ἀπτόμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἐγγύθεν καὶ τι καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντες ἀπελθεῖν:

οἱ δὲ ταινίαις ἔβαλλον, οἱ δὲ ἄνθεςιν, ὅσα ἐν τῷ τότε ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῇ παρεῖχε. [4] Νέαρχος δὲ λέγει, ὅτι χαλεποὶ αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων ἐγένοντο ὅσοι ἐκάκιζον, ὅτι αὐτὸς πρὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς κινδυνεύει· οὐ γὰρ στρατηγὸς ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ στρατιώτου εἶναι. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ἄχθεσθαι Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖσδε τοῖς λόγοις, ὅτι ἀληθεῖς τε ὄντας ἐγίγνωσκε καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπαίτιον τῇ ἐπιτιμῇσει. καὶ ὁμως ὑπὸ μένους τε τοῦ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος τῆς δόξης, καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλης τινὸς ἡδονῆς ἐξηττώμενοι, οὐ καρτερὸς ἦν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων. [5] ἄνθρωπον δὲ τινα πρεσβύτερον λέγει Βοιωτίον, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ λέγει, ὥς ἀχθόμενόν τε πρὸς τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις τῶν φίλων κατέμαθεν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἐσκυθροπακότα, προσελθόντα τοῦτον βοιωτιάζοντα ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ ταῦτα φάσαι· ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἀνδρῶν τὰ ἔργα· καὶ τι καὶ ἱαμβεῖον ὑπεποιεῖν, τὸν δὲ νοῦν εἶναι τοῦ ἱαμβείου ὅτι τῷ τι δρῶντι καὶ παθεῖν ἐστὶν ὀφειλόμενον. καὶ τοῦτον ἐν τε τῷ παραντίκα εὐδοκιμῆσαι καὶ ἐπιτηδεϊότερον ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γενέσθαι.

XI. Alexander, learning of this state of things, to prevent any disturbance in the army, was carried, so soon as ever he was able, to the bank of the river Hydraotes; and then sailing down-stream, for the camp was at the junction of the Hydraotes and the Acesines, where Hephaestion was in command of the army and where Nearchus had his fleet, as soon as the boat with the King on board began to draw near to the camp, he ordered the awning to be taken off the stern, so that everyone might see him. But the troops even now disbelieved, saying to themselves that Alexander's dead body was being brought down, till at length, when the ship had put in at the bank, Alexander held up his hand towards the multitude; and they shouted aloud, some holding up their hands to heaven, and others towards Alexander himself; and many involuntary tears were shed in the unexpectedness of their joy. Some of the bodyguard brought a litter for him, as he was being carried out of the ship; but he bade his horse be brought alongside. And when he mounted the horse, and all saw him, the whole army clapped their hands again and again; and the banks and the glens near the banks re-echoed the sound. Then when Alexander drew near his pavilion he dismounted from his horse, so that the army beheld him walking. Then they all ran towards him from this side and that, some touching his hands, some his knees, some his garment; others just looked on him from near at hand, and with a blessing upon him went his way; some cast wreaths upon him, some such flowers as the country of India bare at that time.

Nearchus tells us that he was angry with those of his friends who rebuked him for running so great a risk in advance of the army; this, they said, was a soldier's part, not a commander's. My own idea is that Alexander was angry with these reproaches because he knew that they were true and that he had laid himself open to this rebuke. And yet from his enthusiasm in battle, and his passion for glory, he, just as others are overcome by some pleasure, was not strong enough to keep out of dangers. Nearchus goes on to say that an oldish man, a Boeotian — he does not give his name — perceiving that

Alexander was angry with his friends' reproaches and showed his indignation in his features, came up to him and in his Boeotian dialect said: "Alexander, noble deeds are men's work"; and added an iambic verse of which the general tenour was "Suffering is the meed of him that doth great deed." (From Aeschylus; Fragment 282 (Dindorf).) The speaker won Alexander's immediate approval and thenceforward his closer friendship.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον τῶν Μαλλῶν τῶν ὑπολειπομένων πρέσβεις ἐνδιδόντες τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ παρὰ Ὀξυδρακῶν οἱ τε ἡγεμόνες τῶν πόλεων καὶ οἱ νομάρχαι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι ἅμα τούτοις ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα οἱ γνωριμώτατοι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ σπονδῶν δῶρά τε ὅσα μέγιστα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς κομίζοντες καὶ τὸ ἔθνος καὶ οὗτοι ἐνδιδόντες. [2] συγγνωστὰ δὲ ἁμαρτεῖν ἔφασαν οὐ πάλαι παρ' αὐτὸν πρεσβευσάμενοι: ἐπιθυμεῖν γάρ, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ αὐτόνομοι εἶναι, ἤντινα ἐλευθερίαν ἐξ ὅτου Διόνυσος ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἦκε σῶαν σφίσιν εἶναι ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον: εἰ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοκοῦν ἐστίν, ὅτι καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι λόγος κατέχει, σατράπην τε ἀναδέξεσθαι, ὄντινα τάττοι Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ φόρους ἀποίσειν τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δόξαντας: διδόναι δὲ καὶ ὀμήρους ἐθέλειν ὅσους ἂν αἰτῇ Ἀλέξανδρος. [3] ὁ δὲ χιλίους ἤγησε τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας τοῦ ἔθνους, οὓς, εἰ μὲν βούλοιτο, ἀντὶ ὀμήρων καθέξειν, εἰ δὲ μή, ξυστρατεύοντας ἔξειν ἔστ' ἂν διαπολεμηθῇ αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰνδοὺς. οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε χιλίους ἔπεμψαν, τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ μεγίστους σφῶν ἐπιλεξάμενοι, καὶ ἄρματα πεντακόσια οὐκ αἰτηθέντες καὶ τοὺς ἀμβάτας τῶν ἁρμάτων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σατράπην μὲν τούτοις τε καὶ τῶν Μαλλῶν τοῖς ἔτι σωζόμενοις ἐπέταξε Φίλιππον: τοὺς ὀμήρους δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀφήκεν, τὰ δὲ ἄρματα ἔλαβεν. [4] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῷ κεκόσμητο καὶ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τῇ διατριβῇ τῇ ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος πολλὰ προσεναυπήγητο, ἀναβιβάσας ἐς τὰς ναὺς τῶν μὲν ἐταίρων ἱππείας ἑπτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, τῶν ψιλῶν δὲ ὅσουςπερ καὶ πρότερον, πεζοὺς δὲ ἐς μυρίους, ὀλίγον μὲν τι τῷ Ὑδραῳτῇ ποταμῷ κατέπλευσεν, ὥς δὲ συνέμιξεν ὁ Ὑδραῳτης τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ, ὅτι ὁ Ἀκεσίνης κρατεῖ τοῦ Ὑδραῳτου [ἐν] τῇ ἐπωνυμίᾳ, κατὰ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην αὖ ἔπλει, ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ξυμβολὴν τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἦκεν. [5] τέσσαρες γὰρ οὗτοι μεγάλοι ποταμοὶ καὶ ναυσίποροι οἱ τέσσαρες εἰς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν τὸ ὕδωρ ξυμβάλλουσιν, οὐ ξὺν τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἑκαστος ἐπωνυμίᾳ, ἀλλὰ ὁ Ὑδάσπης μὲν ἐς τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ἐμβάλλει, ἐμβάλων δὲ τὸ πᾶν ὕδωρ Ἀκεσίνην παρέχεται καλούμενον: αὐθις δὲ ὁ Ἀκεσίνης οὗτος ξυμβάλλει τῷ Ὑδραῳτῇ, καὶ παραλαβὼν τοῦτον ἔτι Ἀκεσίνης ἐστί: καὶ τὸν Ὑφασιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀκεσίνης παραλαβὼν τῷ αὐτοῦ δὴ ὀνόματι ἐς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἐμβάλλει: ξυμβάλων δὲ ξυγχωρεῖ δὴ τῷ Ἰνδῷ. ἔνθεν δὴ ὁ Ἰνδὸς πρὶν ἐς τὸ Δέλτα σχισθῆναι οὐκ ἀπιστῶ ὅτι καὶ ἐς ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἔρχεται καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑκατὸν τυχόν, ἵναπερ λιμνάζει μᾶλλον.

XII. At this time came envoys from the rest of the Mallians, offering surrender of the tribe; and from the Oxydracae the governors of the cities and the district governors in person and others of their chief personages, up to the number of a hundred and fifty, as plenipotentiaries to discuss terms, bringing

the most precious Indian gifts, and they also offering surrender of their tribe. They urged that their error was pardonable, in that they had not sent envoys earlier; they above all others were desirous to have freedom and to be self-governing; that freedom indeed they had preserved intact from the days when Dionysus came into India up to Alexander; but if it so pleased Alexander, since report had it that Alexander too was descended from gods, they would accept any governor whom Alexander should appoint and would pay such tribute as might seem good to Alexander; and they would give hostages so many as Alexander should require. Alexander demanded a thousand of the chief men of the tribe, whom he should, if he desired, keep as hostages; or if otherwise, should have them serving with his army, till he should finish his wars against the rest of the Indians. They duly sent the thousand men, choosing out the most important and greatest of their tribe, and also, unasked, five hundred chariots, and the drivers of the chariots. And Alexander appointed Philip as satrap over them and the surviving Mallians; he then returned to them the hostages, but retained the chariots.

When he had put all this in order, and as soon as a large number of additional boats had been constructed during the period of his convalescence from the wound, he embarked on the ships seventeen hundred cavalry of the Companions, and of the lightarmed troops the same number as before, and up to ten thousand infantry, and sailed a short way down the Hydraotes; but where the Hydraotes joined the Acesines, since there the name Acesines takes precedence over Hydraotes, he sailed down the Acesines, till he came to the meeting of the Acesines and Indus. For these four great rivers, all navigable, pour their waters into the Indus, not each with its original name, but the Hydaspes runs into the Acesines, and pouring in its whole stream accepts the name Acesines; then again the Acesines meets the Hydraotes, and taking in this tributary remains the Acesines; then next the Acesines takes in the Hyphasis and still in its own name runs into the Indus, but once having done so is merged into the Indus, and thence the Indus, before it splits into its delta, must be, I think, some hundred stades broad, and perhaps more, where it becomes more lake than river.

[1] ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ ταῖς ζυμβολαῖς τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου καὶ Ἰνδοῦ προσέμενεν ἔστε ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ Περδίκκας καταστρεψάμενος ἐν παρόδῳ τὸ Ἀβαστανῶν ἔθνος αὐτόνομον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἄλλαι τε προσγίγνονται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τριακόντοροι καὶ πλοῖα στρογγύλα ἄλλα, ἃ δὴ ἐν Ξάθροις ἐναυπηγήθη αὐτῷ, καὶ Σόγδοι ἄλλο ἔθνος Ἰνδῶν αὐτόνομον προσεχώρησαν. καὶ παρὰ Ὀσσαδίῳ, καὶ τούτου γένους αὐτονόμου Ἰνδικοῦ, πρέσβεις ἦκον, ἐνδιδόντες καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς Ὀσσαδίους. [2] Φιλίππῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς σατραπείας ὄρους ἔταξε τὰς συμβολὰς τοῦ τε Ἀκεσίνου καὶ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ ἀπολείπει ζὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς τε Θρᾶκας πάντας καὶ ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ὅσοι ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας ἱκανοὶ ἐφαίνοντο, πόλιν τε ἐνταῦθα κτίσαι ἐκέλευσεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ ζυμβολῇ τοῖν ποταμοῖν, ἐλπίσας μεγάλην τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐπιφανῇ ἐς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ νεωσοίκους ποιηθῆναι. [3] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ὁξυάρτης ὁ Βάκτριος, ὁ Ῥωζάνης

τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου πατὴρ, ἦκε παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ προστίθεισιν αὐτῷ Παραπαμισαδῶν σατραπεύειν, ἀπαλλάξας Τυρίεσπιν τὸν πρόσθεν σατράπην, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ ἐξηγεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ὁ Τυρίεσπις ἐξήγγελο. [4] ἔνθα δὴ διαβιβάσας Κρατερὸν τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν πολλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὅτι εὐπορώτερά τε ταύτῃ τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν στρατιᾷ βαρεῖα ἐφαίνετο καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ προσοικοῦντα οὐ πάντῃ φίλια ἦν, αὐτὸς κατέπλει ἐς τῶν Σόγδων τὸ βασιλείον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πόλιν τε ἐτείχιζεν ἄλλην καὶ νεωσοίκους ἐποίει ἄλλους καὶ τὰ πλοῖα αὐτῷ τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐπεσκευάσθη. τῆς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμβολῶν τοῦ τε Ἰνδοῦ καὶ Ἀκεσίνου χώρας ἔστε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν σατράπην ἀπέδεξε[ν Ὁζυάρτην καὶ] Πείθωνα ξὺν τῇ παραλίᾳ πάσῃ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς. [5] καὶ Κρατερὸν μὲν ἐκπέμπει αὐθις ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ [διὰ τῆς Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ Δραγγῶν γῆς], αὐτὸς δὲ κατέπλει ἐς τὴν Μουσικανοῦ ἐπικράτειαν, ἣντινα εὐδαιμονεστάτην τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο, ὅτι οὐπω οὔτε ἀπηντήκει αὐτῷ Μουσικανὸς ἐνδιδοὺς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν οὔτε πρέσβεις ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ ἐκπέμπει, οὐδὲ τι οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐπεπόμευι ἃ δὴ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ εἰκός, οὔτε τι ἡτήκει ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου. [6] καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῷ ὁ πλοῦς κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς τοσόνδε ἐσπουδασμένος ὥστε ἔφθῃ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις γενέσθαι τῆς Μουσικανοῦ χώρας, πρὶν πυθέσθαι Μουσικανὸν ὅτι ὥρμηται ὡς ἐπ' αὐτόν Ἀλέξανδρος. οὕτω δὴ ἐκπλαγεὶς κατὰ τάχος ἀπῆντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, δῶρά τε τὰ πλείστου ἄξια παρ' Ἰνδοῖς κομίζων καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ξύμπαντας ἄγων καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδιδοὺς καὶ ὁμολογῶν ἀδικεῖν, ὅπερ μέγιστον παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦν ἐς τὸ τυχεῖν ὧν τις δέοιτο. [7] καὶ οὖν καὶ Μουσικανῷ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἄδεια ἐδόθη ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐθαύμασεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἄρχειν αὐτῆς Μουσικανῷ ἔδωκεν· κρατερὸς δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐτάχθη τὴν ἄκραν ἐκτειχίσαι· καὶ παρόντος ἔτι ἐτείχισθη Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ φυλακὴ κατεστάθη, ὅτι ἐπιτήδειον αὐτῷ ἐφάνη τὸ χωρίον ἐς τὸ κατεχεσθαι τα κύκλῳ ἔθνη φυλαττόμενα.

XIII. There at the junction of the Acesines and Indus Alexander remained till Perdiccas joined him with his army, after subduing on his march the independent tribe of Abastanes. At this time also there joined Alexander further thirty-oared ships and other transport vessels, which had been built for him among the Xathrians, who had surrendered to him, being another independent Indian tribe. Envoys came too from the Ossadians, who also are an independent tribe of Indians; they offered the submission of the Ossadians; Alexander then fixed as the boundaries of Philip's satrapy the junction of the Acesines and Indus, and left with him all the Thracians, and from the ordinary brigades such troops as seemed enough to garrison the country. He bade him also found there a city, (One of the many Alexandrias. Some think it is the modern Mittun.) just at the meeting of the two rivers, having entertained a hope that such a city would become great and famous in the world; he also ordered dockyards to be built. And about this time Oxyartes the Bactrian, father of Roxane, Alexander's wife, came to visit Alexander; and Alexander gave him in addition the satrapy over the Parapamisadae, removing Tiryaspes

the former satrap, since this Tiryaspes was reported to him to be conducting his office in a disorderly manner.

Then Alexander caused Craterus and the greater part of the army and the elephants to be ferried across to the left bank of the river Indus; since the journey along the river-bank seemed easier on that side to heavy troops, and also since the tribes on the river-bank were not everywhere friendly. Then he himself sailed down towards the royal city of Sogdia. There he built and fortified a new city, and made new dockyards, and had his damaged boats refitted. As satrap of the country from the meeting of the Indus and the Acesines up to the sea, with all the coast-line of the country of India, he appointed Oxyartes with Peitho.

Craterus then he sent back again with his army (through the territory of the Arachotians and Drangians) while he himself sailed down-stream towards the kingdom of Musicanus, which was reported to be the richest of all India, since Musicanus had not yet presented himself to surrender himself and his country, nor had sent envoys to establish friendly relations; nor indeed had sent anything at all, as one naturally would to a great King, nor had made any request from Alexander. The voyage down the river proved so swift that he arrived at the borders of Musicanus' realm before Musicanus became aware that Alexander had started in his direction. Amazed then by this swiftness of movement, Musicanus at once went to meet Alexander, bringing gifts such as are accounted most valuable among the Indians, and leading thither all his elephants; moreover, submitting himself and his people and acknowledging his error, which was the most potent method with Alexander of obtaining what anyone might desire. And, sure enough, Musicanus received pardon from Alexander; and Alexander much admired his country and his capital, and permitted Musicanus to remain sovereign over it. Craterus was ordered to fortify the citadel in this city; and it was so fortified while Alexander was still there, and a garrison was placed there, since the position seemed to Alexander very convenient for keeping a hold over the tribes over which he was keeping watch in the neighbourhood.

[1] ἔνθεν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἄμα οἱ πλέουσιν ἐξελαύνει ἐπὶ τὸν νομάρχην τῆς ταύτης γῆς, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν Ὀξικανός, ὅτι μήτε αὐτὸς ἀφίκοιτο μήτε πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἦγον ἐνδιδόντες αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν. [2] δύο μὲν δὴ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Ὀξικανῷ ἐξ ἐφόδου κατὰ κράτος ἔλαβεν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τούτων καὶ αὐτὸς Ὀξικανὸς ἐάλω. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν λείαν τῇ στρατιᾷ δίδωσι, τοὺς ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἅμα οἱ ἦγε· καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις αὐτῷ αἱ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χώρᾳ ἐνεδίδοντο ἐπιόντι οὐδὲ τις ἐτρέπετο ἐς ἀλκὴν· οὕτω καὶ Ἴνδοι πάντες ἐδεδούλωντο ἤδη τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τε καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης. [3] ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Σάμβον αὐτῷ ἦγε τῶν ὀρείων Ἴνδων σατράπην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντα, ὃς πεφευγέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο ὅτι Μουσικανὸν ἀφειμένον πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπύθετο καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχοντα· τὰ γὰρ πρὸς Μουσικανὸν αὐτῷ πολέμια ἦν. [4] ὥς δὲ ἐπέλαζεν ἤδη τῇ πόλει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἦντινα μητρόπολιν εἶχεν ἢ τοῦ

Σάμβου χώρα, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Σινδίμανα, αἱ τε πύλαι αὐτῷ ἀνοίγονται προσάγοντι καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι οἱ τοῦ Σάμβου τὰ τε χρήματα ἀπηρίθμησαν καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας μετὰ σφῶν ἄγοντες ἀπήντων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γε πολεμίως ἔχοντα Σάμβον φυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ Μουσικανοῦ τὴν ἄφεςιν δείσαντα. [5] ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλην πόλιν ἐν τούτῳ ἀποστάσαν εἶλεν καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων, οἳ δὴ σοφισταὶ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς εἰσιν, ὅσοι αἵτιοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐγένοντο ἀπέκτεινεν. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ τῆς σοφίας, εἰ δὴ τίς ἐστιν, ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ συγγραφῇ δηλώσω.

XIV. From there Alexander, taking with him the archers and the Agrianes and the cavalry which was sailing with him, made an expedition to the governor of this district, who was named Oxycanus; since he had neither come himself nor had envoys come from him, to surrender himself and his district. Two of the largest cities in Oxycanus' province he took easily by assault, and in the second of these Oxycanus himself was captured. All the plunder Alexander handed over to the army, but the elephants he took away himself. Other cities in the same district surrendered on Alexander's approach, no one resisting, so completely had the spirit of all the Indians been broken by Alexander and Alexander's good fortune.

Next Alexander advanced against Sambus, who had been appointed by himself satrap of the Indian hillmen; he was reported to have made good his escape on learning that Alexander had forgiven Musicanus and allowed him to continue ruler of his province; for Sambus and Musicanus were at enmity. But when Alexander was now approaching the city which was the capital of Sambus' territory, its name being Sindimana, the gates were opened to him at his coming and the relatives of Sambus counted out his treasure and went to meet Alexander, bringing with them all the elephants; they represented that Sambus' flight had not been due to any ill-will towards Alexander, but he had been frightened at his clemency towards Musicanus. At this same time Alexander captured another city which had rebelled, and he put to death those of the Brachmans, the learned pundits of India, who had been responsible for the revolt. The wisdom of these men, such as it is, I shall discuss in my Indian History.

[1] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Μουσικανὸς αὐτῷ ἀφεστάναι ἐξηγγέλλετο. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων μὲν ἐκπέμπει Πείθωνα τὸν Ἀγήνορος σατράπην ζὺν στρατιᾷ ἀποχρώσει, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ Μουσικανῷ τεταγμένας ἐπελθὼν τὰς μὲν ἐξανδραποδίσας αὐτῶν κατέσκαψεν, εἰς ἃς δὲ φρουρὰς εἰσήγαγε καὶ ἄκρας ἐξετείχισε. ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδόν τε ἐπανῆκε καὶ τὸν στόλον. [2] ἔνθα δὴ Μουσικανὸς τε ξυλληφθεὶς ἄγεται πρὸς Πείθωνος, καὶ τοῦτον κρεμάσαι κελεύει Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ γῇ, καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων ὅσοι αἵτιοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως τῷ Μουσικανῷ κατέστησαν. ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ τῶν Πατάλων τῆς χώρας ἄρχων, ὃ δὴ τὸ Δέλτα ἔφην εἶναι τὸ πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποιούμενον, μεῖζον ἔτι τοῦ Δέλτα τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, καὶ οὗτος τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῷ ἐνεδίδου πᾶσαν καὶ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἐπέτρεψεν. [3] τοῦτον μὲν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ ἐκπέμπει αὐθις παραγγείλας παρασκευάζειν ὅσα ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τῇ στρατιᾷ· αὐτὸς δὲ Κρατερόν μὲν τήν τε

Ἀττάλου τάξιν ἄγοντα καὶ τὴν Μελεάγρου καὶ Ἀντιγένους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὗς καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τε καὶ ἄλλων Μακεδόνων ὅσους ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἀπομάχους ὄντας ἤδη ἔστελλε τὴν ἐπ' Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ Ζαραγγῶν ἔπεμπεν ἐς Καρμανίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τούτῳ ἄγειν ἔδωκεν: [4] τὴν δὲ ἄλλην στρατιάν, ὅση γε μὴ ξὺν αὐτῷ κατέπλει ὥς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ... Ἡφαιστίων ἐπετάχθη, Πείθωνα δὲ τοὺς τε ἱππακοντιστὰς ἄγοντα καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἐς τὴν ἐπέκεινα ὄχθην τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ διαβιβάσας, οὐχ ἥπερ Ἡφαιστίων τὴν στρατιάν ἄγειν ἤμελλε, τὰς τε ἐκτετειχισμένας ἤδη πόλεις ξυνοικίσαι ἐκέλευσε καὶ εἰ δὴ τίνα νεωτερίζοιτο πρὸς τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν καὶ ταῦτα ἐς κόσμον καταστήσαντα ξυμβάλλειν οἱ ἐς τὰ Πάταλα. [5] ἤδη δὲ τρίτην ἡμέραν αὐτῷ τοῦ πλοῦ ἔχοντι ἐξαγγέλλεται ὅτι ὁ τῶν Πατάλων ὑπαρχος ξυλλαβὼν τῶν Παταλέων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀποδεδρακῶς οἴχοιτο ἀπολιπὼν τὴν χώραν ἔρημον: καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πλείονι ἢ πρόσθεν σπουδῇ κατέπλει Ἀλέξανδρος, ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὰ Πάταλα, τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔρημον καταλαμβάνει τῶν ἐνοικούντων τε καὶ ἐπεργαζομένων. [6] ὁ δὲ κατὰ δίωξιν τῶν φευγόντων ἐκπέμψας τῆς στρατιᾶς τοὺς κουφοτάτους, ἐπεὶ τινες αὐτῶν ξυνελήφθησαν, ἀποπέμπει τούτους παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐντειλάμενος ἐπανιέναι θαρροῦντας: εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν τε πόλιν οἰκεῖν ὥς πρόσθεν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐργάζεσθαι. καὶ ἐπανῆλθον οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν.

XV. In the midst of all this the revolt of Musicanus was announced. Against him Alexander sent Peitho son of Agenor the satrap with a sufficient force. He himself advanced against the cities subject to Musicanus, and of some he sold the inhabitants into slavery, razing the cities to the ground, in others he established garrisons and fortified citadels. Then when he had completed this he returned to his camp and fleet. Hither too Musicanus, now a captive, was brought by Peitho; and Alexander bade them hang him in his own land, together with such of the Brachmans who had been the instigators of Musicanus' revolt. There arrived here also the governor of the territory of Pattala, the territory which I stated to be the delta made by the river Indus, greater than the Egyptian delta; he offered in surrender all his territory and committed himself and all that he had to Alexander. Alexander sent him back again to his own realm, bidding him make all ready for the reception of the army; then he despatched Craterus with the brigade of Attalus and those of Meleager and Antigenes, some of the archers, and so many of the Companions and the other Macedonians as he was already sending back to Macedonia as being past service, to go by the road through the Arachotians and Zarangians to Carmania; he also gave Craterus the elephants to take with him. Over the rest of the army Hephaestion was placed in command — except such part of it as was sailing with Alexander himself to the sea; but Peitho, with the mounted javelin-men and the Agrianes, he transported to the other side of the Indus, not that by which Hephaestion was to take his army; he gave orders to Peitho to settle such cities as were already fortified, and deal with any attempted rebellion among the Indians in these parts, and finally meet him at Pattala.

Now when Alexander had been already three days on the voyage, he received news that the chief of Pattala had taken with him the greater number of the tribesmen and had absconded, leaving his country desolate, and on this Alexander sailed down with even greater speed than before. On his arrival at Pattala, he found both city and territory empty, both of inhabitants and of labourers. He therefore despatched the lightest of his troops in pursuit of the fugitives, and when some of these had been captured, sent them away to the others, bidding them to come back without fear; for their city was theirs to dwell in as before, and their country was theirs to till. And the greater part of them did come back.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνι προστάξας τειχίζειν ἐν τοῖς Πατάλοις ἄκραν ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον τῆς πλησίον γῆς φρέατά τε ὀρύζοντας καὶ οἰκήσιμον τὴν χώραν κατασκευάσσοντας. καὶ τούτοις ἐπέθεντο τῶν προσχώρων τινὲς βαρβάρων, καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὗς διέφθειραν αὐτῶν ἄφνω προσπεσόντες, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ σφῶν ἀποβαλόντες ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν ἔρημον, ὥστε ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τοῖς ἐκπεμφθεῖσι τὰ ἔργα προσγενομένης αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλης στρατιᾶς, ἣν Ἀλέξανδρος πυθόμενος τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐστάλκει μεθέξοντας τοῦ ἔργου. [2] περὶ δὲ τοῖς Πατάλοις σχίζεται τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς δύο ποταμοὺς μεγάλους, καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφοτέροι σῶζουσι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ἐνταῦθα ναύσταθμόν τε καὶ νεωσοίκους ἐποίει Ἀλέξανδρος: ὥς δὲ προῦκεχωρήκει αὐτῷ τὰ ἔργα, ὁ δὲ καταλαεῖν ἐπενόει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ ρέοντος ποταμοῦ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. [3] Λεοννάτον μὲν δὴ δούς αὐτῷ τῶν τε ἱππέων ἐς χιλίους καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τε καὶ ψιλῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τὰ Πάταλα ἐκπέμπει ἀντιπαράγειν τῷ στόλῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς μάλιστα τῶν νεῶν ταχυναντούσας ἀναλαβὼν ὅσαι τε ἡμιόλια καὶ τὰς τριακοντόρους πάσας καὶ τῶν κερκούρων ἔστιν οὗς ἔπλει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ. [4] οὐκ ἔχοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ πλοῦ, ὅτι πεφεύγεσαν οἱ ταύτῃ Ἰνδοί, ἀπορώτερα τὰ τοῦ κατάπλου ἦν: χειμῶν τε ἐπιγίγνεται ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος τῷ ῥόφῳ πνέων ὑπεναντίος κοιλὸν τε ἐποίει τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὰ σκάφη διέσειεν, ὥστε ἐπόνησαν αὐτῷ αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν νεῶν, τῶν δὲ τριακοντόρων ἔστιν αἱ καὶ πάντῃ διελύθησαν. ἔφθησαν δὲ ἐποκεῖλαντες αὐτὰς πρὶν παντάπασιν διαπεσεῖν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι. [5] ἕτεραι οὖν ξυνεπήγνυντο. καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν τοὺς κουφοτάτους ἐκπέμψας ἐς τὴν προσωτέρω τῆς ὄχθης χώραν ξυλλαμβάνει τινὰς τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ οὗτοι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐξηγοῦντο αὐτῷ τὸν πόρον. ὥς δὲ ἦκον ἵνα περ ἀναχεῖται ἐς εὖρος ὁ ποταμός, ὥς καὶ διακοσίους ταύτῃ σταδίους ἐπέχειν ἥπερ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ἦν, τό τε πνεῦμα κατῆει μέγα ἀπὸ τῆς ἕξω θαλάσσης καὶ αἱ κῶπαι ἐν κλύδωνι χαλεπῶς ἀνεφέροντο, ξυμφεύγουσιν αὖ ἐς διώρυχα, ἐς ἣντινα οἱ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῷ καθηγῆσαντο. ἐνταῦθα ὀρμισάντων τὸ πάθημα ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς

XVI. Alexander then bade Hephaestion to fortify the citadel in Pattala, and sent out others to the desert parts of the surrounding country to dig wells and to make the country inhabitable. Some of the neighbouring tribesmen, however, set upon this party; some indeed they destroyed, by the suddenness

of their attack, but they lost also many of their own number, and fled away into the desert, so that those who had been sent to complete the work did so, another force having joined them, which Alexander, on hearing of the attack of the natives, had sent to help with the work.

At Pattala the stream of the Indus parts into two large rivers, both of these retaining the name “Indus” till they reach the sea. Here Alexander began to build a harbour and dockyards, and when these works had got well advanced, he proposed to sail down to the outlet of the right-hand stream where it joined the sea. He sent therefore Leonnatus, giving him a thousand of the cavalry and about eight thousand of the heavy and light armed troops, to the island of Pattala, to march alongside the fleet. Then Alexander himself, taking the swiftest sailers of his fleet and the ships of one and a half banks of oars, all the thirty-oar ships, and some of the fast galleys, sailed down the right-hand river. But as he had no pilot, since all the Indians of these parts had fled, there were grave difficulties in the descent, and on the day after the fleet weighed, there came a great storm, and the wind blowing contrary to the current made troughs in the stream and battered the flotilla; most of the ships were damaged, and some even of the thirty-oar ships were complete wrecks. They ran them to shore, however, before they were completely shattered. Other ships therefore were built. Then he sent off the lightest of his auxiliary troops to the country on the farther bank to capture some of the Indians, and they for the rest of the way piloted the passage. Then when they came to the broadening of the river, so that it extends at its broadest to two hundred stades, the wind was blowing violently from the ocean and the oars could hardly be lifted in the waves, and they ran for shelter, therefore, into a side channel, to which Alexander’s pilots steered them.

[1] μεγάλης θαλάσσης ἢ ἄμπωτις, ὥστε ἐπὶ ξηροῦ ἀπελήφθησαν αὐτοῖς αἱ νῆες. καὶ τοῦτο οὐπω πρότερον ἐγνώκοσι τοῖς ἄμφ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκπληξιν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ οὐ σμικρὰν παρέσχε, πολὺ δὲ δὴ ἔτι μείζονα, ὁπότε διελθούσης τῆς ὥρας προσῆι τε τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ σκάφη ἐμετεωρίζοντο. [2] ὅσας μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῷ πηλῷ ἐδραΐας κατέλαβεν, αὗται δὲ ἀβλαβῶς τε ἐμετεωρίσθησαν καὶ οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν παθοῦσαι ἔπλεον αὐθις: ὅσαι δὲ ἐν ξηροτέρᾳ τε τῇ γῇ καὶ οὐ βεβαίως τὴν στάσιν ἔχουσαι ὑπελείφθησαν, αὗται δὲ ἀθρόου ἐπελθόντος τοῦ κύματος αἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐμπεσοῦσαι ἐς ἀλλήλας, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἀρ[ρ]αχθεῖσαι συνετρίβησαν. [3] ταύτας τε οὖν ἐπεσκεύασεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων καὶ ἐν κερκούροις δυοῖν προπέμπει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τοὺς κατασκευομένους τὴν νῆσον, ἐς ἣντινα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἔφασκον ὀρμιστέα εἶναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν: Κίλλουτα δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἔλεγον. ὥς δὲ ἐξηγγέλθη ὅτι ὄρμοι τε ἐν τῇ νήσῳ εἰσὶ καὶ αὐτὴ μεγάλη καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχουσα, ὁ μὲν ἄλλος αὐτῷ στόλος ἐς τὴν νῆσον κατέσχευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς ἄριστα πλεούσαις τῶν νεῶν ἐπέκεινα προὔχωρει, ὥς ἀπιδεῖν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τὴν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εἰ παρέχει τὸν ἐκπλοῦν εὐπορον. [4] προελθόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου σταδίους ὅσον διακοσίους ἀφορῶσιν ἄλλην νῆσον, ταύτην ἤδη ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ. τότε μὲν δὴ ἐπανῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ

ποταμῷ νῆσον, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄκροις αὐτῆς καθορμισθεὶς θύει τοῖς θεοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ὅσοις ἔφασκεν ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος ἐπηγγελμένον ἦν θῦσαι αὐτῷ. ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν κατέπλει ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ἐν τῷ πόντῳ νῆσον, καὶ προσχὼν καὶ ταύτῃ ἔθυε καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἄλλας αὖ θυσίας ἄλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ: καὶ ταύτας δὲ κατ' ἐπιθεσπισμὸν θύειν ἔφασκε τοῦ Ἄμμωνος. [5] αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνέπλει, ὡς μὲν ἔλεγεν, ἀπιδεῖν εἰ ποῦ τις χώρα πλησίον ἀνίσχει ἐν τῷ πόντῳ, ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, οὐχ ἥκιστα ὡς πεπλευκέναι τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ἔξω Ἰνδῶν θάλασσαν. ἐνταῦθα ταύρους τε σφάζας τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἀφῆκεν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ σπείσας ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τὴν τε φιᾶλην χρυσὴν οὔσαν καὶ κρατῆρας χρυσοῦς ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὸν πόντον χαριστήρια, εὐχόμενος σῶόν οἱ παραπέμψαι τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ναυτικόν, ὅντινα ξὺν Νεάρχῳ ἐπενόει στέλλειν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικὸν καὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ τε Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος.

XVII. There they anchored, and there followed the usual feature of the ocean, the receding tide; as a result their ships were left high and dry. This Alexander's troops had not before known of, and it caused them no small amazement; but it caused even more when the time passed by and the tide came up again and the ships floated. Such of the ships as the tide found comfortably settled on the mud floated off unharmed, and sailed once more without sustaining damage; but those that were caught on a drier bottom, and not remaining on an even keel, as the onrushing tide came in all together, either collided one with another, or were dashed upon the ground and shattered. These Alexander repaired as best he could, and then despatched in two of his pinnaces down-stream some of his men to explore the island by which the natives affirmed he must anchor on his voyage down to meet the sea. This island they called Cilluta. The scouts reported that there was good anchorage by the island, and that it was large, with fresh water, so the rest of his fleet put in at the island; but Alexander himself with the best sailers from among his ships went to the far side of the island, to get a view of the outlet of the river into the sea, and see if it offered a safe passage out. So advancing about two hundred stades from the island they sighted a second island, right out in the sea. On this they returned to the river island, and anchoring at a headland upon this island Alexander sacrificed to those gods to which, he used to say, Ammon had ordered him to sacrifice. Then the next day he sailed down to the island in the sea; he put in there, and sacrificed there other sacrifices to other gods and with different ceremonial; these sacrifices also, he said, he offered in accordance with the oracle given from Ammon. Then passing the mouths of the river Indus he set sail to the high seas, to see, as he himself said, if any country stood out, near by, in the ocean; but in my own judgment chiefly that he might have voyaged in the Great Ocean beyond India. Then he sacrificed bulls to Poseidon, and cast them into the sea, and poured, after the sacrifice, a libation; casting also into the sea the cup, a gold one, and golden bowls, as thank-offerings, praying also that Poseidon would safely convey his naval force, which he purposed to despatch under Nearchus

towards the Persian Gulf and the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris.

[1] ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ Πάταλα τὴν τε ἄκραν τετειχισμένην καταλαμβάνει καὶ Πείθωνα ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀφιγμένον καὶ τούτῳ ξύμπαντα καταπεπραγμένα ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἐστάλη. Ἡφαιστίων μὲν δὴ ἐτάχθη παρασκευάζειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐκτειχισμόν τε τοῦ ναυστάθμου καὶ τῶν νεωσοίκων τὴν κατασκευήν: καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπενόει στόλον ὑπολείπεσθαι νεῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων πρὸς τῇ πόλει τοῖς Πατάλοις, ἵναπερ ἐσχίζετο ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Ἰνδός. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον στόμα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ κατέπλει αὐθις ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, ὡς καταμαθεῖν, ὅπῃ εὐπορωτέρα ἢ ἐκβολὴ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς τὸν πόντον γίγνεται: ἀπέχει δὲ ἀλλήλων τὰ στόματα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς σταδίους μάλιστα ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους. [3] ἐν δὲ τῷ κατάπλῳ ἀφίκετο τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην, ἣντινα ἀναχεόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς, τυχὼν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν περὶξ ὑδάτων ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτήν, μεγάλην τε ποιεῖ καὶ κόλπῳ θαλάσσης μάλιστα ἐοικυῖαν: καὶ γὰρ ἰχθύες ἤδη ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐφαίνοντο, μείζονες τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ θαλάσσῃ. προσορμισθεὶς οὖν κατὰ τὴν λίμνην ἵναπερ οἱ καθηγεμόνες ἐξηγοῦντο, τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς καταλείπει σὺν Λεοννάτῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς κερκούρους ξύμπαντας, [4] αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς τριακοντόροις τε καὶ ἡμιολίαις ὑπερβαλὼν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ προελθὼν καὶ ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὐπορωτέραν τε κατέμαθεν τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκβολὴν καὶ αὐτὸς προσορμισθεὶς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ καὶ τῶν ἱπέων τινὰς ἄμα οἱ ἔχων παρὰ θάλασσαν ἤει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, τὴν τε χώραν ὁποία τίς ἐστιν ἢ ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ ἐπισκεπτόμενος καὶ φρέατα ὀρύσσεσθαι κελεύων, ὅπως ἔχοιεν ὑδρεύεσθαι οἱ πλέοντες. [5] αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ ἐπανελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀνέπλει ἐς τὰ Πάταλα: μέρος δέ τι τῆς στρατιᾶς τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐργασομένους κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν ἔπεμψεν, ἐπανέναι καὶ τούτοις προστάξας ἐς τὰ Πάταλα. αὐθις δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καταπλεύσας ἄλλον ναύσταθμον καὶ ἄλλους νεωσοίκους ἐνταῦθα κατεσκευάσε, καὶ φυλακὴν καταλιπὼν τῷ χωρίῳ σῖτόν τε ὅσον καὶ ἐς τέτταρας μῆνας ἐξαρκέσαι τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐσηγάγετο καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσα [ἐν] τῷ παράπλῳ παρεσκεύαζεν.

XVIII. After this he returned to Pattala, and found the citadel already fortified and Peitho duly arrived with his army, having successfully accomplished his whole mission. Hephaestion was now ordered to get ready everything necessary for the fortifying of the harbour and for the building of the dockyards; for Alexander purposed to leave behind there a fleet of several ships at the city of Pattala, where the river Indus divided.

Then Alexander sailed down to the ocean again by the other mouth of the Indus, to learn by which branch the outlet of the Indus to the ocean was safer; these mouths of the river Indus are eighteen hundred stades apart from one another. And in the descent of the river he arrived at a great lake not far from the river outlet; this the river as it spreads — and possibly also from the other neighbouring streams which run into it — enlarges so that it most resembles a gulf of the sea; in fact ocean fishes were already to be seen in it, bigger than those in our own sea. Anchoring, therefore, at a point in the lake where the

pilots advised him, he left behind the greater part of his troops there with Leonnatus, and all the light galleys. Then he himself, with the ships of thirty oars, and those with one and a half banks of oarsmen, passed beyond the outlet of the Indus, and proceeding by this passage also reached the sea; discovering that the passage by this branch of the Indus was an easier one. He then anchored by the shore, and taking with him some of the cavalry went three days' march along the coast, observing the nature of the country for the coasting voyage, and ordering wells to be dug, so that as they sailed along they might be able to get water. Then he himself returned to his ships and sailed back to Pattala; and sent part of his army along the foreshore to carry on this same work, bidding them also return to Pattala. Then once more he sailed down to the lake, and built another harbour and other dockyards; and leaving there a garrison, collected four months' supplies for his army and made all other necessary preparations for the voyage.

[1] ἦν δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε ἄπορος ἡ ὥρα ἐς τὸν πλοῦν· οἱ γὰρ ἐτησῖαι ἄνεμοι κατεῖχον, οἱ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ οὐ καθάπερ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀπ' ἄρκτου, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης κατὰ νότον μάλιστα ἄνεμον ἴστανται. [2] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ ἀπὸ Πλειάδων δύσεως ἔστε ἐπὶ τροπᾶς, ὥς ἐν χειμῶνι ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστρέφει, πλοῖμα εἶναι αὐτῇ ἐξηγγέλλετο. τότε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν μᾶλλον οἶα δὴ πολλῶ ὕδατι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βεβρεγμένην αὔρας ἴσασθαι μαλθακὰς καὶ ἐς τὸν παράπλουν ταῖς τε κόπαις καὶ τοῖς ἰστίοις ξυμμέτρους. [3] Νέαρχος μὲν δὲ ἐπιταχθεὶς τῷ ναυτικῷ προσέμενε τὴν ὥραν τοῦ παράπλου, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Πατάλων ἔστε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἀράβιον ζὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ προὔχωρει. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τε καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τῶν πεζεταίρων καλουμένων τὰς τάξεις καὶ τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς τό τε ἄγλημα καὶ ἵλην ἀφ' ἐκάστης ἱπαρχίας καὶ τοὺς ἱποτοξότας ζύμπαντας ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐς ἀριστερὰ ἐτράπετο, ὕδατά τε ὀρύσσειν, ὥς κατὰ τὸν παράπλουν ἄφθονα εἶη τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ παραπλευούσῃ, καὶ ἅμα ὥς τοῖς Ὠρεῖταις τοῖς αὐτῇ Ἰνδοῖς αὐτονόμοις ἐκ πολλοῦ οὖσιν ἄφνω ἐπιτεσεῖν, ὅτι μηδὲν φίλιον αὐτοῖς ἐς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπέπρακτο. τῆς δὲ ὑπολειφθείσης δυνάμεως Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ ἀφηγεῖτο. [4] Ἀραβῖται μὲν δὲ, ἔθνος καὶ τοῦτο αὐτόνομον τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀράβιον ποταμὸν νεμομένων, οὔτε ἀξιόμαχοι δόξαντες εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὔτε ὑποδῦναι ἐθελήσαντες, ὥς προσάγοντα ἐπύθοντο Ἀλέξανδρον, φεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράβιον ποταμὸν στενόν τε καὶ ὀλίγου ὕδατος καὶ διελθὼν ἐν νυκτὶ τῆς ἐρήμου τὴν πολλὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω πρὸς τῇ οἰκουμένην ἦν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς ἐν τάξει ἐκέλευσεν ἔπεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας ἀναλβὼν αὐτὸς καὶ ἐς ἵλας κατανείμας, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ πεδίου ἐπέχοιεν, ἐπήει τὴν χώραν τῶν Ὠρεῖτῶν. ὅσοι μὲν δὲ ἐς· [5] ἀλκὴν αὐτῶν ἐτράποντο κατεκόπησαν πρὸς τῶν ἱππέων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἐάλωσαν. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς ὕδατι οὐ πολλῷ, ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα αὐτῷ ὁμοῦ ἦδη ἦσαν, προὔχωρει ἐς τὸ πρόσω. ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς κόμην, ἥπερ ἦν μεγίστη τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦ Ὠρεῖτῶν, Ῥαμβακία ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ κόμη, τὸν τε χώρον ἐπήνεσε καὶ ἐδόκει ἂν αὐτῷ πόλις ξυνοικισθεῖσα μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων γενέσθαι.

Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπελείπετο.

XXI. The season, however, was not suitable for sailing; for the trade winds (The south-west monsoon.) were blowing continuously, which in that season blow not, as with us, from the north, but from the ocean and from the south. But from the beginning of winter, right from the setting of the Pleiads to the winter solstice, it was reported that the ocean here was fit for navigation; for then, as would be when the land is drenched with heavy rains, there are light land breezes, convenient for the coasting voyage whether by oars or sails.

Nearchus, then, the admiral of the fleet, awaited the season for the voyage. But Alexander leaving Pattala advanced with his entire force as far as the river Arabius; and thence, taking with him half the bodyguards and the archers and the brigades of the Companions, as they were called, the special squadron of the Companions' cavalry, and a squadron from each cavalry regiment, together with all the mounted archers, turned towards the ocean, keeping it on his left, in order to dig wells, so that there might be plenty of water for the army which was sailing along the coast, and also with the intention of making a surprise attack on the Oreitans, the Indian tribe in these parts, who had long been independent, since they had failed to make any friendly overtures to Alexander and his troops. Hephaestion was in command of such part of the army as Alexander had left behind. The Arabitae, however, also an independent tribe of the Indians who dwell about the river Arabius, did not appear to Alexander worth attacking, and yet they did not choose to surrender, when they learned that Alexander was approaching, but fled into the desert. Alexander, however, crossed the river Arabius, a narrow river with a small stream, traversed a considerable part of the desert by night, and at dawn was close to the inhabited region. Here he ordered his infantry to follow in marching order, but the cavalry he took with him and divided into squadrons, that they might cover the greatest extent of country, and thus invaded the territory of the Oreitans. Such of them as offered resistance were cut down by the cavalry, and many were captured alive. For the time being, then, Alexander encamped by a small stream; but on being joined by Hephaestion and his troops, he advanced further. Then arriving at a village which was the largest village of the Oreitans, called Rambacia, he was impressed with the position, and felt that a city founded there would become great and prosperous. He left behind Hephaestion, therefore, to attend to this.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν αὐτῆς τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀγριάνων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τὸ ἄγλημα τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας προῆι ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τῶν τε Γαδρωσῶν καὶ Ὀρειτῶν, ἵνα περ στενὴ τε ἡ πάροδος αὐτῷ εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο καὶ οἱ Ὀρεῖται τοῖς Γαδρωσοῖς ξυντεταγμένοι πρὸ τῶν στενῶν στρατοπεδεύειν, ὡς εἵρωντες τῆς παρόδου Ἀλέξανδρον. [2] καὶ ἦσαν μὲν ταύτῃ τεταγμένοι, ὡς δὲ προάγων ἦδη ἐξηγγέλλετο, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν στενῶν λιπόντες τὴν φυλακὴν, οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ὀρειτῶν ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτὸν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἐνδιδόντες. τούτοις μὲν δὴ προστάττει ξυγκαλέσαντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ὀρειτῶν πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα

ἦθη, ὥς δεινὸν οὐδὲν πεισομένους: σατράπην δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐπιτάσσει Ἀπολλοφάνην: [3] καὶ ξὺν τούτῳ ἀπολείπει Λεοννάτον τὸν σωματοφύλακα ἐν Ὠροῖς, ἔχοντα τοὺς τε Ἀγριᾶνας ξύμπαντας καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὗς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἄλλους πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἱππέας Ἑλλήνας μισθοφόρους, τό τε ναυτικὸν ὑπομένειν ἔστ' ἂν περιπλεύσῃ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ξυνοικίζειν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ὠρεῖτας κοσμεῖν, ὅπως μᾶλλον τι προσέχοιεν τῷ σατράπῃ τὸν νοῦν. αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ πολλῇ, καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἡφαιστίων ἀφίκετο ἄγων αὐτῷ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, προὔχῳρι ὥς ἐπὶ Γαδρωσοὺς ἔρημον τὴν πολλήν. [4] καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος σμύρνης πολλὰ δένδρα πεφυκέναι μείζονα ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην σμύρναν, καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς κατ' ἐμπορ[ε]ίαν τῇ στρατιᾷ ξυνεπομένους ξυλλέγοντας τὸ δάκρυον τῆς σμύρνης 'πολὺ γὰρ εἶναι, οἷα δὴ ἐκ μεγάλων τε τῶν πρέμων καὶ οὐπω πρόσθεν ξυλλελεγμένον' ἐμπλήσαντας τὰ ὑποζύγια ἄγειν. [5] ἔχειν δὲ τὴν ἔρημον ταύτην καὶ νάρδου ῥίζαν πολλήν τε καὶ εὐδομον καὶ ταύτην ξυλλέγειν τοὺς Φοίνικας: πολὺ δὲ εἶναι αὐτῆς τὸ καταπατούμενον πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατουμένου ὁδμὴν ἡδεῖαν κατέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας. τοσόνδε εἶναι τὸ πληθός: [6] εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα δένδρα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, τὸ μὲν τι δάφνη εἰκὸς τὸ φύλλον, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς προσκλυζομένοις τῇ θαλάσῃ χωρίοις πεφυκέναι: καὶ ἀπολείπεσθαι μὲν τὰ δένδρα πρὸς τῆς ἀμπώτεως ἐπὶ ξηροῦ, ἐπελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ πεφυκότα φαίνεσθαι: τῶν δὲ καὶ αἰεὶ τὰς ῥίζας τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐπικλύζεσθαι, ὅσα ἐν κοίλοις χωρίοις ἐπεφύκει, ἔνθεν περ οὐχ ὑπενόσσει τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὅμως οὐ διαφθείρεσθαι τὸ δένδρον πρὸς τῆς θαλάσσης. [7] εἶναι δὲ τὰ δένδρα ταύτῃ πῆχων καὶ τριάκοντα ἔστιν ἂ αὐτῶν, τυχεῖν τε ἀνθοῦντα ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος εἶναι τῷ λευκῷ μάλιστα ἴσῳ προσφερές, τὴν ὁδμὴν δὲ πολὺ τι ὑπερφέρον. καὶ ἄλλον εἶναι καυλὸν ἐκ γῆς πεφυκότα ἀκάνθης, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπεῖναι ἰσχυρὰν τὴν ἄκανθαν, ὥστε ἤδη τινῶν καὶ παριππευόντων ἐμπλακεῖσαν τῇ ἐσθῇτι κατασπάσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μᾶλλον τι τὸν ἱππέα ἢ αὐτὴν ἀποσχισθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ καυλοῦ. [8] καὶ τῶν λαγῶν λέγεται ὅτι παραθεόντων εἶχοντα ἐν ταῖς θριξίν αἱ ἄκανθαι καὶ ὅτι οὕτως ἡλίσκοντο οἱ λαγῶ, καθάπερ ὑπὸ ἰξοῦ αἱ ὀρνίθες ἢ τοῖς ἀγκίστροις οἱ ἰχθύες, σιδήρῳ δὲ ὅτι διακοπῆναι οὐ χαλεπὴ ἦν: καὶ ὅπῃ ὅτι ἀνίει πολὺν ὁ καυλὸς τῆς ἀκάνθης τεμνομένης, ἔτι πλείονα ἢ αἱ συκαὶ τοῦ ἥρος καὶ δριμύτερον. ἔνθεν δὲ διὰ τῆς Γαδρωσῶν χώρας ἦει ὁδὸν

XIX. Then Alexander, taking with him again half the bodyguards and the Agrianes, the special squadron of the cavalry, and the mounted archers, advanced towards the borders of the Gadrosians and the Oreitans, where it was reported that the approach was by a defile, and that the Gadrosians and Oreitans had joined together and were encamped at the mouth of the defile to check Alexander's approach. They were, in fact, arrayed there; but when news was brought that he was nearing them, the greater part of them fled from the defile, deserting their post; but the chiefs of the Oreitans came to Alexander surrendering themselves and their nation. These he commanded to call together the bulk of the Oreitans and send them home, with the assurance that they would suffer no harm; as satrap over them he appointed Apollophanes.

Together with him he left behind Leonnatus, the officer of the bodyguard, in the country of the Orians, with all the Agrianes, some of the archers and of the cavalry, and a considerable body besides of Greek mercenary infantry and cavalry; Leonnatus was to await the fleet, until it made its voyage past this district, to build the city, and to put everything in good order in the country of the Oreitans, so that they might more diligently obey their satrap. Then he himself with the larger part of his army, for Hephæstion had arrived, with the party which had been left behind, proceeded towards the Gadrosians, through country which for the most part was desert.

In this desert Aristobulus says that many myrrh trees grow, a good deal taller than the ordinary myrrh. The Phoenicians who followed the army as traders collected the gum of the myrrh, for it was abundant, coming from such large trunks and never having been gathered before, and loaded up their pack-mules with it. This desert also has a root of spikenard, plentiful and fragrant; this too the Phoenicians gathered; a good deal of it also was trodden underfoot by the army, and from such as was trodden there a delightful fragrance was wafted for some distance over the country, so abundant was it. There are also other trees in the desert, one with a leaf like laurel, and this grows in places which are washed by the sea; the trees are left high and dry by the receding tide, but when the tide returns, they appear growing in the sea; of some, which grow in hollow places, the roots are always washed by the sea, where the water does not recede, and yet the tree is not spoiled by the sea water. The trees here are sometimes even thirty cubits high, and at that season they were in flower, the flower being very like a white violet, but of a very much sweeter perfume. There is also a thistle on a long stalk growing out of the soil, and the spike on this stalk is so strong that once and again when they were riding past it caught the rider's clothes, and pulled him from his horse rather than come away from its stalk. They say that the hares as they run through get their fur caught in the thistles, and so in fact are captured, just as birds with bird-lime or fishes with hooks; but it was fairly easy to cut through with an axe; and the stalk of this thistle when cut gives out considerable juice more abundant and sharper to taste than that of figs in spring.

[1] χαλεπήν καὶ ἄπορον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὕδωρ πολλαχοῦ τῇ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἦν: ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ ἠναγκάζοντο γῆν πολλὴν πορεύεσθαι καὶ προσωτέρω ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ γε ἐν σπουδῇ ἦν ἐλθεῖν τὰ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς χώρας καὶ λιμένας τε ἰδεῖν τοὺς ὄντας καὶ ὅσα γε ἐν παρόδῳ δυνατὰ γένοιτο τῷ ναυτικῷ παρασκευάσαι, ἢ φρέατα ὀρύξαντας ἢ ἀγορᾶς πού ἢ ὄρμου ἐπιμεληθέντας. [2] ἀλλὰ ἦν γὰρ ἔρημα παντάπασιν τὰ πρὸς τὴν θάλασση τῆς Γαδρωσῶν γῆς, ὁ δὲ Θόαντα τὸν Μανδροδόρου καταπέμπει ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ζὺν ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσιν, κατασκεψόμενον εἴ πού τις ὄρμος ὦν τυγχάνει ταύτῃ ἢ ὕδωρ οὐ πόρρω ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. [3] καὶ οὗτος ἐπανελθὼν ἀπήγγειλεν ἀλιέας τινὰς καταλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς: πεποιεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς καλύβας ζυνθέντας τὰς κόγχας: στέγην δὲ εἶναι αὐταῖς τὰς ἀκάνθας τῶν ἰχθύων: καὶ τούτους τοὺς ἀλιέας ὕδατι ὀλίγω

διακρῆσθαι χαλεπῶς διαμωμένους τὸν κάχληκα, καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ πάντῃ γλυκεῖ τῷ ὕδατι. [4] ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς χωρὸν τινα τῆς Γαδρωσίας ἵνα ἀφθονώτερος ᾦν σίτος, διανέμει ἐς τὰ ὑποζύγια τὸν καταληφθέντα καὶ τοῦτον σημηνάμενος τῇ ἐαυτοῦ σφραγίδι κατακομίζεσθαι κελεύει ὥς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ᾗει ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν σταθμόν, ἔνθεν περ ἐγγυτάτῳ ᾗν ἡ θάλασσα, ἐν τούτῳ ὀλίγα φροντίσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται τῆς σφραγίδος αὐτοῖ τε οἱ φύλακες τῷ σίτῳ ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ὅσοι μάλιστα λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο καὶ τούτοις μετέδωκαν. [5] ἐς τοσόνδε γὰρ πρὸς τοῦ κακοῦ ἐνικῶντο, ὥς τὸν πρόδηλον καὶ παρόντα ἤδη ὄλεθρον τοῦ ἀφανοῦς τε καὶ πρόσω ἔτι ὄντος ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως κινδύνου ζὺν λογισμῷ ἔδοξέ σφισιν ἔμπροσθεν ποιήσασθαι. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καταμαθὼν τὴν ἀνάγκην ξυνέγνω τοῖς πράξασιν. αὐτὸς δέ, ὅσα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐπιδραμῶν ξυναγαγεῖν ἠδυνήθη εἰς ἐπισιτισμὸν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ περιπλεούσῃ ζὺν τῷ στόλῳ, ταῦτα κομίσοντα πέμπει Κρηθεά τὸν Καλλατιανόν. [6] καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις προσετάχθη ἐκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων σίτον τε ὅσον δυνατοὶ ᾗσαν κατακομίσαι ἀλέσαντας καὶ τὰς βαλάνους τὰς τῶν φοινίκων καὶ πρόβατα ἐς ἀγορὰν τῷ στρατῷ. καὶ ἐς ἄλλον αὖ τόπον Τήλεφον κατέπεμψε τῶν ἐταίρων σὺν σίτῳ οὐ πολλῷ ἀληγεσμένῳ. αὐτὸς δὲ προὐχώρει ὥς ἐς τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Γαδρωσῶν,

XX. From there Alexander went on through the country of the Gadrosians by a route both difficult and lacking in supplies; in especial, the army often found no water; but they were obliged to traverse a considerable part of the country by night, and at a greater distance from the sea; Alexander himself desiring to work along the sea-coast to see such harbours as there were and to get ready what conveniences were possible for the navy, either by digging wells, clearing open spaces, or preparing anchorages. But the Gadrosian country was entirely desert along the coast-line, so he sent Thoas son of Mandrodorus to the sea with a few cavalry, to see if there was any anchorage possible in this direction, or water near the sea, or any other necessary. And he returned and reported that he had found some fishermen on the beach in stifling cabins, made out of shells fixed together, and for a roofing the backbones of fishes; but that these fishermen used little fresh water, and this they dug from the gravel, and even that was not always fresh.

But when Alexander arrived at a certain place in Gadrosia where provisions were more plentiful, he distributed what he obtained among the baggage trains; and this he sealed with his own seal, and bade them convey it to the sea. But while he was going towards the halting-place from which the sea was nearest, the troops, making light of this seal — even the guards themselves — used these provisions and gave shares also to those most beset by hunger. So far were they overcome by their distress that they thought right to consider their obvious and immediate ruin before the yet uncertain and distant danger from their King. Indeed, Alexander, on learning of the grave necessity, pardoned the offenders. Then he by overrunning the district got together what provisions he could for the army which was sailing with the fleet, and sent Cretheus of Callatis to convoy it. The inhabitants also were

commanded to bring down provisions from the upper districts, grinding as much com as they could, with dates from the palm trees, and sheep for the army to purchase, and he sent Telephus also, one of the Companions, to another place with a small supply of ground corn.

[1] ὁ δὲ χῶρος Ποῦρα ὀνομάζεται, ἵνα περ ἀφίκετο ἐξ Ὠρων ὀρμηθεὶς ἐν ἡμέραις ταῖς πάσαις ἐξήκοντα. καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν συγγραψάντων τὰ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδὲ τὰ ζύμπαντα ὅσα ἐταλαιπώρησεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἢ στρατιὰ ζυμβληθῆναι ἄξια εἶναι τοῖς τῇδε πονηθεῖσι πόνοις. [2] οὐ μὴν ἀγνοήσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς ὁδοῦ τὴν χαλεπότητα ταύτη ἐλθεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν μόνος Νέαρχος λέγει ὧδε, ἀλλὰ ἀκούσαντα γὰρ ὅτι οὐπω τις πρόσθεν διελθὼν ταύτη ζὺν στρατιᾷ ἀπεσώθη, ὅτι μὴ Σεμίραμις ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἔφυγε. καὶ ταύτην δὲ ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι σὺν εἴκοσι μόνοις τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀποσωθῆναι, Κῦρον δὲ τὸν Καμβύσου σὺν ἐπτὰ μόνοις καὶ τοῦτον. [3] ἐλθεῖν γὰρ δὴ καὶ Κῦρον ἐς τοὺς χώρους τούτους ὡς ἐσβαλοῦντα ἐς τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν, φθάσαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρημίας τε καὶ ἀπορίας τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἀπολέσαντα τὴν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς. καὶ ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐξαγγελλόμενα ἔριν ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς Κῦρον καὶ Σεμίραμιν. τούτων τε οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ ἅμα ὡς τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐγγύθεν ἐκπορίζεσθαι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, λέγει Νέαρχος ταύτην τραπῆναι Ἀλέξανδρον. [4] τό τε οὖν καὶ ἐπιφλέγον καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τὴν ἀπορίαν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφθεῖραι καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὰ ὑποζύγια: ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τοῦ βάθους τε τῆς ψάμμου καὶ τῆς θερμῆς, ὅτι κεκαυμένη ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δίψει ἀπόλλυσθαι: καὶ γὰρ καὶ γηλόφοις ἐπιτυγχάνειν ὑψηλοῖς ψάμμου βαθείας, οὐ νευαγμένης, ἀλλ' οἷας δέχεσθαι καθάπερ ἐς πηλὸν ἢ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς χιόνα ἀπάτητον ἐπιβαίνοντας. [5] καὶ ἅμα ἐν ταῖς προσβάσεσιν τε καὶ καταβαίνοντας τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ἡμιόνους ἔτι μᾶλλον κακοπαθεῖν τῷ ἀνωμάλῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἅμα οὐ βεβαίῳ, τῶν τε σταθμῶν τὰ μήκη πῆσαι οὐχ ἥκιστα τὴν στρατιάν: ἀπορία γὰρ ὕδατος οὐ ζύμμετρος οὐσα μᾶλλον τι ἤγε πρὸς ἀνάγκην τὰς πορείας ποιεῖσθαι. [6] ὅποτε μὲν δὴ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπελθόντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἦντινα ἀνύσαι ἐχρῆν ἔωθεν πρὸς ὕδωρ ἔλθοιεν, οὐ πάντῃ ἐταλαιπωροῦντο: προχωρούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὸ μήκους τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἰ ὁδοιποροῦντες ἔτι ἐγκαταληφθεῖεν, ἐνταῦθα ἂν ἐταλαιπώρουν πρὸς τοῦ καύματός τε καὶ ἅμα δίψει ἀπαύστῳ συνεχόμενοι.

XXI. Then Alexander advanced towards the Gadrosian capital; the district is called Pura; and he arrived there from the district of the Orians in a total of sixty days. Most of the histories of Alexander affirm that not even all the trials that his army endured in Asia were worthy to be compared with the miseries they suffered here. It was not because Alexander had no knowledge of the difficulty of the route that he went that way (it is Nearchus alone who says so); but rather that he had heard that no one yet had successfully come through this way with an army, except that Semiramis had fled this way from India. The natives had a tradition that even she only escaped with twenty of her whole force; Cyrus son of Cambyses had got through with only seven survivors. For Cyrus did come into these parts intending to invade the country of India; but before he could do so he lost the greater part of his army by the

barrenness and difficulty of this route. The relation of these stories to Alexander inspired him with emulation towards Cyrus and Semiramis. It was, then, on this account, and also that the fleet, being close by, might provide him with all necessaries, that, according to Nearchus, he chose this route. At any rate, the heat of the sun beating down and the want of water destroyed a great part of the army, and especially of course the baggage animals; for they, from the depth of the sand and its heat, for it was burning, and the most part too from thirst, perished; for they even came across high hills of deep sand, not beaten down, but letting them sink in as if into liquid mud or into untrodden snow as they stepped upon it. Besides this, in ascents, or when descending, the horses and mules were particularly distressed by the unevenness and insecurity of the surface. Then the lengths of the marches very seriously oppressed the army; for want of water, which occurred at irregular intervals, drove them to make their marches as necessity dictated. Then whenever at night they covered the distance which had to be traversed, and at dawn came upon water, they were not so very much distressed; but if the day went on, by reason of the journey's length, and they were left still marching, then indeed they were in a sorry plight from the double sufferings of heat and thirst.

[1] τῶν δὲ δὴ ὑποζυγίων πολὺς ὁ φθόρος καὶ ἐκούσιος τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐγίνετο: ξυνιόντες γάρ, ὁπότε ἐπιλίποι σφᾶς τὰ σιτία, καὶ τῶν ἵππων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀποσφάζοντες καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων τὰ κρέα ἐσιτοῦντο καὶ ἔλεγον δίψει ἀποθανεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐκλιπόντας: καὶ ὁ τὴν ἀτρέκειαν τοῦ ἔργου ἐξελέγξων ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πόνου οὐδεὶς ἦν καὶ ὅτι ξύμπαντες τὰ αὐτὰ ἡμάρτανον. [2] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν οὐκ ἐλελήθει τὰ γινόμενα, ἴασιν δὲ τῶν παρόντων ἐώρα τὴν τῆς ἀγνοίας προσποίησιν μᾶλλον τι ἢ τὴν ὥς γιγνωσκομένων ἐπιχώρησιν. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ τοὺς νόσῳ κάμνοντας τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐδὲ τοὺς διὰ κάματος ὑπολειπομένους ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἄγειν ἔτι ἦν εὐμαρῶς ἀπορία τε τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ ὅτι τὰς ἀμάξας αὐτοὶ κατέκοπτον, ἀπόρους οὖσας αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ βάθους τῆς ψάμμου ἄγεσθαι καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις σταθμοῖς διὰ ταῦτα ἐξηναγκάζοντο οὐ τὰς βραχυτάτας ἰέναι τῶν ὁδῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰς εὐπορωτάτας τοῖς ζεύγεσι. [3] καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν νόσῳ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑπελείποντο, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ καμάτου ἢ καύματος ἢ τῷ δίψει οὐκ ἀντέχοντες, καὶ οὔτε οἱ ἄζοντες ἦσαν οὔτε οἱ μένοντες θεραπεύσοντες: σπουδῇ γὰρ πολλῇ ἐγίνετο ὁ στόλος, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς προθύμῳ τὸ καθ' ἑκάστους ζῆν ἀνάγκη ἡμελεῖτο: οἱ δὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ κάτοχοι κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς γενόμενοι οἷα δὴ νυκτὸς τὸ πολὺ τὰς πορείας ποιοῦμενοι, ἔπειτα ἐξαναστάντες, οἷς μὲν δύναμις ἔτι ἦν κατὰ τὰ ἴχνη τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐφομαρτήσαντες ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν πελάγει ἐκπεσόντες ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ ἀπώλλυντο. [4] ξυνηνέχθη δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ ἄλλο πάθημα, ὃ δὴ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπίεσεν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια. ὕεται γὰρ ἡ Γαδρωσίῳ γῇ ὑπ' ἀνέμων τῶν ἐτησίῳ, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῇ, οὐ τὰ πεδία τῶν Γαδρωσίῳ, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄρη, ἵνα περ προσφέρονται τε αἱ νεφέλαι ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἀναχέονται, οὐχ ὑπερβάλλουσαι τῶν ὀρῶν τὰς κορυφάς. [5] ὥς δὲ ἠυλίσθη ἡ στρατιὰ πρὸς

χειμάρρῳ ὀλίγου ὕδατος, αὐτοῦ δὴ ἔνεκα τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐμπλησθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὄμβρων ὁ χειμάρρους ὁ ταύτη ῥέων ἀφανὼν τῇ στρατιᾷ γεγεννημένων τῶν ὄμβρων τοσοῦτῳ ἐπῆλθε τῷ ὕδατι, ὥς γύναια καὶ παιδάρια τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπομένων τῇ στρατιᾷ διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν ζύμπασαν ἀφανίσαι καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ὅσα ἀπελείπετο, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐδὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἀποσωθῆναι. [6] οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πίνοντες, ὁπότε ἐκ καύματός τε καὶ δίψους ὕδατι ἀθρόῳ ἐπιτύχονεν, πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀπαύστου ποτοῦ ἀπώλλυντο. καὶ τούτων ἔνεκα Ἀλέξανδρος τὰς στρατοπεδείας οὐ πρὸς τοῖς ὕδασιν αὐτοῖς τὸ πολὺ ἐποιεῖτο, ἀλλὰ ἀπέχων ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίους μάλιστα, ὥς μὴ ἀθρόους ἐμπίπτοντας τῷ ὕδατι αὐτοὺς τε καὶ κτήνη ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ ἅμα τοὺς μάλιστα ἀκράτορας σφῶν ἐπεμβαίνοντας ἐς τὰς πηγὰς ἢ τὰ ρεύματα διαφθεῖρειν καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ τὸ ὕδωρ.

XXII. Of the transport animals there was then great loss, even caused deliberately by the army; for whenever their provisions began to fail them, they clubbed together and gradually killed off most of their horses and mules and ate their flesh, giving out that they had perished from thirst or had collapsed from fatigue; and there was no one to prove the actual fact, both because of their distress and because they were all involved in the same crime. Alexander himself, however, was not unaware of these happenings; but he saw that the remedy for their present distress lay rather in his pretended ignorance than in any connivance of what went on. Nor was it easy to bring along those of the troops who were sick, nor those who were left lying in the way from fatigue, both from want of the transport animals and because the men themselves kept destroying the waggons, which it was impossible to drag along owing to the depth of the sand, and also because in the earlier marches they had been compelled for this reason not to go by the shortest routes but by those that were easiest for the teams. And so some were left behind on the routes sick, and others from weariness or sunstroke, or no longer able to hold out against the thirst; there was no one to help them forward, and no one to stay behind and take care of them; for the march was hurried and in the general eagerness the troubles of individuals were necessarily neglected: and those who were borne down by sleep on the marches, since they made most of their stages by night, when they woke up again, if they had strength to do so, followed in the track of the army, and so a few, out of many, were saved; but most of them fell into the sand, like men who perished in the sea.

The army received also a further disaster, which perhaps more than anything else distressed both the troops, and their horses and transport animals. During the trade winds there is heavy rain over the land of the Gadrosians, as also over India, not so much over the Gadrosian plains as over the hills, whither the clouds are borne by the wind and are poured out in rain, not rising above the crests of the hills. Now the army bivouacked near a small stream, in fact for the sake of the water, and about the second watch of the night the stream which flowed here became swollen with rains, the rains

themselves having fallen out of sight of the army, and came down with so great a spate of water that it drowned most of the women and children from among those which followed the army, swept away all the royal pavilion and its contents, and so many of the transport animals as had survived; and indeed the troops themselves were only saved with great difficulty, with their weapons only, and not even all of these. Then again most of those even who drank, whenever they met with abundant water after much drought and thirst, perished by reason of their intemperate drinking; and for this reason Alexander did not, as a rule, have his encampment actually on the banks of the watercourses, but about twenty stades away, so that they should not, by a general rush at the stream, perish, themselves and their beasts, and at the same time the greediest of them, stepping into the springs or streams, spoil the water for the rest of the host.

[1] ἔνθα δὴ ἔργον καλὸν εἶπερ τι ἄλλο τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι ἀφανίσαι, ἢ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ πραχθὲν ἢ ἔτι ἔμπροσθεν ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις, ὥς μετεξέτεροι ἀνέγραψαν. ἰέναι μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν διὰ ψάμμου τε καὶ τοῦ καύματος ἤδη ἐπιφλέγοντος, ὅτι πρὸς ὕδωρ ἔχρῃν ἐξανύσαι: τὸ δὲ ἦν πρόσθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ: καὶ αὐτὸν τε Ἀλέξανδρον δίψει κατεχόμενον μόλις μὲν καὶ χαλεπῶς, πεζὸν δὲ ὁμῶς ἡγεῖσθαι: ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας, οἷάπερ φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε, κουφοτέρως φέρειν τοὺς πόνους ἐν ἰσότητι τῆς ταλαιπωρήσεως. [2] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν ψιλῶν τινὰς κατὰ ζήτησιν ὕδατος ἀποτραπέντας ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς εὐρεῖν ὕδωρ συλλελεγμένον ἐν τινι χαράδρᾳ οὐ βαθείᾳ, ὀλίγην καὶ φαύλην πίδακα: καὶ τοῦτο οὐ χαλεπῶς συλλέξαντας σπουδῇ ἰέναι παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὥς μέγα δὴ τι ἀγαθὸν φέροντας: ὥς δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἤδη, ἐμβalόντας ἐς κράνος τὸ ὕδωρ προσενεγκεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ. [3] τὸν δὲ λαβεῖν μὲν καὶ ἐπαινεῖσαι τοὺς κομίσαντας, λαβόντα δὲ ἐν ὧσιν πάντων ἐκχέαι: καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ ἐς τοσόνδε ἐπιρρωσθῆναι τὴν στρατιὰν ζύμπασαν ὥστε εἰκάσαι ἂν τινὰ πότον γενέσθαι πᾶσιν ἐκείνο τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκχυθὲν. τοῦτο ἐγώ, εἶπερ τι ἄλλο, τὸ ἔργον εἰς καρτερίαν τε καὶ ἅμα στρατηγίαν ἐπαινῶ Ἀλεξάνδρου. [4] ξυνηνέχθη δὲ τι καὶ τοιόνδε τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ. οἱ γὰρ ἡγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ τελευτῶντες οὐκέτι μεμνησθαι ἔφασκον τὴν ὁδόν, ἀλλ' ἀφανισθῆναι τὰ σημεῖα αὐτῆς πρὸς τοῦ ἀνέμου ἐπιπνεύσαντος: καὶ — οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ πολλῇ τε καὶ ὁμοίᾳ πάντῃ νενημένη ὅτῳ τεκμηριώσονται τὴν ὁδόν, οὗτ' οὖν δένδρα ξυνήθη παρ' αὐτὴν πεφυκότα, οὔτε τινὰ γήλοφον βέβαιον ἀνεστηκότα: οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄστρα ἐν νυκτὶ ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μεμελετησθῆναι σφισι τὰς πορείας, καθάπερ τοῖς ναύταις πρὸς τῶν ἄρκτων τὴν μὲν Φοίνιξι, τὴν ὀλίγην, τὴν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, τὴν μείζονα: — [5] ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρον ξυνέντα ὅτι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δεῖ ἀποκλίναντα ἄγειν, ἀναλαβόντα ὀλίγους ἅμα οἱ ἵππεας προχωρῆσαι: ὥς δὲ καὶ τούτων οἱ ἵπποι ἐξέκαμνον ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος, ἀπολιπεῖν καὶ τούτων τοὺς πολλούς, αὐτὸν δὲ ξὺν πέντε τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀφιππασσῆναι καὶ εὐρεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν, διαμησάμενόν τε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τὸν κάλχηκα ἐπιτυχεῖν ὕδατι γλυκεῖ καὶ καθαρῷ καὶ οὕτω μετελθεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν: καὶ ἐς ἐπὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἰέναι παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὑδρευομένους ἐκ τῆς ἡϊόνος. ἐνθεν δέ, ἡδη

γὰρ γινώσκειν τὴν ὁδὸν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἐπὶ τῆς μεσογαίας ποιεῖσθαι τὸν στόλον.

XXIII. At this point I have not thought well to leave unrecorded the noblest achievement of Alexander, whether it took place in this country, or among the Parapamisadae at an earlier date, as others have narrated. The army was marching through sand and while the heat was already burning, since they were obliged to reach water at the end of the march; and this was some distance ahead. Alexander himself was much distressed by thirst, and with much difficulty, but still as best he could, led the way on foot; so that the rest of the troops should (as usually happens in such a case) bear their toils more easily, when all are sharing the distress alike. Meanwhile some of the light-armed troops had turned aside from the rest of the line to look for water, and had found some, just a little water collected in a shallow river-bed, a poor and wretched water-hole; they gathered up this water with difficulty and hurried to Alexander as if they were bringing him some great boon; but when they drew near, they brought the water, which they had poured into a helmet, to the King. He received it, and thanked those who had brought it; and taking it poured it out in the sight of all the troops; and at this action the whole army was so much heartened that you would have said that each and every man had drunk that water which Alexander thus poured out. This deed of Alexander's above all I commend most warmly as a proof both of his endurance and his excellence as a general.

There was also a further incident which happened to the army in this district. The guides of the route finally said that they could not remember the way, but that its marks of direction had been obliterated by the violence of the wind; and, of course, in the sand which was everywhere and all alike, heaped up on all sides, there was nothing by which one could guess the road; not even the ordinary trees growing along it, nor any solid hillock emerging from it; nor had the guides accustomed themselves to make their marches by the stars at night nor by the sun during the day, as the Phoenician sailors have become accustomed to steer their way by the Little Bear and the rest of mankind by the Great Bear. So Alexander, understanding that they ought to lead the army inclining to the left, took a few horsemen with him and rode on ahead; and when their horses began to weary beneath the heat, he left behind most of them, and he with no more than five rode off and found the sea; then, digging in the gravel on the shore, he found fresh and pure water, and so the whole army came thither; and for seven days they marched along the sea-coast, getting water from the shore, and thence, for the guides now began to recognize the road, he led his army into the interior.

[1] ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τῶν Γαδρωσίων τὰ βασίλεια, ἀναπαύει ἐνταῦθα τὴν στρατίαν. καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνην μὲν παύει τῆς σατραπείας, ὅτι οὐδενὸς ἔγνω ἐπιμεληθέντα τῶν προεπηγγεμένων, Θόαντα δὲ σατραπεύειν τῶν ταύτη ἔταξε: τούτου δὲ νόσφ' τελευτήσαντος Σιβύρτιος τὴν σατραπείαν ἐκδέχεται: ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Καρμανίας σατράπης ἦν νεωστὶ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ταχθεὶς: τότε δὲ

τούτῳ μὲν Ἀραχωτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Γαδρωσίων ἄρχειν ἐδόθη, Καρμανίαν δὲ ἔσχε Τληπόλεμος ὁ Πυθοφάνους. [2] ἤδη τε ἐπὶ Καρμανίας προϋχῶρει ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ Φίλιππον τὸν σατράπην τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἐπιβουλευθέντα πρὸς τῶν μισθοφόρων δόλῳ ἀποθανεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτείναντας ὅτι οἱ σωματοφύλακες τοῦ Φιλίππου οἱ Μακεδόνες τοὺς μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὕστερον λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἔγνω, ἐκπέμπει γράμματα ἐς Ἰνδοὺς παρὰ Εὐδαμόν τε καὶ Ταξιλὴν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς χώρας τῆς πρόσθεν ὑπὸ Φιλίπῳ τεταγμένης ἔστ' ἂν αὐτὸς σατράπην ἐκπέμψῃ ἐπ' αὐτῆς. [3] ἤδη δ' ἐς Καρμανίαν ἦκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Κρατερὸς ἀφικνεῖται, τὴν τε ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἅμα οἱ ἄγων καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ Ὀρδάνην τὸν ἀποστάντα καὶ νεωτερίσαντα συνειληφώς. ἐνταῦθα δὲ Στασάνῳ τε ὁ Ἀρεῖων καὶ ὁ Ζαραγγῶν σατράπης ἦκεν καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς Φαρισμάνης ὁ Φραταφέρνου τοῦ Παρθυαίων καὶ Ὑρκανίων σατράπου παῖς. ἦκον δὲ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ἅμα Παρμενίωνι ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς ἐν Μηδίᾳ, Κλέανδρός τε καὶ Σιτάλκης καὶ Ἡράκων, τὴν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ οὗτοι ἄγοντες. [4] τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κλέανδρόν τε καὶ Σιτάλκην πολλὰ ἐπικαλούντων αὐτοῖς τῶν τε ἐγχωρίων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτῆς, ὡς ἱερά τε πρὸς αὐτῶν σεσυλημένα καὶ θήκας παλαιὰς κεκινημένας καὶ ἄλλα ἄδικα ἔργα ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τετολμημένα καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη, τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δέος εἶναι, ὅσοι σατράπαι ἢ ὕπαρχοι ἢ νομάρχαι ἀπολείποντο, τὰ ἴσα ἐκείνοις πλημμελοῦντας πείσεσθαι: [5] 'καὶ τοῦτο, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, κατέσχευεν ἐν κόσμῳ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου δοριᾶλωτα ἢ ἐκόντα προσχωρήσαντα, τοσαῦτα μὲν πληθύνοντα, τόσον δὲ ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξῆν ὑπὸ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλείᾳ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων.' Ἡράκων δὲ τότε μὲν ἀφείθη τῆς αἰτίας: ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον ἐξελεγχθεὶς πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Σουσίων σεσυληκέναι τὸ ἐν Σούσοις ἱερὸν καὶ οὗτος ἔδωκεν δίκην. [6] οἱ δὲ σὺν Στασάνορι καὶ Φραταφέρνῃ πληθὺς τε ὑποζυγίων παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἄγοντες ἦλθον καὶ καμήλους πολλὰς, ὡς ἔμαθον ὅτι τὴν ἐπὶ Γαδρωσίων ἄγει, εἰκάσαντες ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα πείσεται αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ ἃ δὴ ἔπαθε: καὶ οὖν καὶ ἐν καιρῷ μὲν καὶ οὗτοι ἀφίκοντο, ἐν καιρῷ δὲ αἱ κάμηλοι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια: διένειμε γὰρ ζῦμπαντα Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσι κατ' ἄνδρα, τοῖς δὲ κατ' ἴλας τε καὶ ἑκατοστίας, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ λόχους, ὅπως τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ καμήλων αὐτῷ ξυνέβαιεν.

XXIV. Arriving at length at the Gadrosian capital, Alexander rested his army there. Apollophanes he removed from his satrapy, finding that he had neglected all his orders; and he appointed Thoas to be satrap in his stead; but as he died of sickness, Sibyrtius received the office; he had been recently appointed by Alexander satrap of Carmania; but now he was given the charge of both the Arachotians and the Gadrosians, and Tlepolemus son of Pythophanes took over Carmania. Alexander had already begun his march towards Carmania, when it was reported to him that Philip the satrap of the Indians had been treacherously killed as the result of a plot against him by the mercenaries; but that the Macedonian bodyguards of Philip had put to death

the assassins, some in the act, and some they captured afterwards. On learning this he despatched letters to India to Eudamus and Taxiles bidding them take charge of the district formerly under Philip, until he should send a satrap to govern it.

When Alexander had reached Carmania, Craterus arrived, bringing with him the rest of the army and the elephants and Ordanes who had revolted and began to rebel, but whom he had captured. There also Stasanor satrap of Areia and the satrap of the Zarangians came, and with them Pharismanes the son of Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaëa and Hyrcania. There arrived also the satraps who had been left behind with Parmenio in charge of the forces in Media, Cleander and Sitalces and Heracon, they also bringing the greater part of these forces. Both the natives and the forces themselves brought many charges against Cleander and Sitalces and their followers of having plundered temples, removed ancient tombs, and done other overbearing and scandalous injustices to the inhabitants. On receiving this report, Alexander put these two to death, to put fear into any other satraps or governors who were left, that if they committed the like crimes they too should suffer the like fate. And this above everything else kept in order the tribes which Alexander had subdued or which had surrendered to him, being as they were so many in number, and so far separated one from another — namely, that Alexander permitted no subjects under his sway to be wronged by their rulers. Heracon indeed was for the time acquitted of the charge; but soon after the charge was brought home to him by some of the people of Susa of having sacked the temple of Susa; and he also was punished. The companions of Stasanor and Phrataphernes brought to Alexander a large number of transport animals and a good many camels, having guessed, so soon as they learned that he was going towards Gadosia, that his army would suffer those very disasters which it did suffer. Their coming, too, was indeed timely, as was that of the camels and other animals; for Alexander distributed them all to the officers, one by one, to the others by squadrons and centuries, and also by files, according to the total number of camels and transport animals which he received.

[1] ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ τοιάδε ἀνέγραψαν, οὐ πιστὰ ἔμοι λέγοντες, ὥς συζεύξας δύο ἄρμαμάξας κατακείμενος ξὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις καταλούμενος τὴν διὰ Καρμανίας ἦγεν, ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔστεφανωμένη τε καὶ παίζουσα εἶπετο, προῦκειτο δὲ αὐτῇ σῖτά τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τρυφὴν παρὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς συγκεκομισμένα πρὸς τῶν Καρμανίων, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς μίμησιν τῆς Διονύσου βακχείας ἀπεικάσθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, [2] ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου λόγος ἐλέγετο καταστρεφάμενον Ἰνδοὺς Διόνυσον οὕτω τὴν πολλὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπελθεῖν, καὶ Θριάμβόν τε αὐτὸν ἐπικληθῆναι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ταῖς ἐκ πολέμου πομπὰς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ θριάμβους. ταῦτα δὲ οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου οὔτε Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου ἀνέγραψαν οὐδέ τις ἄλλος ὄντινα ἰκανὸν ἂν τις ποιήσαιτο τεκμηριῶσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιῶνδε, καὶ μοι ὥς οὐ πιστὰ ἀναγεγράφθαι ἐξήρκεσαν. [3] ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνα ἤδη Ἀριστοβούλῳ ἐπόμενος συγγράφῳ, θῆσαι ἐν Καρμανίᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρον χαριστήρια τῆς κατ' Ἰνδῶν νίκης

καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ὅτι ἀπεσώθη ἐκ Γαδρωσίων, καὶ ἀγῶνα διαθεῖναι μουσικόν τε καὶ γυμνικόν: καταλέξει δὲ καὶ Πευκέσταν ἐς τοὺς σωματοφύλακας, ἥδη μὲν ἐγνωκότες σατράπην καταστήσαι τῆς Περσίδος, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πρὸ τῆς σατραπείας μηδὲ ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως ἀπείρατον εἶναι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν Μαλλοῖς ἔργῳ: [4] εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ ἑπτὰ εἰς τότε σωματοφύλακας, Λεοννάτον Ἀντέου, Ἡφαιστίωνα τὸν Ἀμύντορος, Λυσίμαχον Ἀγαθοκλέους, Ἀριστόνουν Πεισαίου, τούτους μὲν Πελλαίους, Περδίκκαν δὲ Ὀρόντου ἐκ τῆς Ὀρεστίδος, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ Λάγου καὶ Πείθωνα Κρατεῦα Ἑορδαίου: ὄγδοον δὲ προσγενέσθαι αὐτοῖς Πευκέσταν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπερασπίσαντα. [5] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Νέαρχος περιπλεύσας τὴν Ὠρων τε καὶ Γαδρωσῶν γῆν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων κατῆρεν ἐς τῆς Καρμανίας τὰ πρὸς θάλασσαν ὠκισμένα: ἐνθεν δὲ ἀνελθὼν σὺν ὀλίγοις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀπήγγειλε τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν περίπλουν τὸν γενόμενον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἕξω θάλασσαν. [6] τοῦτον μὲν δὴ καταπέμπει αὐθις ἐκπεριπλεύσοντα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν Σουσιανῶν τε γῆν καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ τὰς ἐκβολάς: ὅπως δὲ ἐπλεύσθη αὐτῷ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικὴν καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Τίγρητος, ταῦτα ἰδίᾳ ἀναγράψω αὐτῷ Νέαρχῳ ἐπόμενος, ὥς καὶ τήνδε εἶναι ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἑλληνικὴν τὴν συγγραφὴν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν ὑστέρῳ ἔσται τυχόν, εἰ[ς] ὃ τε θυμός [τέ] με καὶ ὁ δαίμων ταύτῃ ἄγοι. [7] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν σὺν τε τῇ πλείστη μοίρᾳ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἅμα οἱ ἔχοντα τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Καρμανίας ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅτι χειμῶνος ὥρα γιγνομένου αὐτῷ τοῦ στόλου τὰ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ τῆς Περσίδος ἀλεινὰ τε ἦν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθόνως ἔχοντα.

XXV. Some writers have recounted a story, which I do not myself credit, that Alexander bound together two war-chariots, and reclining at ease with his Companions, and soothed by the sounds of the flute, thus drove through Carmania; his army following behind, garlanded and sporting; that provisions, and everything else that could make for luxury, had been brought together along their path by the Carmanians; and that all this had been conceived by Alexander in mimicry of the bacchic revelry of Dionysus, since there was a story about Dionysus, too, that after subduing India he traversed in this guise the greater part of Asia, Dionysus himself being surnamed "Triumph," and his warlike processions after his victories called, for the like reason, "triumphs." All this neither Ptolemaeus son of Lagus nor Aristobulus son of Aristobulus have recorded; nor any other author whom one might regard as reliable in narrating tales like these. As for me, it has sufficed to write them down here, but merely as legends. This, however, I do record, following Aristobulus, that Alexander in Carmania sacrificed thank-offerings for his conquest of India, and on behalf of his army, for its safe transit through the Gadrosian desert; and that he instituted athletic games and artistic contests; also that he enrolled Peucestas among his bodyguards, having already decided to make him satrap of Persia, but anxious that even before he received this satrapy he should not be without this mark of honour and confidence after his heroic deed among

the Mallians; moreover, that up to this time he had seven officers of the bodyguards, Leonnatus son of Anteus, Hephaestion son of Amyntor, Lysimachus son of Agathocles, Aristonous son of Pisaeus, all these of Pella; then, besides, Perdiccas son of Orontes, from Orestis, Ptolemaeus son of Lagus and Peitho son of Crateas, from Eordaea, and now an eighth was added to their number, Peucestas, who protected Alexander by his shield.

Meanwhile Nearchus, having completed his voyage round the country of the Orians and the Gadosians and the Ichthyophagi, put in to the inhabited part of the Carmanian seashore; and thence sailing again with only a few of his men reported to Alexander the result of his voyage through the outer ocean. Alexander sent him back again, to continue his voyage to the district of Susia and the mouths of the river Tigris. The story, however, of his voyage from the river Indus to the Persian Sea and the mouth of the Tigris, I shall recount separately, using Nearchus himself as my authority, so that this may also be a History of Alexander in Greek. This, then, shall be perhaps for some future date, when inclination and circumstances put me in the way of it.

Alexander now despatched Hephaestion with the greatest part of the army and the baggage train, and with the elephants also, along the sea-coast from Carmania, bidding him lead his force to Persia, because, his expedition taking place in winter, the seaward parts of Persia were sunny and well supplied with all necessities.

[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ζῖν τοῖς κουφοτάτοις τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ζῖν τῶν ἰππέων τοῖς ἐταίροις καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἦει τὴν ἐπὶ Πασαργάδας τῆς Περσίδος. Στασάνορα δὲ καταπέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. [2] ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις ἦν τῆς Περσίδος, Φρασαόρτην μὲν οὐ κατέλαβε σατραπεύοντα ἔτι ἴσως γὰρ τετελευτηκῶς ἐτύγχανεν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἔτι Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος, Ὁρξίνης δὲ ἐπεμέλετο τῆς Περσίδος, οὐ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου κατασταθείς, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἀπηξίωσεν αὐτὸν ἐν κόσμῳ Πέρσας διαφυλάξαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐκ ὄντος ἄλλου ἄρχοντος. [3] ἦλθε δὲ ἐς Πασαργάδας καὶ Ἀτροπάτης ὁ Μηδ[ε]ίας σατράπης, ἄγων Βαρυάξην ἄνδρα Μηδὸν συνειλημμένον, ὅτι ὀρθὴν τὴν κίδαριν περιθέμενος βασιλέα προσεῖπεν αὐτὸν Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων, καὶ ζῖν τούτῳ τοὺς μετασχόντας αὐτῷ τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ τε καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀλέξανδρος. [4] ἐλύπησε δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ παρανομία ἢ ἐς τὸν Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσου τάφον, ὅτι διορωρυγμένον τε καὶ σεσυλημένον κατέλαβε τοῦ Κύρου τὸν τάφον, ὥς λέγει Αἰριστόβουλος. εἶναι γὰρ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐν τῇ παραδείσῳ τῇ βασιλικῇ Κύρου ἐκείνου τάφον καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλσος πεφυτεῖσθαι δένδρων παντοίων καὶ ὕδατι εἶναι κατάρρυτον καὶ πόαν βαθεῖαν πεφυκέναι ἐν τῇ λειμῶνι, καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν τάφον τὰ κάτω λίθου τετραπέδου ἐς τετράγωνον σχῆμα πεποιῆσθαι, [5] ἄνωθεν δὲ οἶκημα ἐπεῖναι λίθινον ἐστεγασμένον, θυρίδα ἔχον φέρουσαν ἔσω στενὴν, ὥς μόλις ἂν εἶναι ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ οὐ μεγάλῳ πολλὰ κακοπαθοῦντι παρελθεῖν. ἐν δὲ τῷ οἰκήματι πύελον χρυσοῦν κεῖσθαι, ἵνα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κύρου ἐτέθητο, καὶ κλίνην παρὰ τῇ πύλῳ: πόδας δὲ εἶναι τῇ κλίνῃ χρυσοῦς σφυρηλάτους καὶ τάπητα ἐπίβλημα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ καυνάκας πορφυροῦς ὑποστρώματα. [6] ἐπεῖναι δὲ καὶ κύνδους

καὶ ἄλλους χιτῶνας τῆς Βαβυλωνίου ἐργασίας. καὶ ἀναξυρίδες Μηδικαὶ καὶ στολαὶ ὑακινθινοβαφεῖς λέγει ὅτι ἔκειντο, αἱ δὲ πορφύρας αἱ δὲ ἄλλης καὶ ἄλλης χροᾶς, καὶ στρεπτοὶ καὶ ἀκινάκαι καὶ ἐνώτια χρυσοῦ τε καὶ λίθων κολλητά, καὶ τράπεζα ἔκειτο. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς κλίνης ἡ πύελος ἔκειτο ἡ τὸ σῶμα τὸ Κύρου ἔχουσα. [7] εἶναι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου πρὸς τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον φερούσῃ οἶκημα σμικρὸν τοῖς Μάγοις πεποιημένον, οἱ δὲ ἐφύλασσον τὸν Κύρου τάφον ἔτι ἀπὸ Καμβύσου τοῦ Κύρου, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν φυλακὴν. καὶ τούτοις πρόβατόν τε ἐς ἡμέραν ἐδίδοτο ἐκ βασιλέως καὶ ἀλεύρων τε καὶ οἴνου τεταγμένα καὶ ἵππος κατὰ μῆνα ἐς θυσίαν τῷ Κύρῳ. [8] ἐπεγέγραπτο δὲ ὁ τάφος Περσικοῖς γράμμασι: καὶ ἐδήλου Περσιστὶ τάδε: ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἐγὼ Κύρος εἰμι ὁ Καμβύσου ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν Πέρσαις καταστησάμενος καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύσας. μὴ οὖν φθονήσης μοι τοῦ μνήματος. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ, [9] ὁπότε ἔλοι Πέρσας, παριέναι ἐς τοῦ Κύρου τὸν τάφον· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καταλαμβάνει ἐκπεφορημένα πλὴν τῆς πύελου καὶ τῆς κλίνης: οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κύρου ἐλωβήσαντο ἀφελόντες τὸ πῶμα τῆς πύελου καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐξέβαλον: αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν πύελον ἐπειρῶντο εὐογκόν σφισι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ταύτῃ εὐφορον τὰ μὲν παρακόπτοντες, τὰ δὲ ξυθλῶντες αὐτῆς. ὥς δὲ οὐ προυχώρει αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω δὲ ἐάσαντες τὴν πύελον ἀπῆλθον. [10] καὶ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος αὐτὸς ταχθῆναι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου κοσμήσαι ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς τῷ Κύρῳ τὸν τάφον. καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος ὅσαπερ ἔτι σῶα ἦν καταθεῖναι ἐς τὴν πύελον καὶ τὸ πῶμα ἐπιθεῖναι, ὅσα δὲ λελώβητο αὐτῆς κατορθῶσαι: καὶ τὴν κλίνην ἐντείνειν ταινίαις καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐς κόσμον ἔκειτο κατὰ ἀριθμὸν τε καὶ τοῖς πάλαι ὅμοια ἀποθεῖναι καὶ τὴν θυρίδα δὲ ἀφανίσαι τὰ μὲν αὐτῆς λίθῳ ἐνοικοδομήσαντα, τὰ δὲ πηλῷ ἐμπλάσαντα, καὶ ἐπιβαλεῖν τῷ πηλῷ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ βασιλικόν. [11] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ξυλλαβὼν τοὺς Μάγους τοὺς φύλακας τοῦ τάφου ἐστρέβλωσεν, ὥς κατεῖπεν τοὺς δράσαντας, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε σφῶν οὔτε ἄλλου κατεῖπον στρεβλούμενοι, οὐδὲ ἄλλῃ πῃ ἐξηλέγχοντο ξυνειδότες τῷ ἔργῳ: καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀφείθησαν ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

XXVI. Then Alexander himself, with the lightest of the infantry and the cavalry Companions and with part of the archers, advanced by the road leading to the Pasargadae, in Persia; Stasanor he despatched to his own country. And when he was on the Persian borders, he did not find Phrasaortes satrap any longer, for he had died of sickness while Alexander was in India, but Orxines had charge of Persia, not by appointment of Alexander, but because he felt that he was the right person, in the absence of any other governor, to keep Persia in order for Alexander. To the district of the Pasargadae came also Atropates the satrap of Media, with Baryaxes a Mede as prisoner, since he had worn his cap in the upright fashion and given himself out to be King of Persians and Medes; together with him were his associates in his revolution and rebellion. All these Alexander ordered to be put to death.

Alexander, however, was most distressed by the crime committed against the tomb of Cyrus and Cambyses, since (as Aristobulus relates) he found the tomb of Cyrus broken into and rifled. The tomb of this Cyrus was in the

territory of the Pasargadae, in the royal park; round it had been planted a grove of all sorts of trees; the grove was irrigated, and deep grass had grown in the meadow; the tomb itself was built, at the base, with stones cut square and raised into rectangular form. Above, there was a chamber with a stone roof and with a door leading into it so narrow that with difficulty, and after great trouble, one man, and he a small one, could enter. And in the chamber was placed a golden sarcophagus, in which Cyrus' body had been buried; a divan stood by the sarcophagus, and this divan had feet of wrought gold; its coverlet was of Babylonian carpets, and for an undercovering, purple rugs. Upon it was placed a tunic and vests also of Babylonian workmanship. Then there were, besides, Median trousers; and robes dyed blue lay there, as he (Aristobulus.) says; and furthermore some of purple, some of this colour, some of that; necklaces also and scimitars and earrings of stones set in gold; and a table stood there also. It was on the midst of the divan that the sarcophagus, containing Cyrus' body, was placed. Within the enclosure, and lying on the approach to the tomb itself, was a small building put up for the Magians, who were guardians of Cyrus' tomb, from as long ago as Cambyzes, son of Cyrus, receiving this guardianship from father to son. To them was given from the King a sheep a day, an allowance of meal and wine, and a horse each month, to sacrifice to Cyrus. There was an inscription on the tomb in Persian letters; it ran thus, in Persian: "Mortal! I am Cyrus son of Cambyzes, who founded the Persian empire, and was Lord of Asia. Grudge me not, then, my monument."

But Alexander, who was anxious, so soon as he should conquer Persia, to visit Cyrus' tomb, finds everything else removed except the sarcophagus and the divan. The robbers had even violated the body of Cyrus, for they had removed the top of the sarcophagus and had thrown out the body; the sarcophagus itself they had tried to render portable, so that they might bear it away, chipping some parts away, and breaking other parts off. Not succeeding in this attempt, however, they left the sarcophagus as it was and went off. And Aristobulus says that he received orders from Alexander to put the tomb in good order again, to deposit such parts of the body as were left in the sarcophagus again, and place its lid upon it; where it was damaged, to repair it; to spread the divan with ribands, and to restore, just like the originals, all else that had been placed there, by way of ornament, piece by piece; to obliterate the door both by walling it up in stone and partly by covering it with clay; and then to set on the clay the royal seal. Alexander then seized the Magians who were the guardians of the tomb and tortured them that they might reveal the perpetrators; but they even under torture accused neither themselves nor anyone else, nor showed in any way that they were privy to the deed; and so Alexander let them go.

[1] ἔνθεν δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια ἦει τὰ Περσῶν, ἃ δὴ πρόσθεν κατέφλεξεν αὐτός, ὥς μοι λέλεκται, ὅτε οὐκ ἐπήνουν τὸ ἔργον· ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπανελθὼν ἐπὶναι. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ κατὰ Ὅρξινου πολλοὶ λόγοι ἐλέχθησαν

πρὸς Περσῶν, ὃς ἤρξε Περσῶν ἐπειδὴ Φρασαόρτης ἐτελεύτησε. [2] καὶ ἐξηλέγχθη Ορξίνης ἰερά τε ὅτι σεσυλήκει καὶ τάφους βασιλικούς, καὶ Περσῶν πολλοὺς ὅτι οὐ ζῶν δίκη ἀπέκτεινε. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ οἷς ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκρέμασαν, σατράπην δὲ Πέρσαις ἔταξε Πευκέσταν τὸν σωματοφύλακα, πιστόν τε οἱ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τιθέμενος τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν Μαλλοῖς ἔργῳ, ἵνα προεκινδύνευσέ τε καὶ συνεξέσωσεν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἄλλως τῷ βαρβαρικῷ τρόπῳ τῆς διαίτης οὐκ ἀξύμφορον: [3] ἐδήλωσε δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε εὐθὺς ὥς κατεστάθῃ σατραπεύειν Περσῶν μόνος τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων μεταβαλὼν τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ φωνὴν τὴν Περσικὴν ἐκμαθὼν καὶ τὰλλα ζύμπαντα ἐς τρόπον τὸν Περσικὸν κατασκευασάμενος. ἐφ' οἷς Ἀλέξανδρός γε ἐπῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ὥς τὰ παρὰ σφίσι πρὸ τῶν πατρίων πρεσβεύοντι ἔχαιρον.

XXVII. Thence Alexander advanced to the Persian palace to which he himself had formerly set fire; this act when I related, I could not approve; nor did Alexander, when he returned thither, approve it. Furthermore, many accusations were brought by the Persians against Orxines, who took command of Persia when Phrasaortes died. Orxines was convicted of having rifled temples and royal tombs, and also of having put to death many Persians without cause. Certain persons then under Alexander's orders hanged him. As satrap of the Persians he appointed Peucestas the bodyguard, regarding him as especially loyal to him, and chiefly on account of his heroism among the Mallians, where he risked his life and helped to save Alexander, and moreover, by reason of his Oriental way of life he was not unsuited to the Persians. And of this he gave proof, as soon as he was appointed satrap of Persia, by adopting, alone of the Macedonians, the Median dress and learning the Persian language, and in all other » respects assimilating himself to the Persian ways. For all this Alexander commended him, and the Persians were gratified that he preferred their ways to those of his own country.

BOOK VII.

[1] ὥς δὲ ἐς Πασαργάδας τε καὶ ἐς Περσέπολιν ἀφίκετο Ἀλέξανδρος, πόθος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν καταπλεῦσαι κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικὴν καὶ τῶν τε ποταμῶν Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ τὴν ταύτη θάλασσαν. [2] οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδειδεῖν τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς ἐς τὸν πόντον, καθάπερ τοῦ ἀνέγραψαν, ὅτι ἐπενόει Ἀλέξανδρος περιπλεῦσαι τὴν τε Ἀραβίαν τὴν πολλὴν καὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπῶν γῆν καὶ τὴν Λιβύην τε καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἄτλαντα τὸ ὄρος ὥς ἐπὶ Γάδειρα ἔσω ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν Λιβύην τε καταστρεφάμενος καὶ Καρχηδόνᾳ οὕτω δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης δικαίως ἂν βασιλεὺς καλεῖσθαι: [3] τοὺς γάρ τοι Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων βασιλέας οὐδὲ τοῦ πολλοστοῦ μέρους τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπάρχοντας οὐ σὺν δίκῃ καλεῖν σφᾶς μεγάλους βασιλέας. ἔνθεν δὲ οἱ μὲν, ὅτι ἐς τὸν πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνιον ἐσπλεῖν ἐπενόει ἐς Σκύθας τε καὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαιῶτιν, οἱ δέ, ὅτι ἐς Σικελίαν τε καὶ ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν: ἤδη γάρ καὶ ὑποκινεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὄνομα προχωροῦν ἐπὶ μέγα. [4] ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποια μὲν ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰ ἐνθυμήματα οὔτε ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς ξυμβαλεῖν οὔτε μέλει ἔμοιγε εἰκάζειν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἰσχυρίσασθαι, οὔτε μικρόν τι καὶ φαῦλον ἐπινοεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον οὔτε μείναι ἂν ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἤδη κεκτημένων, οὐδὲ εἰ τὴν Εὐρώπῃν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ προσέθηκεν, οὐδ' εἰ τὰς Βρεττανῶν νήσους τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, ἀλλὰ ἔτι ἂν ἐπέκεινα ζητεῖν τι τῶν ἡγνοημένων, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἄλλω τῷ, ἀλλὰ αὐτόν γε αὐτῷ ἐρίζοντα. [5] καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐπαινῷ τοὺς σοφιστὰς τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὧν λέγουσιν ἔστιν οὗς καταληφθέντας ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπαιθρίους ἐν λειμῶνι, ἵνα περ αὐτοῖς διατριβαὶ ἦσαν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ποιῆσαι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς, κρούειν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ἧς βεβηκότες ἦσαν. ὥς δὲ ἤρετο Ἀλέξανδρος δι' ἐρμηνέων ὅ τι νοοῖ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔργον, τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὤδε: [6] βασιλεῦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἄνθρωπος μὲν ἕκαστος τοσόνδε τῆς γῆς κατέχει ὅσον περ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐφ' ὅτῳ βεβήκαμεν: σὺ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὢν παραπλήσιος τοῖς ἄλλοις, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι πολυπράγμων καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας τοσαύτην γῆν ἐπεξέρχῃ πράγματα ἔχων τε καὶ παρέχων ἄλλοις, καὶ οὖν καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἀποθανὼν τοσοῦτον καθέξεις τῆς γῆς ὅσον ἐξαρκεῖ ἐντεθάρθῃ τῷ σώματι.

I. ON reaching the Pasargadae and Persepolis Alexander was seized with a desire to sail down by the Euphrates and Tigris into the Persian Sea; and to see the outlets of these rivers into the sea, as he had seen the outlet of the Indus, and the ocean near it. Some historians have recorded that Alexander intended to sail round Arabia, the greater part of it, and Aethiopia and Libya and the Nomads who are beyond Mount Atlas, right up to Gadeira in our sea; then if he had subdued Libya and Carthage, he would in just right be called King of all Asia; for, of course, the Persian and Median Kings had not held sway over even a fraction of Asia, and so had no right to call themselves Great Kings. Thence some authorities say he proposed to sail into the Euxine Sea to Scythia and Lake Maeotis; others, that he intended to make for Sicily

and the Iapygian promontory; for he was already rather distressed that the Roman name was growing very widely extended.

As for what was in Alexander's mind, I for my part have no means of conjecturing with any accuracy, nor do I care to guess; this, however, I think I can for my own part asseverate, that Alexander had no small or mean conceptions, nor would ever have remained contented with any of his possessions so far, not even if he had added Europe to Asia, and the Britannic islands to Europe; but would always have searched far beyond for something unknown, being always the rival, if of no other, yet of himself. In this connection I applaud the Indian wise men, some of whom, the story goes, were found by Alexander in the open air in a meadow, where they used to have their disputations, and who, when they saw Alexander and his army, did nothing further than beat with their feet the ground on which they stood. Then when Alexander enquired by interpreters what this action of theirs meant, they replied: "O King Alexander, each man possesses just so much of the earth as this on which we stand; and you being a man like other men, save that you are full of activity and relentless, are roaming over all this earth far from your home, troubled yourself, and troubling others. But not so long hence you will die, and will possess just so much of the earth as suffices for your burial."

[1] κἀνταῦθα ἐπῆνεσε μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς τε λόγους αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς εἰπόντας, ἔπρασσε δὲ ὁμως ἄλλα καὶ τάναντία οἷς ἐπῆνεσεν. ἐπεὶ καὶ Διογένην τὸν ἐκ Σινώπης θαυμάσαι λέγεται, ἐν Ἰσθμῷ ἐντυχὼν τῷ Διογένει κατακειμένῳ ἐν ἡλίῳ, ἐπιστὰς σὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς καὶ τοῖς πεζεταῖροις καὶ ἐρόμενος εἴ του δέοιτο: ὁ δὲ Διογένης ἄλλου μὲν ἔφη δεῖσθαι οὐδενός, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. οὕτω τοι οὐ πάντῃ ἔξω τοῦ ἐπινοεῖν τὰ κρείττω ἢν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλ' ἐκ δόξης γὰρ δεινῶς ἐκρατεῖτο. [2] ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐς Τάξιλα αὐτῷ ἀφικομένῳ καὶ ἰδόντι τῶν σοφιστῶν τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς γυμνοὺς πόθος ἐγένετο ξυνεῖναι τινα οἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, ὅτι τὴν καρτερίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμασε: καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος τῶν σοφιστῶν, ὅτου ὁμιλεται οἱ ἄλλοι ἦσαν, Δάνδαμης ὄνομα, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἦξειν οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους εἶα, [3] ἀλλὰ ὑποκρίνασθαι γὰρ λέγεται ὡς Διὸς υἱὸς καὶ αὐτὸς εἶη, εἵπερ οὖν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ὅτι οὔτε δέοιτό του τῶν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἔχειν γάρ οἱ εὖ τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ἅμα ὁρᾶν τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ πλανωμένους τοσαύτην γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ οὐδενί, μηδὲ πέρας τι αὐτοῖς γινόμενον τῶν πολλῶν πλανῶν. οὐτ' οὖν ποθεῖν τι αὐτὸς ὅτου κύριος ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος δοῦναι, οὔτε αὖ δεδιέναι, ὅτου κρατοίῃ ἐκείνος, ἔστιν οὖ εἴργεσθαι: [4] ζῶντι μὲν γάρ οἱ τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν ἐξαρκεῖν φέρουσιν τὰ ὠραῖα, ἀποθανόντα δὲ ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι οὐκ ἐπιεικοῦς ξυνοίκου τοῦ σώματος. οὐκ οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιχειρῆσαι βιάσασθαι γνόντα ἐλεύθερον ὄντα τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ Κάλανον γὰρ ἀναπεισθῆναι τῶν ταύτῃ σοφιστῶν, ὄντινα μάλιστα διὰ αὐτοῦ ἀκράτορα Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς σοφιστὰς λέγειν κακίζοντας τὸν Κάλανον, ὅτι ἀπολιπὼν τὴν παρὰ σφίσιν εὐδαιμονίαν ὁ δὲ δεσπότην ἄλλον ἢ τὸν θεὸν ἐθεράπευε. ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀνέγραψα, ὅτι καὶ ὑπερ Καλάνου ἐχρῆν

II. On that occasion Alexander applauded their remarks and the speakers, but he always acted diametrically opposite to that which he then applauded. For example, he is said to have expressed surprise at Diogenes of Sinope, when he found Diogenes once on the Isthmus lying in the sun; he and his bodyguard and his infantry Companions halted, and he asked if Diogenes had need of anything. But he merely answered that he needed nothing else, but bade him and his followers stand out of his sunlight. So it was evident that Alexander was not incapable of higher thought, but he was, in fact, grievously under the sway of ambition. For once when he came to Taxila and saw those of the Indian wise men who go naked, he desired very much that one of these men should join him, since he so much admired their endurance. On this the oldest among these wise men, whose pupils the others were, called Dandamis, said that he would not join Alexander, and would not permit any of his school to do so. For he is said to have replied that he was just as much a son of Zeus himself as Alexander was, and that he had no need of anything from Alexander, since he was contented with what he had; he perceived, moreover, that those who were wandering about with Alexander over all those countries and seas were none the better for it, and that there was no end to their many wanderings. He did not then desire anything that Alexander could give him, nor did he fear being kept out of anything of which Alexander might be possessed. While he lived, the land of India was all he needed, giving to him its fruits in their season; and when he died, he would merely be released from an uncomfortable companion, his body. Alexander then hearing this reply had no mind to compel him, realizing that the man was indeed free. But a certain Calanus — so Megasthenes writes — one of the wise men of these parts, was persuaded to join Alexander; a man whom the wise men themselves regarded as most uncontrolled in his desires, reproaching Calanus because he deserted the happiness which they had, while he served a master other than God.

[1] εἶπεῖν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου συγγραφῇ: μαλακισθῆναι γάρ τι τῷ σώματι τὸν Κάλανον ἐν τῇ Περσίδι γῇ, οὐπω πρόσθεν νοσήσαντα: οὐκ οὐδὲ δίαίταν διαιτᾶσθαι θέλειν ἀρρώστου ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ εἶπεῖν γὰρ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, καλῶς αὐτῷ ἔχειν ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε καταστρέψαι, πρὶν τινος ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν παθήματος ὃ τι περ ἐξαναγκάσει αὐτὸν μεταβάλλειν τὴν πρόσθεν δίαίταν. [2] καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντειπεῖν μὲν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πολὺ: ὥς δ' οὐχ ἡττησόμενον ἑώρα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλως ἂν ἀπαλλαγέντα, εἰ μὴ τις ταύτῃ ὑπεικάθοι, οὕτω δὴ ὅπῃ ἐπήγγελλεν αὐτός, κλεῦσαι νησθῆναι αὐτῷ πυράν, καὶ ταύτης ἐπιμεληθῆναι Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου τὸν σωματοφύλακα. οἱ δὲ καὶ πομπὴν τινα προπομπεῦσαι αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ἵππους τε καὶ ἄνδρας, τοὺς μὲν ὠπλισμένους, τοὺς δὲ θυμιάματα παντοῖα τῇ πυρᾷ ἐπιφέροντας: οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκπώματα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ἐσθῆτα βασιλικὴν λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔφερον. [3] αὐτῷ δὲ παρασκευασθῆναι μὲν ἵππον, ὅτι βαδίσαι ἀδυνάτως εἶχεν ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου: οὐ μὴν δυνηθῆναι γε οὐδὲ τοῦ ἵππου ἐπιβῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ κλίνης γὰρ κοιμῆσθαι φερόμενον, ἐστεφανωμένον τε τῷ Ἰνδῶν νόμῳ καὶ ἄδοντα τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσσῃ. οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ὕμνοι θεῶν ἦσαν καὶ αὐτῶν ἔπαινοι.

[4] καὶ τὸν μὲν ἵππον τοῦτον ὅτου ἐπιβήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, βασιλικὸν ὄντα τῶν Νησαίων, πρὶν ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν Λυσιμάχῳ χαρίσασθαι, τῶν τινι θεραπευόντων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σοφία: τῶν δὲ δὴ ἐκπωμάτων ἢ στρωμάτων ὅσα ἐμβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν πυρὰν κόσμον αὐτῷ τετάχει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἄλλα ἄλλοις δοῦναι τῶν ἄμφ' αὐτόν. [5] οὕτω δὲ ἐπιβάντα τῇ πυρᾷ κατακλιθῆναι μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ, ὀρᾶσθαι δὲ πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς ξυμπάσης. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐπεικὲς φανῆναι τὸ θέαμα ἐπὶ φίλῳ ἀνδρὶ γιγνόμενον: ἀλλὰ τοῖς γὰρ ἄλλοις θαῦμα παρασχέσθαι οὐδέν τι παρακινήσαντα ἐν τῇ πυρὶ τοῦ σώματος. [6] ὥς δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὴν πυρὰν ἐνέβαλον οἷς προστεταγμένον ἦν, τάς τε σάλπιγγας φθέγγεσθαι λέγει Νέαρχος, οὕτως ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου προστεταγμένον, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπαλαλάξει πᾶσαν ὁποῖόν τι καὶ ἐς τὰς μάχας ἰοῦσα ἐπηλάλαξε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας συνεπηγῆσαι τὸ ὅζυ καὶ πολεμικόν, τιμῶντας Κάλανον. ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ Καλάνου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἱκανοὶ ἀναγεγράφεσιν, οὐκ ἀχρεῖα πάντα ἐς ἀνθρώπους, ὅτῳ γινῶναι ἐπιμελές, [ὅτι] ὥς καρτερόν τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀνίκητον γνώμη ἀνθρωπίνη ὃ τι περ ἐθέλοι ἐξεργάσασθαι.

III. All this I have narrated because it was impossible to write a history of Alexander without mention of Calanus; for he grew enfeebled in body in Persia, though he had never been ill before; and yet he would not submit to the ordinary treatment of an invalid, but said to Alexander that he was glad to make an end as he was, before he should experience any suffering which would force him to adopt a different treatment than that to which he had been used. Alexander, however, argued with him at some length; but perceiving that Calanus would not give in, but would choose some other way of death, if one should not yield to him on this point, ordered, as Calanus desired, that a pyre should be built for him, and that Ptolemaeus son of Lagus the officer of the bodyguard should be in charge of this. Some authorities relate that he had a great procession formed, horses and men, of whom some were in full armour, and others carried all sorts of incense for the pyre; others again say that they carried gold and silver cups and royal raiment. For Calanus himself a horse was made ready, since he could not walk, by reason of his illness; and yet he could not so much as mount the horse, but was borne upon a litter, lying down, crowned with garlands in the Indian fashion and singing songs in the Indian tongue. The Indians say that these songs were hymns to some gods, and their praises. The horse, on which he was to have mounted, was a royal horse, belonging to the Nysaeans, and before Calanus mounted the pyre it was given as a gift to Lysimachus, one of those who had been his pupils in philosophy; and of the cups and coverlets which Alexander had ordered to be heaped upon the pyre, he gave some to one, and some to another, off his followers. Thus, then, he mounted the pyre and lay down with solemnity, in the sight of all the host. As for Alexander, he felt this spectacle to be unseemly, with one for whom he had an affection; as for the rest, they felt nothing but astonishment to see that Calanus flinched not one whit in the flames. And when the pyre was lit by those detailed to do so, the trumpets (says Nearchus) sounded, as Alexander had ordered, and the whole army

raised the cry which they raise when entering battle, and the elephants trumpeted their shrill war-cry, in honour of Calanus. Many writers have told this story, and others like it, of Calanus the Indian, not altogether valueless to mankind, at least for anyone who cares to realize how stalwart and unflinching is human resolution to carry out that which it desires.

[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀτροπάτην μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σατραπείαν ἐκπέμπει παρελθὼν ἐς Σοῦσα, Ἀβουλίτην δὲ καὶ τὸν τούτου παῖδα Ὁξάθρην, ὅτι κακῶς ἐπεμελεῖτο τῶν Σουσίων, συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε. [2] πολλὰ μὲν δὴ ἐπεπλημμέλητο ἐκ τῶν κατεχόντων τὰς χώρας ὅσαι δορίκτητοι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐγένοντο ἕς τε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τάφους καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ὅτι χρόνιος ὁ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς στόλος ἐγεγένητο τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ οὐ πιστὸν ἐφαίνετο ἀπονοστήσειν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοσῶνδε ἐθνῶν καὶ τοσῶνδε ἐλεφάντων, ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰνδὸν τε καὶ Ὑδάσπην καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην καὶ Ὑφασιν φθειρόμενον. [3] καὶ αἱ ἐν Γαδρωσίοις δὲ αὐτῷ ξυμφοραὶ ξυνενεχθεῖσαι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπῆραν τοὺς [ἐν] ταύτῃ σατραπεύοντας καταφρονῆσαι αὐτοῦ τῆς οἴκοι ἀπονοστήσεως. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ὀξύτερος λέγεται γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ τότε ἐς τὸ πιστεῦσαι τε τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις ὥς πιθανοῖς δὴ ἐν παντὶ οὔσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τιμωρήσασθαι μεγάλως τοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ μικροῖς ἐξελεγχθέντας, ὅτι καὶ τὰ μεγάλα ἂν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ ἐξεργάσασθαι. [4] ὁ δὲ καὶ γάμους ἐποίησεν ἐν Σούσις αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων· αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν Δαρείου θυγατέρων τὴν πρεσβυτάτην Βαρσίνην ἡγάγετο, ὥς δὲ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ, τῶν Ὠχοῦ θυγατέρων τὴν νεωτάτην Παρύσατιν. ἥδη δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ἡγμένη καὶ ἡ Ὁξάρτου τοῦ Βακτρίου παῖς Ῥωξάνη. [5] Δρύπετιν δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνι δίδωσι, Δαρείου παῖδα καὶ ταύτην, ἀδελφὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικός· ἐθέλειν γάρ οἱ ἀνεπιούς τῶν παίδων γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἡφαιστίωνος παῖδας· Κρατερῷ δὲ Ἀμαστρίνην τὴν Ὁξάρτου τοῦ Δαρείου ἀδελφοῦ παῖδα· Περδίκκᾳ δὲ τὴν Ἀτροπάτου τοῦ Μηδίας σατράπου παῖδα ἔδωκεν· [6] Πτολεμαίῳ δὲ τῷ σωματοφύλακι καὶ Εὐμενεῖ τῷ γραμματεῖ τῷ βασιλικῷ τὰς Ἀρταβάζου παῖδας τῷ μὲν Ἀρτακάμαν, τῷ δὲ Ἀρτωνιν· Νεάρχῳ δὲ τὴν Βαρσίνης τε καὶ Μέντορος παῖδα· Σελεύκῳ δὲ τὴν Σπιταμένους τοῦ Βακτρίου παῖδα· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐταίροις τὰς δοκιμωτάτας Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων παῖδας ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα. οἱ γάμοι δὲ ἐποiehθησαν νόμῳ τῷ Περσικῷ· [7] θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν τοῖς νυμφίοις ἐφεξῆς καὶ μετὰ τὸν πότον ἦκον αἱ γαμούμεναι καὶ παρεκαθέζοντο ἐκάστη τῷ ἑαυτῆς· οἱ δὲ ἐδεξιώσαντό τε αὐτὰς καὶ ἐφίλησαν· πρῶτος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤρξεν· ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γὰρ πάντων ἐγίγνοντο οἱ γάμοι. καὶ τοῦτο, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, ἔδοξε δημοτικόν τε καὶ φιλέταιρον πρᾶξαι Ἀλέξανδρον. [8] οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες ἀπῆγον τὴν αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος· προῖκας δὲ ξυμπάσαις ἐπέδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ ὅσοι δὲ ἄλλοι ἡγμένοι ἦσαν Μακεδόνες τῶν Ἀσιανῶν τινὰς γυναικῶν, ἀπογραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ τούτων τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ τούτοις δωρεαὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐδόθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς γάμοις.

IV. At this time Alexander despatched Atropates to his satrapy, after he had himself proceeded to Susa. There he arrested Abulites and his son Oxathres, since he had abused his office as governor of the Susians, and put them to

death. For there had been many irregularities on the part of those rulers of countries which Alexander had captured in war; whether towards temples, tombs, or the subjects themselves, since the King had been a long time on his Indian expedition, and there seemed little likelihood of his returning safe from so many tribes and so many fighting elephants, doomed to perish beyond the Indus, Hydaspes, Acesines, and Hyphasis. The disasters too which he suffered in Gadosia all the more encouraged the satraps on this side to scout any idea of his return. Not but what Alexander himself is said to have grown at this time more ready to listen to any accusations, as if they were wholly reliable, and to punish severely those who were convicted of slight errors, because he felt they might, in the same frame of mind, commit heavier crimes.

Then he held also weddings at Susa, both his own and for his Companions; he married Dareius' eldest daughter Barsine, (Otherwise Stateira. This may be an error of Arrian's.) and, as Aristobulus says, another wife besides, the youngest daughter of Ochus, Parysatis. He had already taken to wife Roxane, the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian. To Hephaestion he gave Drypetis, also a daughter of Dareius, sister to his own wife, for he desired that Hephaestion's children should be his own nephews and nieces; to Craterus, Amastrine daughter of Oxyartes, Dareius' brother; to Perdikkas a daughter of Atropates, the satrap of Media; to Ptolemaeus the officer of the bodyguard and Eumenes the royal secretary, the daughters of Artabazus, Artacama to Ptolemaeus, Artonis to Eumenes; to Nearchus the daughter of Barsine (Alexander's earlier wife, mother of Heracles. (W. W. Tarn, xli, pt i, disputes this.)) and Mentor; to Seleucus the daughter of Spitamenes the Bactrian, and similarly to the other Companions the noblest daughters of Persians and Medes, to the number of eighty. These weddings were solemnized in the Persian fashion; chairs were placed for the bridegrooms in order; then after the health-drinkings the brides came in, and each sat down by the side of her bridegroom; they took them by the hand and kissed them, the King setting the example; for all the weddings took place together. In this, if ever, Alexander was thought to have shown a spirit of condescension and comradeship. Then the bridegrooms having received their brides led them back to their homes, and to all Alexander gave dowries. Any other Macedonians who had married Asian women Alexander ordered to be struck off the army list, and they proved to be more than ten thousand, and to all Alexander gave wedding gifts.

[1] καὶ τὰ χρέα ἐπιλύσασθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς ὅσοις χρέα ἦν ἐν καιρῷ οἱ ἔδοξε, καὶ κελεύει ἀπογράφεσθαι ὅποσον ὀφείλει ἕκαστος, ὥς ληγόμενος. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὀλίγοι ἀπέγραψαν σφῶν τὰ ὀνόματα δεδιότες ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου μὴ πεῖρα αὐτῇ εἶη καθειμένη, ὅτῳ οὐκ ἀποχρῶσα ἢ μισθοφορὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐστι καὶ ὅτῳ πολυτελὴς ἡ δαίτα. [2] ὥς δὲ ἐξήγγελτο ὅτι οὐκ ἀπογράφουσι σφᾶς οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλ' ἐπικρύπτουσιν ὅτῳ τι εἶη συμβόλαιον, τὴν μὲν ἀπιστίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκάκισεν: οὐ γὰρ χρῆναι οὐτ' οὖν τὸν βασιλέα ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, οὔτε τῶν ἀρχομένων τινὰ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν δοκεῖν τὸν βασιλέα. [3] καταθεῖς δὲ τραπέζας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων

χρυσίον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῆς δόσεως ἐκάστοις, ὅστις συμβόλαιον ἐπεδείκνυτο, ἐπιλύεσθαι τὰ χρέα ἐκέλευεν οὐκ ἀπογραφομένους ἔτι τὰ ὀνόματα. καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐπίστευσάν τε ἀληθεύειν ἡ λέξανδρον καὶ σὺν χάριτι μείζονι ἐγίγνετο αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γνωσθῆναι μᾶλλον τι ἢ τὸ παύσασθαι ὀφείλοντας. λέγεται δὲ γενέσθαι ἡ δόσις αὕτη τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς τάλαντα δισμύρια. [4] ἔδωκεν δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἄλλοις ἄλλα, ὅπως τις κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἐτιμᾶτο ἢ κατ' ἀρετὴν εἴ τις ἐπιφανὴς ἐγεγόνει ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις. καὶ ἐστεφάνωσε χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις τοὺς ἀνδραγαθία διαπρέποντας, πρῶτον μὲν Πευκέσταν τὸν ὑπερασπίσαντα, ἔπειτα Λεοννάτον, [5] καὶ τοῦτον ὑπερασπίσαντα, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς κινδύνους καὶ τὴν ἐν Ὠροῖς νίκην γενομένην, ὅτι παραταξάμενος σὺν τῇ ὑπολειφθεῖσῃ δυνάμει πρὸς τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας τῶν τε Ὠρειτῶν καὶ τῶν πλησίον τούτων ὤκισμένων τῇ τε μάχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καλῶς ἔδοξε τὰ ἐν Ὠροῖς κοσμήσαι. [6] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Νέαρχον ἐπὶ τῷ περίπλῳ τῷ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἐστεφάνωσε: καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἤδη ἀφιγμένος ἐς Σοῦσα ἦν: ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Ὀνησίκριτον τὸν κυβερνήτην τῆς νεῶς τῆς βασιλικῆς: ἔτι δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς σωματοφύλακας.

V. This seemed a convenient moment to clear up all debts of the army, and Alexander ordered a list to be made of all debts, with a promise of settlement. At first only a few entered their names on the list, being nervous lest Alexander had merely tried an experiment to see who had not lived on their pay and who had been living extravagantly; but when Alexander learnt that most of the soldiers were not sending in their names, but concealing their bonds, he reproved the suspicions of the troops; the King, he said, must always speak truth to his subjects, and the subjects must never suppose that their King speaks anything but truth. So he had banking tables set up in the camp, with money thereon, and told the accountants charged with the distribution to cancel the debts to all who produced any bond, without so much as registering the names. So they came to believe that Alexander spoke truth, and they were more gratified by the concealment of their names than by the cancellation of the debts. This gift of his to the army is said to have amounted to twenty thousand talents.

He gave also various other gifts, according to the repute in which anyone was held, or to valour shown conspicuously in dangers. He also decorated with golden crowns those distinguished for bravery — Peucestas, first, who saved his life; then Leonnatus, who did likewise, and also for his risks run in India and his victory among the Orians, and because he faced, with the forces remaining to him, the rebel Oreitans and their neighbours, and beat them in the battle; and also for all his other dispositions which he had satisfactorily made among the Orians. Then, besides, he decorated Nearchus for his coasting voyage from India by way of the ocean; for Nearchus also had now arrived at Susa; and next, Onesicritus, the helmsman of the royal ship; also Hephaestion and the rest of the bodyguards.

[1] ἦγον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ σατράπαι οἱ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τε τῶν νεοκτίστων καὶ

τῆς ἄλλης γῆς τῆς δοριαλώτου παῖδας ἡβάσκοντας ἤδη ἐς τρισμυρίους ἄγοντες τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν γεγονότας, οὓς Ἐπιγόνους ἐκάλει Ἀλέξανδρος, κεκοσμημένους Μακεδονικοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἐς τὸν τρόπον τὸν Μακεδονικὸν ἡσκημένους. [2] καὶ οὗτοι ἀφικόμενοι λέγονται ἀνιάσαι Μακεδόνας, ὥς πάντα δὴ μηχανωμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι ὡσαύτως δεῖσθαι Μακεδόνων: εἶναι γὰρ οὖν καὶ Μηδικὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου στολὴν ἄλγος οὐ σμικρὸν Μακεδόσιν ὀρωμένην καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ Περσικῷ ποιηθέντας οὐ πρὸς θυμοῦ γενέσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν γημάντων ἔστιν οἷς, καίτοι τῇ ἰσότητι τῇ ἐς τὸν βασιλέα μεγάλως τετιμημένοις. [3] Πευκέστας τε ὁ Περσῶν σατράπης τῇ τε σκευῇ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ περσίζων ἐλύπει αὐτούς, ὅτι τῷ βαρβαρισμῷ αὐτοῦ ἔχαιρεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ οἱ Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ οἱ Σογδιανῶν καὶ Ἀραχωτῶν ἱππεῖς καὶ Ζαραγγῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρείων καὶ Παρθυαίων καὶ ἐκ Περσῶν οἱ Εὐάκαι καλούμενοι ἱππεῖς καταλοχισθέντες εἰς τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐταιρικὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν κατ' ἀξίωσιν καὶ κάλλει τοῦ σώματος ἢ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ ὑπερφέροντες ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ πέμπτη ἐπὶ τούτοις ἱππαρχία προσγενομένη, οὐ βαρβαρικὴ ἢ πᾶσα, [4] ἀλλὰ ἐπαυξηθέντος γὰρ τοῦ παντὸς ἱππικοῦ κατελέγησαν ἐς αὐτὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, τῷ τε ἀγῆματι προσκαταλεγέντες Κωφῆς τε ὁ Ἀρταβάζου καὶ Ὑδάρνης καὶ Ἀρτιβόλης οἱ Μαζαίου, καὶ Σισίνης καὶ Φραδασμένης [καὶ] οἱ Φραταφέρνου τοῦ Παρθυαίων καὶ Ὑρκανίας σατράπου παῖδες, [5] καὶ Ἰτάνης Ὁξυάρτου μὲν παῖς, Ῥωξάνης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀδελφός, καὶ Αἰγοβάρης καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφός Μιθροβαῖος, καὶ ἡγεμῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπισταθεῖς Ὑστάσπης ὁ Βάκτριος, καὶ τούτοις δόρατα Μακεδονικὰ ἀντὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν μεσαγκύλων δοθέντα, — ταῦτα πάντα ἐλύπει τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὥς πάντῃ δὴ βαρβαρίζοντος τῇ γνώμῃ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὰ δὲ Μακεδονικὰ νόμιμά τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐν ἀτίμῳ χώρᾳ ἄγοντος.

VI. Then there came to him also the governors of the new cities which he had founded, and of the provinces he had captured besides, bringing about thirty thousand youths, all of the same age, whom Alexander called his "Successors," all dressed in Macedonian dress and trained to warlike exercises on the Macedonian system. Their arrival is said to have annoyed the Macedonians, as if Alexander was contriving every means of dispensing with Macedonians in future; in fact they had long been pained to see Alexander wearing the Median robes, and his Persian marriage ceremonies had not given satisfaction to most of them; indeed, not even to some of the bridegrooms, though they had been highly honoured by their being thus raised to a level with the King. Then they were indignant that Peucestas the satrap of Persia was aping Persian ways both in dress and speech, and more, that Alexander seemed to like his Oriental habits; then again, Bactrian, Sogdian, and Arachotian cavalry, and Zarangians, Areians, Parthyaecans, and of the Persians those called the Evacae, were brigaded with the Companions' Cavalry, that is, those who seemed conspicuous for handsomeness or some other excellence. Then, too, apart from these, a fifth cavalry regiment was added, not entirely Oriental, but the whole cavalry force being increased, some of the Orientals

were specially picked for it; into the special squadron were enrolled Cophen the son of Artabazus (Brother, therefore, of Barsine, widow of Memnon.) and Hydarnes and Artiboles sons of Mazaeus, Sisines and Phradasmenes, sons of Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthya and Hyrcania, and Histanes son of Oxyartes and brother of Roxane, Alexander's wife. Autobares also, and his brother Mithrobaeus; and as commander over all these was appointed Hystaspes the Bactrian, and they were given Macedonian spears instead of the Oriental javelins. All this caused indignation to the Macedonians, as giving an idea that Alexander's heart was growing entirely Orientalized, and that he paid little consideration to Macedonian customs and Macedonians themselves.

[1] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς μὲν πεζῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν πολλὴν Ἡφαιστίωνα ἄγειν κελεύει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναπλεύσαντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐς τὴν Σουσίαν γῆν ἐπιβάς τῶν νεῶν ζὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς τε καὶ τῷ ἀγῆματι καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἐταίρων ἀναβιβασάμενος οὐ πολλοὺς κατέπλει κατὰ τὸν Εὐλαῖον ποταμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. [2] ἤδη δὲ πλησίον ὦν τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῆς ἐς τὸν πόντον τὰς μὲν πλειονάς τε καὶ πεπονηκυίας τῶν νεῶν καταλείπει αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς μάλιστα ταχυναντούσαις παρέπλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐλαίου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι αὐτῷ νῆες ἀνακομισθεῖσαι κατὰ τὸν Εὐλαῖον ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν διώρυχα, ἣ τέμνεται ἐκ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐς τὸν Εὐλαῖον, ταύτη διεκομίσθησαν ἐς τὸν Τίγρητα. [3] τῶν γὰρ δὴ ποταμῶν τοῦ τε Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος, οἱ τὴν μέσσην σφῶν Ἀσσυρίαν ἀπείργουσιν, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Μεσοποταμία πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων κληῖται, ὁ μὲν Τίγρης πολὺ τι ταπεινότερος ῥέων τοῦ Εὐφράτου διώρυχάς τε πολλὰς ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐς αὐτὸν δέχεται καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς παραλαβὼν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν αὐξηθεὶς ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὸν πόντον τὸν Περσικόν, μέγας τε καὶ οὐδαμοῦ διαβατὸς ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκβολήν, καθότι οὐ καταναλίσκεται αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν χώραν. [4] ἔστι γὰρ μετεωροτέρα ἢ ταύτη γῆ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐδὲ ἐκδίδωσιν οὗτος κατὰ τὰς διώρυχας οὐδὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμόν, ἀλλὰ δέχεται γὰρ ἐκείνους μᾶλλον, ἄρδεσθαι τε ἀπὸ οὗ τὴν χώραν οὐδαμῇ παρέχει. [5] ὁ δὲ Εὐφράτης μετεωρός τε ῥεῖ καὶ ἰσοχεύλης πανταχῇ τῇ γῇ, καὶ διώρυχες δὲ πολλαὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιήνται, αἱ μὲν ἀέναι, ἀφ' ὧν ὑδρεύονται οἱ παρ' ἐκάτερα ὠκισμένοι, τὰς δὲ καὶ πρὸς καιρὸν ποιοῦνται, ὅποτε σφίσιν ὕδατος ἐνδεῶς ἔχοι, ἐς τὸ ἐπάρδειν τὴν χώραν· οὐ γὰρ ὕεται τὸ πολὺ ἢ γῆ αὕτη ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ οὕτως ἐς οὐ πολὺ ὕδωρ ὁ Εὐφράτης τελευτᾷ καὶ τεναγῶδες [ἐς] τοῦτο οὕτως ἀποπαύεται. [6] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περιπλεύσας κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὅσον μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Εὐλαίου ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπεῖχεν ὁ αἰγιαλὸς τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Περσικοῦ ἀνέπλει κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἵνα Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ τὴν δύναμιν πᾶσαν ἔχων ἐστρατοπεδεύκει. ἐκείθεν δὲ αὖθις ἔπλει ἐς Ὠπιν, πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ὠκισμένην. [7] ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀνάπλω τοὺς καταρράκτας τοὺς κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀφανίζων ὁμαλὸν πάντῃ ἐποίει τὸν ῥοῦν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ Περσῶν πεποιημένοι ἦσαν τοῦ μή τινα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναπλεῦσαι εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν νῆτῃ στόλῳ κρατήσαντα. ταῦτα δὲ μεμηχάνητο ἅτε δὴ οὐ ναυτικοῖς τοῖς Πέρσαις· οὕτω δὴ συνεχεῖς οἱ καταρράκται πεποιημένοι ἄπορον τὸν

ἀνάπλουν ἐποίουν τὸν κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τῶν κρατούντων τοῖς ὅλοις εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφίσματα: οὐκ οὐν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο ταύτην τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἥντινα ἔργῳ οὐδὲ λόγῳ ἀξίαν ἀπέφηνε οὐ χαλεπῶς διακόψας τῶν Περσῶν τὰ σπουδάσματα.

VI. Alexander now gave orders to Hephaestion to take the greater portion of the infantry force to the Persian Sea. Then, his fleet having put in to Susian territory, he himself embarked with his bodyguards and the special squadron of cavalry, and also taking on board a few of the Companions' cavalry, he sailed down the river Eulaeus to the sea. And being now not far from the estuary he left there most of his ships, and those which were in a bad way; and himself with the faster sailers coasted by sea from the river Eulaeus towards the mouths of the Tigris; and the rest of his flotilla, sailing up the Eulaeus as far as the canal cut between the Tigris and Eulaeus, in this way sailed into the Tigris.

Now, of these two rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, which are the boundaries of so much of Syria as lies between them — and hence the name Mesopotamia is given to it by the inhabitants — the Tigris, which runs through much lower ground, receives many canals from the Euphrates, and also takes in many tributaries besides, and being much increased in volume thereby runs into the Persian ocean, a large river, and not to be forded at any point up to its mouth, since no portion of it whatever is spent upon the land. For here the country is all higher than the river, and the Tigris therefore loses none of its stream to any other river, by means of canals, but rather receives them into itself; and hence it does not permit irrigation of its country from its own waters. The Euphrates, however, runs on a higher valley-bed, its stream runs flush with its land, all along its course, and many canals have been cut from it, some always running — and from these those who live on either side get their water — others, however, they make only as need dictates, whenever the ground grows thirsty, to irrigate the land; for the greater part of this territory receives no rain; and thus the Euphrates finishes with a diminished stream, and that too spread over marshy land.

Alexander now sailed round by sea the distance of the shore of the Persian gulf between the Eulaeus and the Tigris, and then sailed up the Tigris to the camp where Hephaestion had encamped with all his force. Thence again he sailed to Opis, a city built on the Tigris. During this voyage upstream he removed the weirs in the river and made the stream level throughout; these weirs had been made by the Persians to prevent anyone sailing up to their country overmastering it by a naval force. All this had been contrived by the Persians, inexpert as they were in maritime matters; and so these weirs, built up at frequent intervals, made the voyage up the Tigris very difficult. Alexander, however, said that contrivances of this kind belonged to those who had no military supremacy; he therefore regarded these safeguards as of no value to himself, and indeed proved them not worth mention by destroying with ease these labours of the Persians.

[1] ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὠπιν ἀφίκετο, συναγαγὼν τοὺς Μακεδόνας προεῖπεν ὅτι τοὺς ὑπὸ γήρωσ ἢ πηρώσεως τοῦ σώματος ἀχρεῖους ἐς τὰ πολέμια ὄντας παραλύει μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἀποπέμπει δὲ ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἦθη, ἐπιδώσει δὲ [μένουσιν] ὅσα αὐτοὺς τε ζηλωτοτέρους ποιήσει τοῖς οἰκοῖ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μακεδόνας ἐξορμήσει ἐς τὸ ἐθέλειν τῶν αὐτῶν κινδύνων τε καὶ πόνων μετέχειν. [2] Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ὥς χαριούμενος δῆθεν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ ὥς ὑπερορώμενοι τε ἦδη πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀχρεῖοι πάντη ἐς τὰ πολέμια νομιζόμενοι οὐκ ἀλόγως αὐτῷ λόγῳ ἠχθέσθησαν τῷ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου λεχθέντι, κατὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ταύτην πᾶσαν πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ἀχθεσθέντες, ὅτι πολλάκις ἦδη ἐλύπει αὐτοὺς ἢ τε ἐσθῆς ἢ Περσικῇ ἐς τοῦτο φέρουσα καὶ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ ἐς τὰ Μακεδονικὰ ἦθη κόσμησις καὶ ἀνάμιξις τῶν ἁλλοφύλων ἱπέων ἐς τὰς τῶν ἐταίρων τάξεις. [3] οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ σιγῇ ἔχοντες ἐκατέρησαν, ἀλλὰ πάντας γὰρ ἀπαλλάττειν στρατιᾶς ἐκέλευον, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς στρατεύεσθαι, τὸν Ἀμμωνα δὴ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπικερτομοῦντες. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὀξύτερός τε ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς θεραπείας οὐκέτι ὥς πάλαι ἐπαικτικῇ ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας καταπηδήσας σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ξυλλαβεῖν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ταραζάντων τὸ πλῆθος κελεύει, αὐτὸς τῇ χειρὶ ἐπιδεικνύων τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς οὐστinas χρηρ συλλαμβάνειν· καὶ ἐγένοντο οὗτοι ἐς τρισκαίδεκα. τοὺτους μὲν δὴ ἀπάγειν κελεύει τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. ὥς δὲ κατεσιώπησαν οἱ ἄλλοι ἐκπλαγέντες, ἀναβάς αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

VII. On reaching Opis, Alexander summoned his Macedonians and announced that those who from old age or from mutilations were unfit for service he there discharged from the army; and he sent them to their own homes. He promised to give them on departure enough to make them objects of greater envy to those at home, and also stir up the rest of the Macedonians to a zeal for sharing his own dangers and toils. Alexander for his part said this, no doubt, to flatter the Macedonians; they, however, feeling that Alexander rather despised them, by this time, and regarded them as altogether useless for warfare, quite naturally, for their part, were annoyed at his remarks, having been annoyed during this whole campaign with a great deal else, since he caused them indignation frequently by his Persian dress which seemed to point the same way, and the Macedonian equipment of the Oriental "Successors," and the importation of cavalry of foreign tribes into the ranks of the Companions. They did not, then, restrain themselves and keep silence, but called upon him to release them all from the army, and bade him carry on war with the help of his sire (by which title they hinted slightly at Ammon). When, then, Alexander heard this — for he had grown worse-tempered at that time, and Oriental subservience had rendered him less disposed than before to the Macedonians — he leapt down from the platform with the officers that were about him, and bade them arrest the foremost of those who had disturbed the multitude, himself with his finger pointing out to the guards whom they were to arrest; they were in number thirteen. These he ordered to be marched off to die; but as the others, amazed, remained in dead silence, he remounted

the platform and spoke thus.

[1] οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταπαῦσαι ὑμῶν, ὦ Μακεδόνες, τὴν οἶκαδε ὀρμὴν λεχθήσεται μοι ὁδε ὁ λόγος, ἔξεστι γὰρ ὑμῖν ἀπιέναι ὅποι βούλεσθε ἐμοῦ γε ἔνεκα, ἀλλὰ ὡς γνῶναι ὑμᾶς πρὸς ὁποίους τινὰς ἡμᾶς ὄντας ὁποῖοι τινες αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσεσθε. [2] καὶ πρῶτά γε ἀπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ πατρὸς, ἦπερ καὶ εἰκός, τοῦ λόγου ἄρξομαι. Φίλιππος γὰρ παραλαβὼν ὑμᾶς πλανήτας καὶ ἀπόρους, ἐν διφθέραις τοὺς πολλοὺς νέμοντας ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη πρόβατα ὀλίγα καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων κακῶς μαχομένους Ἴλλυριοῖς καὶ Τριβαλλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁμόροις Θραζίν, γλαμύδας μὲν ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν διφθερῶν φορεῖν ἔδωκεν, κατήγαγε δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐς τὰ πεδία, ἀξιομάχους καταστήσας τοῖς προσχώροις τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥς μὴ χωρίων ἔτι ὀχυρότητι πιστεύοντας μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἀρετῇ σῶζεσθαι, πόλεων τε οἰκήτορας ἀπέφηνε καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσι χρηστοῖς ἐκόσμησεν. [3] αὐτῶν δὲ ἐκείνων τῶν βαρβάρων, ὑφ' ὧν πρόσθεν ἤγεσθε καὶ ἐφέρεσθε αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἡγεμόνας κατέστησεν ἐκ δούλων καὶ ὑπηκόων, καὶ τῆς Θράκης τὰ πολλὰ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ προσέθηκεν, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ χωρίων τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα καταλαβόμενος τὴν ἐμπορίαν τῇ χώρᾳ ἀνεπέτασε, καὶ τῶν μετάλλων τὴν ἐργασίαν ἀδεῇ παρέσχε, Θεσσαλῶν δὲ ἄρχοντας, [4] οὓς πάλαι ἐτεθνήκειτε τῷ δέει, ἀπέφηνε, καὶ τὸ Φωκῶν ἔθνος ταπεινώσας τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀροδοὺν πλατεῖαν καὶ εὐπορον ἀντὶ στενῆς τε καὶ ἀπόρου ὑμῖν ἐποίησεν, Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Θηβαίους ἐφεδρεύοντας αἰετῇ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ ἐς τοσόνδε ἐταπείνωσεν, ἤδη ταῦτά γε καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ξυμπονούντων, ὥς ἀντὶ τοῦ φόρους τελεῖν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὑπακούειν Θηβαίον, παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐκείνους τὴν ἀσφάλειάν σφισι πορίζεσθαι. [5] ἐς Πελοπόννησον δὲ παρελθὼν τὰ ἐκεῖ αὖ ἐκόσμησε καὶ ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ συμπασης τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀποδειχθεὶς τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην στρατιᾶς οὐχ ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον τι τὴν δόξαν τήνδε ἢ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Μακεδόνων προσέθηκεν. [6] ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐς ὑμᾶς ὑπηργμένα, ὥς μὲν αὐτὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν σκέψασθαι μεγάλα, μικρὰ δὲ ὥς γε δὴ πρὸς τὰ ὑμέτερα ξυμβαλεῖν. ὃς παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς χρυσᾶ μὲν καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ἐκπώματα ὀλίγα, τάλαντα δὲ οὐδὲ ἐξήκοντα ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς, χρεῶν δὲ ὀφειλόμενα ὑπὸ Φιλίππου ἐς πεντακόσια τάλαντα, δανεισάμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ἄλλα ὀκτακόσια ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς γε οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βοσκούσης καλῶς εὐθὺς μὲν τοῦ Ἑλληνόντου ὑμῖν τὸν πόρον θαλασσοκρατούντων ἐν τῷ τότε Περσῶν ἀνεπέτασε: [7] κρατήσας δὲ τῇ ἵππῳ τοὺς σατράπας τοὺς Δαρείου τὴν τε Ἰωνίαν πᾶσαν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀρχῇ προσέθηκα καὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα πᾶσαν καὶ Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ Λυδοὺς, καὶ Μίλητον εἶλον πολιορκία: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐκόντα προσχωρήσαντα λαβὼν ὑμῖν καρποῦσθαι ἔδωκα: [8] καὶ τὰ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κυρήνης ἀγαθὰ, ὅσα ἀμαχεὶ ἐκτησάμην, ὑμῖν ἔρχεται, ἢ τε κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ καὶ ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ ἡ μέση τῶν ποταμῶν ὑμέτερον κτῆμά εἰσι, καὶ Βαβυλῶν καὶ Βάκτρα καὶ Σοῦσα ὑμέτερα, καὶ ὁ Λυδῶν πλοῦτος καὶ οἱ Περσῶν θησαυροὶ καὶ τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἡ ἑξω θάλασσα ὑμέτερα: ὑμεῖς σατράπαι, ὑμεῖς στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξιάρχαι. [9] ὥς ἔμοιγε αὐτῷ τί περίεστιν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν πόνων ὅτι μὴ αὕτη ἡ πορφύρα καὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῦτο; κέκτημαι δὲ ἰδίᾳ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἔχει τις ἀποδείξαι θησαυροὺς ἐμοὺς ὅτι μὴ

ταῦτα, ὑμέτερα κτήματα ἢ ὅσα ἔνεκα ὑμῶν φυλάττεται. ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἰδίᾳ μοι ἐς ὃ τι φυλάξω αὐτούς, σιτουμένῳ τε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν σιτία καὶ ὕπνον τὸν αὐτὸν αἰρουμένῳ: καίτοι οὐδὲ σιτία ἐμοὶ δοκῶ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς τρυφῶσιν ὑμῶν σιτεῖσθαι: προαγρυπνῶν δὲ ὑμῶν οἶδα, ὡς καθεύδειν ἔχοιτε ὑμεῖς.

VIII. "I now propose to speak, Macedonians, not with a view to checking your homeward impulse; so far as I am concerned, you may go where you will; but that you may know, if you do so go away, how you have behaved to us, and how we have behaved to you. First then I shall begin my speech with my father Philip, as is right and proper. For Philip found you vagabonds and helpless, most of you clothed with sheepskins, pasturing a few sheep on the mountain sides, and fighting for these, with ill success, against Illyrians and Triballians, and the Thracians on your borders; Philip gave you cloaks to wear, in place of sheepskins, brought you down from the hills to the plains, made you doughty opponents of your neighbouring enemies, so that you trusted now not so much to the natural strength of your villages as to your own courage. Nay, he made you dwellers of cities, and civilized you with good laws and customs. Then of those very tribes to whom you submitted, and by whom you and your goods were harried, he made you masters, no longer slaves and subjects; and he added most of Thrace to Macedonia, and seizing the most convenient coast towns, opened up commerce to your country, and enabled you to work your mines in peace. Then he made you overlords of the Thracians, before whom you had long died of terror, and humbling the Phocians, made the highroad into Greece broad and easy for you, whereas it had been narrow and difficult. Athens and Thebes, always watching their chance to destroy Macedon, he so completely humbled — ourselves by this time sharing these his labours — that instead of our paying tribute to Athens and obeying Thebes, they had to win from us in turn their right to exist. Then he passed into the Peloponnese, and put all in due order there; and now being declared overlord of all the rest of Greece for the expedition against Persia, he won this new prestige not so much for himself as for all Macedonia.

"All these noble deeds of my father towards you are great indeed, if looked at by themselves, and yet small, if compared with ours. I inherited from my father a few gold and silver cups, and not so much as sixty talents in his treasure; and of debts owed by Philip as much as five hundred talents, and yet having myself borrowed over and above these another eight hundred, I set forth from that country which hardly maintained you in comfort and at once opened to you the strait of the Hellespont, though the Persians were then masters of the sea; then, crushing with my cavalry Dareius' satraps, I added to your empire all Ionia, all Aeolia, Upper and Lower Phrygia, and Lydia; Miletus I took by siege; all else I took by surrender and gave to you to reap the fruits thereof. All good things from Egypt and Cyrene, which I took without striking a blow, come to you; the Syrian Valley and Palestine and Mesopotamia are your own possessions; Babylon is yours, Bactria, and Susa;

the wealth of Lydia, the treasures of Persia, the good things of India, the outer ocean, all are yours; you are satraps, you guards, you captains. So what is left for myself from all these toils save the purple and this diadem? I have taken nothing to myself, nor can anyone show treasures of mine, save these possessions of yours, or what is being safeguarded for you. For there is nothing as concerns myself for which I should reserve them, since I eat the same food that you eat, and have such sleep as you have — and yet I hardly think that I do eat the same food as some of you, who live delicately; I know, moreover, that I wake before you, that you may sleep quietly in your beds.

[1] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῶν πονούντων καὶ ταλαιπωρουμένων ἐκτησάμεν αὐτὸς ἀπόνως καὶ ἀταλαιπώρως ἐξηγούμενος. καὶ τίς ὑμῶν ἢ πονήσας οἶδεν ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ... ἢ ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου; ἄγε δὴ καὶ ὅτῳ τραύματα ὑμῶν ἐστι γυμνώσας αὐτὰ ἐπιδειξάτω καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιδείξω ἐν μέρει: [2] ὥς ἔμοιγε οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι τοῦ σώματος τῶν γε δὴ ἔμπροσθεν μερῶν ἄτρωτον ὑπολέλειπται, οὐδὲ ὄπλον τι ἔστιν ἢ ἐκ χειρὸς ἢ τῶν ἀφιεμένων οὗ γε οὐκ ἴχνη ἐν ἐμαυτῷ φέρω: ἀλλὰ καὶ ξίφει ἐκ χειρὸς τέτρωμαι καὶ τετόξευμαι ἤδη καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς βέβλημαι, καὶ λίθοις πολλαῇ καὶ ξύλοις παιόμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλούτου νικῶντας ὑμᾶς ἄγω διὰ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πάντων ποταμῶν καὶ ὀρῶν καὶ πεδίων πάντων, [3] γάμους τε ὑμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς γεγάμηκα καὶ πολλῶν ὑμῶν οἱ παῖδες συγγενεῖς ἔσονται τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς. ἔτι δὲ ᾧ χρέα ἦν, οὐ πολυπραγμονήσας ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐγένετο, τοσαῦτα μὲν μισθοφορούντων, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἀρπαζόντων, ὅποτε ἐκ πολιορκίας ἀρπαγὴ γίγνοιτο, διαλέλumi ταῦτα. στέφανοί τε χρυσοὶ τοῖς πλείστοις ὑμῶν εἰσι μνημεῖα τῆς τε ἀρετῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἐμοῦ τιμῆς ἀθάνατα. [4] ὅστις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀπέθανεν, εὐκλεῆς μὲν αὐτῷ ἡ τελευτὴ ἐγένετο, περιφανὴς δὲ ὁ τάφος, χαλκαῖ δὲ αἱ εἰκόνες τῶν πλείστων οἶκοι ἐστάσιν, οἱ γονεῖς δ' ἐντιμοὶ εἰσι λειτουργίας τε ξυμπάσης καὶ εἰσφορᾶς ἀπηλλαγμένοι: οὐ γάρ τίς γε φεύγων ὑμῶν ἐτέλευτα ἐμοῦ ἄγοντος. [5] καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀπολέμους ὑμῶν ζηλωτοὺς τοῖς οἶκοι ἀποπέμψειν ἤμελλον: ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἀπιέναι βούλεσθε, ἅπτε πάντες, καὶ ἀπελθόντες οἶκοι ἀπαγγέilate ὅτι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν Ἀλέξανδρον, νικῶντα μὲν Πέρσας καὶ Μήδους καὶ Βακτρίους καὶ Σάκας, [6] καταστρεψάμενον δὲ Οὐξίους τε καὶ Ἀραχωτοὺς καὶ Δράγγας, κεκτημένον δὲ καὶ Παρθυαίους καὶ Χορασμίους καὶ Ὑρκανίους ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Κασπίαν, ὑπερβάντα δὲ τὸν Καύκασον ὑπὲρ τὰς Κασπίας πύλας, καὶ περάσαντα Ὁξον τε ποταμὸν καὶ Τάναϊν, ἔτι δὲ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὅτι μὴ Διονύσῳ περαθέντα, καὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην καὶ τὸν Ὑδραώτην, [7] καὶ τὸν Ὑφασιν διαπεράσαντα ἄν, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἀπωκνήσατε, καὶ ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν κατ' ἀμφοτέρω τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰ στόματα ἐμβalόντα, καὶ διὰ τῆς Γαδρωσίας τῆς ἐρήμου ἐλθόντα, ἢ οὐδεὶς πω πρόσθεν σὺν στρατιᾷ ἦλθε, καὶ Καρμανίαν ἐν παρόδῳ προσκτησάμενον καὶ τὴν Ὠρειτῶν γῆν, περιπεπλευκότος δὲ ἤδη αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν γῆς εἰς Πέρσας θάλασσαν, ὥς εἰς Σοῦσα ἐπανηγάγετε, ἀπολιπόντες οἴχεσθε, παραδόντες φυλάσσειν τοῖς νενικημένοις βαρβάροις. ταῦτα ὑμῖν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἴσως εὐκλεᾶ καὶ πρὸς θεῶν ὅσια δήπου ἔσται ἀπαγγελθέντα.

ἄπιτε.

IX. “Yet you may feel that while you were enduring the toils and distresses, I have acquired all this without toil and without distress. But who of you is conscious of having endured more toil for me than I for him? Or see here, let any who carries wounds strip himself and show them; I too will show mine. For I have no part of my body, in front at least, that is left without scars; there is no weapon, used at close quarters, or hurled from afar, of which I do not carry the mark. Nay, I have been wounded by the sword, hand to hand; I have been shot with arrows, I have been struck from a catapult, smitten many a time with stones and clubs, for you, for your glory, for your wealth; I lead you conquerors through every land, every sea, every river, mountain, plain. I married as you married; the children of many of you will be blood-relations of my children. Moreover, if any had debts, I, being no busybody to enquire how they were made, when you were winning so much pay, and acquiring so much plunder, whenever there was plunder after a siege — I have cancelled them all. And further, golden coronals are reminders to the most part of you, both of your bravery and of my high regard — reminders that will never perish. Whosoever has died, his death has been glorious; and splendid has been his burial. To most of them there stand at home brazen statues; their parents are held in esteem, and have been freed from all services and taxes. For while I have led you, not one of you has fallen in flight.

“And now I had in mind to send away those of you who are no longer equal to campaigning, to be the envy of all at home; but since you all wish to go home, depart, all of you; and when you reach home, tell them there that this your King, Alexander, victor over Persians, Medes, Bactrians, Sacaeans, conqueror of Uxians, Arachotians, Drangae, master of Parthyaea, Chorasmia, Hyrcania to the Caspian Sea; who crossed the Caucasus beyond the Caspian gates, who crossed the rivers Oxus and Tanais, yes, and the Indus too, that none but Dionysus had crossed, the Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotes; and who would further have crossed the Hyphasis, had not you shrunk back; who broke into the Indian Ocean by both mouths of the Indus; who traversed the Gadosian desert — where none other had passed with an armed force; who in the line of march captured Carmania and the country of the Oreitans; whom, when his fleet had sailed from India to the Persian Sea, you led back again to Susa — tell them, I say, that you deserted him, that you took yourselves off, leaving him to the care of the wild tribes you had conquered. This, when you declare it, will be, no doubt, glorious among men, and pious in the sight of heaven. Begone!”

[1] ταῦτα εἰπὼν κατεπήδησέ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ὀξέως καὶ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια παρελθὼν οὔτε ἐθεράπευσε τὸ σῶμα οὔτε τῷ ὥφθῃ τῶν ἐταίρων: ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὥφθῃ. τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ καλέσας εἴσω τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους τάς τε ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῖς τῶν τάξεων διένειμε καὶ ὅσους συγγενεῖς ἀπέφηνε, τοῦτοις δὲ νόμιμον ἐποίησε φιλεῖν αὐτὸν μόνοις. [2] οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες ἔν τε τῷ παρατύκῃ ἀκούσαντες τῶν λόγων ἐκπεπληγμένοι σιγῇ ἔμενον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ

βήματι οὐδέ τις ἠκολούθησε τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπαλλαττομένῳ ὅτι μὴ οἱ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἐταῖροί τε καὶ οἱ σωματοφύλακες, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὔτε μένοντες ὅ τι πράττωσιν ἢ λέγωνσιν εἶχον, οὔτε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ᾔθελον. [3] ὥς δὲ τὰ Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων αὐτοῖς ἐξηγγέλλετο, αἶ τε ἡγεμονίαι Πέρσαις διδόμεναι καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἢ βαρβαρική ἐς λόχους τε καταλεγομένη καὶ τὰ Μακεδονικὰ ὀνόματα ἀγῆμά τι Περσικὸν καλούμενον καὶ πεζέταιροι Πέρσαι [καὶ ἀσθέτεροι ἄλλοι] καὶ ἀργυρασπίδων τάξις Περσική καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐταίρων ἵππος καὶ ταύτης ἄλλο ἄγῆμα βασιλικόν, οὐκέτι καρτεροὶ σφῶν ἦσαν, [4] ἀλλὰ ξυνδραμόντες ὥς πρὸς τὰ βασιλεία τὰ μὲν ὄπλα αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἐρρίπτουν, ἱκετηρίας ταύτας τῷ βασιλεῖ, αὐτοὶ δ’ ἐβόων πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστηκότες δεόμενοι παρελθεῖν εἰσω: τοὺς τε αἰτίους τῆς ἐν τῷ τότε ταραχῆς καὶ τοὺς ἄρξαντας τῆς βοῆς ἐκδιδόναι ἐθέλειν: οὐκ οὖν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῶν θυρῶν οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτός, εἰ μὴ τινα οἶκτον σφῶν ἔξει Ἀλέξανδρος. [5] ταῦτα ὥς ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ σπουδῇ ἐξέρχεται καὶ ἰδὼν τε ταπεινῶς διακειμένους καὶ ἀκούσας σὺν οἰμωγῇ τῶν πολλῶν βοώντων καὶ αὐτῷ προχεῖται δάκρυα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνήγετο ὥς τι ἐρῶν, οἱ δὲ ἔμενον λιπαροῦντες. [6] καὶ τις αὐτῶν καθ’ ἡλικίαν τε καὶ ἱππαρχίαν τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς οὐκ ἀφανῆς, Καλλίνης ὄνομα, τοιαῦτα εἶπεν: ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ λυποῦντά ἐστι Μακεδόνας ὅτι σὺ Περσῶν μὲν τινας ἤδη πεποιήσαι σαυτῷ συγγενεῖς καὶ καλοῦνται Πέρσαι συγγενεῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ φιλοῦσί σε, Μακεδόνων δὲ οὐπω τις γέγευται ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς. [7] ἐνθα δὴ ὑπολαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλ’ ὑμᾶς τε, ἔφη, ξύμπαντας ἐμαυτῷ τίθεμαι συγγενεῖς καὶ τό γε ἀπὸ τούτου οὕτως καλέσω. ταῦτα εἰπόντα προσελθὼν ὁ Καλλίνης τε ἐφίλησε καὶ ὅστις ἄλλος φιλῆσαι ἠθέλησε. καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα βοῶντές τε καὶ παιωνίζοντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπῆσαν. [8] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις θυσίαν τε θύει τοῖς θεοῖς οἷς αὐτῷ νόμος καὶ θοίνην δημοτελεῖ ἐποίησε, καθήμενός τε αὐτὸς καὶ πάντων καθημένων, ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν μὲν Μακεδόνων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐφεξῆς τούτων Περσῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ὅσοι κατ’ ἀξίωσιν ἢ τινα ἄλλην ἀρετὴν πρεσβευόμενοι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κρατῆρος αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἀρϋόμενοι ἔσπενδον τὰς αὐτὰς σπονδὰς καταρχομένων τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων μάντεων καὶ τῶν Μάγων. [9] εὐχετο δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα [καὶ τὰ] ἀγαθὰ καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς Μακεδόσι καὶ Πέρσαις. εἶναι δὲ κατέχει λόγος τοὺς μετασχόντας τῆς θοίνης ἐννακισχιλίους, καὶ τούτους πάντας μίαν τε σπονδὴν σπεῖσαι καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ παιωνίσαι.

X. When Alexander had finished, he leapt down swiftly from his platform and passed into the palace, and paid no attention to his bodily needs, nor was seen by any of the Companions; and, indeed, not even on the day following. But on the third day he summoned within the picked men among the Persians, and divided among them the command of the different brigades; and permitted only those who were now his relatives to give him the customary kiss. The Macedonians, however, were at the time much moved on hearing his speech; and remained in silence there, around the platform; yet no one followed the King when he departed save his personal Companions and the bodyguards; but the mass neither while remaining there had anything to do or

say, nor were willing to depart. But when they heard about the Persians and the Medes, and the handing of commands to the Persians, and the Oriental force being drafted into the various ranks, and a Persian squadron called by a Macedonian name, and of Persian “infantry Companions,” and others too, and a Persian company of “silver-shields,” and “cavalry of the Companions,” and a new royal squadron even of this, they could no longer contain, but running all together to the palace they threw their arms before the doors as signs of supplication to the King; they themselves standing shouting before the doors begging to be let in. The instigators of the late disturbance, and those who began the cry, they said they would give up; in fact they would depart from the doors neither day nor night unless Alexander would have some pity on them.

When this was reported to Alexander, he at once came out; and seeing them so humble, and hearing most of the number crying and lamenting, he also shed tears. Then he came forward as if to speak, and they continued beseeching. And one of them, a notable officer of the Companions’ cavalry both by age and rank, called Callines, said thus: “This, O King, is what grieves the Macedonians, that you have made Persians your kinsmen and Persians are called ‘Alexander’s kinsmen,’ and they are permitted to kiss you; but no Macedonian has tasted this privilege.” On this Alexander broke in: “But all of you I regard as my kinsmen, and so from henceforth I call you.” When thus he had spoken, Callines approached and kissed him, and any other who desired to kiss him. And thus they took up their arms again and returned shouting and singing their victory song to the camp. But Alexander in gratitude for this sacrificed to the gods to whom he was wont to sacrifice, and gave a general feast, sitting himself there, and all the Macedonians sitting round him; and then next to them Persians, and next any of the other tribes who had precedence in reputation or any other quality, and he himself and his comrades drank from the same bowl and poured the same libations, while the Greek seers and the Magians began the ceremony. And Alexander prayed for all sorts of blessings, and especially for harmony and fellowship in the empire between Macedonians and Persians. They say that those who shared the feast were nine thousand, and that they all poured the same libation and thereat sang the one song of victory.

[1] ἔνθα δὴ ἐθελονταὶ ἤδη αὐτῷ ἀπήεσαν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὅσοι διὰ γῆρας ἢ τινα ἄλλην ξυμφορὰν ἀπόλεμοι ἦσαν: καὶ οὗτοι αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο ἐς τοὺς μυρίους. τούτοις δὲ τὴν τε μισθοφορὰν οὐ τοῦ ἐξήκοντος ἤδη χρόνου ἔδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀπονόστησιν τὴν οἰκαδε ξυμβαίνοντος. [2] ἐπέδωκεν δὲ καὶ τάλαντον ἐκάστῳ ὑπὲρ τὴν μισθοφορὰν: παῖδες δὲ εἴ τῳ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀσιανῶν γυναικῶν, παρὰ οἷ καταλιπεῖν ἐκέλευσε μηδὲ στάσιν κατάγειν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἄλλοφύλους τε καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων γυναικῶν παῖδας τοῖς οἶκοι ὑπολελειμμένοις παισὶ τε καὶ μητράσιν αὐτῶν: αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὥς ἐκτρέφοντο Μακεδονικῶς τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐς τὰ πολέμια κοσμούμενοι, γενομένους δὲ ἄνδρας ἄξειν αὐτὸς ἐς Μακεδονίαν καὶ

παραδώσειν τοῖς πατράσιν. [3] ταῦτά τε ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἀστάθμητα καὶ ἀτέκμαρτα ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ ὅπως ἔχει φιλίας τε καὶ πόθου ἐς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον τεκμήριον ἐκεῖνο ποιεῖσθαι ἥξιον, ὅτι τὸν πιστότατόν τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὄντινα ἴσον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ ἄγει, Κρατερόν, ξυμπέμπει αὐτοῖς φύλακά τε καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ στόλου. οὕτω δὴ ἀσπασάμενος ξύμπαντας αὐτὸς τε δακρύων καὶ δακρύνοντας ἐκείνους ἀπὸ οὗ ἀπήλλαξε. [4] Κρατερῷ δὲ τούτους τε ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἀπαγαγόντι Μακεδονίας τε καὶ Θράκης καὶ Θετταλῶν ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς ἐλευθερίας: Ἀντίπατρον δὲ διαδόχους τοῖς ἀποπεμπομένοις ἄγειν Μακεδόνας τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἐκέλευσεν. ἔστειλε δὲ καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα ὁμοῦ τῷ Κρατερῷ, δεύτερον δὲ ἀπὸ Κρατεροῦ ἡγεμόνα, ὥς εἴ τι κατὰ πορείαν Κρατερῷ συμπίπτει, ὅτι καὶ μαλακῶς τὸ σῶμα ἔχοντα ἀπέπεμπεν αὐτόν, μὴ ποθῆσαι στρατηγὸν τοὺς ἰόντας. [5] λόγος δὲ τις οὗτος ἐφοίτα ἀφανὴς παρὰ τοῖς τὰ βασιλικά πράγματα, ὅσῳ ἐπικρύπτεται, τοσῶδε φιλοτιμότερον ἐξηγουμένοις, καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἐς τὸ χεῖρον μᾶλλον, ἢ τὸ εἰκὸς τε καὶ ἡ αὐτῶν μοχθηρία ἄγει, ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐκτρέπουσιν, ἐξηγτώμενον Ἀλεξάνδρον ἤδη τῆς μητρὸς τῶν διαβολῶν τῶν ἐς Ἀντίπατρον ἀπαλλάξαι ἐθέλειν ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀντίπατρον. [6] καὶ τυχὸν οὐκ ἐς ἀτιμίαν τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου ἢ μετὰτεμψις αὐτοῦ ἔφερεν, ἀλλ' ὥς μὴ τι ἐκ τῆς διαφορᾶς αὐτοῖς γένοιτο ἄχαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἰάσιμον. ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἐπαύοντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γράφοντες ὁ μὲν τὴν αὐθάδειάν τε τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀξύτητα καὶ πολυπραγμοσύνην, ἥκιστα δὲ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὶ εὐσχέμονα, ὥστε καὶ λόγος τις τοιόσδε ἐφέρετο Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφ' οἷς ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο, βαρὺ δὴ τὸ ἐνοίκιον τῶν δέκα μηνῶν εἰσπράττεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα: [7] ἡ δέ, ὑπέρογκον εἶναι τῇ τε ἀξιώσει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ θεραπείᾳ Ἀντίπατρον οὐδὲ μεμνησθαι τοῦ καταστήσαντος ἔτι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν γὰρ ἀξιοῦν τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις Μακεδόσι τε καὶ Ἑλλήσι. καὶ ταῦτα μᾶλλον τι ἰσχύειν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐφαίνετο ὅσα ἐς τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν διαβολὴν φέροντα ἦν, οἷα δὴ καὶ φοβερώτερα ἐν βασιλείᾳ ὄντα. οὐ μέντοι καταφανὲς γέ τι ἢ ἔργον ἢ λόγος ἐξηγγέλλετο Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἂν τις συνέθηκεν οὐχ ὡσαύτως εἶναι αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ Ἀντίπατρον ... Ἡφαιστίων. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὑποπτήξαντα Ἡφαιστίωνα συναλλαγήαναι

XI. Then at their own wish such of the Macedonians as were unfit for service from old age or any accident departed from him; they numbered about ten thousand. To these Alexander gave the pay due not only for their expired time but also for the time spent in reaching home. Above the pay he gave also a gratuity to each of a talent. Then if there were children of Asian wives he bade them leave these behind, and not make trouble in Macedonia between foreigners and children of foreign wives and the children and mothers they had left behind them; he promised to care for them that they might be trained up in Macedonian ways, being especially disciplined in military training; then, when they were grown to manhood, he would take them back himself to Macedonia and hand them over to their fathers. All this he promised as they went away, rather vague and uncertain as it was; but as the most solid proof of his good-will and affection towards them he thought good to add this, that he

sent with them as guardian and guide of their journey Craterus, his most loyal follower, whom he loved as dearly as his own life. So then having bidden them all farewell, with tears in his eyes, and they with tears in theirs, he dismissed them. But he bade Craterus conduct them, and when he had brought them safe home, to take charge of Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly, and the freedom of Greece. Then he ordered Antipater to bring drafts of Macedonians of full age to replace those that were being sent home. He despatched also Polysperchon with Craterus, who was the officer next in seniority to Craterus, so that in case of harm coming to Craterus on the way, since he sent him as an invalid, the travellers should not lack a leader.

But some dim rumour of this kind was going about among those who publish abroad the affairs of kings, all the more eagerly the more they are kept secret, and also wrest aside reliable statements to the worse interpretation, where mere probability and their own malice lead them, rather than to the truth; namely, that Alexander already coming under the spell of his mother's calumnies, which she heaped upon Antipater, was anxious to remove Antipater from Macedonia. But I suggest that this recall of Antipater was not meant to disgrace him, but that no mutual unpleasantness might arise out of their disagreement, which perhaps Alexander himself could not heal. Since they never ceased writing letters to Alexander; Antipater about the headstrong nature of Olympias, and her sharp temper, and her interfering ways, very unfitting to the mother of Alexander, so that a chance remark of Alexander's was bandied about, in reference to the news of his mother's doings, that his mother was exacting a heavy price from him for her ten months' housing of him; while Olympias accused Antipater of being arrogant from his position and the respect to which it entitled him, and of forgetting him who had placed him there, but rather expecting to assume every kind of precedence among the other Macedonians and Greeks. And this aspect evidently gathered strength with Alexander, that is, whatever tended to Antipater's discredit, as being more dreaded to royalty. And yet no open deed or word was recorded of Alexander which might have led one to conclude that Antipater was not as high as ever in his regard.

[1] Εὐμενεῖ, οὐχ ἐκόντα ἐκόντι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ τὸ πεδίον λέγεται ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ ἀνειμένον ταῖς ἵπποις ταῖς βασιλικαῖς, αὐτό τε πεδίον Νησαῖον καλούμενον καὶ αἱ ἵπποι ὅτι Νησαῖαι κληῖζονται λέγει Ἡρόδοτος: εἶναι δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἕς πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας τῶν ἵππων, τότε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ πολὺ πλείονας τῶν πέντε καταλαβεῖν: πρὸς ληστῶν γὰρ διαρπαγῆναι τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν. [2] ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἀτροπάτης ὁ τῆς Μηδίας σατράπης γυναικας ἑκατὸν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν, ταύτας φάσκων εἶναι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, καὶ ταύτας σκευῇ ἀνδρῶν ἱππέων ἐσταλμένας, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι πελέκεις ἀντὶ δοράτων ἐφόρουσαν καὶ ἀντὶ ἀσπίδων πέλτας: οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν μαστὸν λέγουσιν ὅτι μείονα εἶχον τὸν δεξιόν, ὃν δὴ καὶ ἔξω εἶχον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις. [3] ταύτας μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον, μὴ τι νεωτερισθεῖη κατ' αὐτὰς ἕς ὕβριν πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἢ βαρβάρων: κελεῦσαι δὲ ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς τὴν βασίλισσαν σφῶν

ὅτι αὐτὸς ἤξει πρὸς αὐτὴν παιδοποιησόμενος. ταῦτα δὲ οὔτε Ἀριστόβουλος οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος οὔτε τις ἄλλος ἀνέγραψεν ὅστις ἱκανὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων τεκμηριῶσαι. [4] οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι ἐν τῇ τότε σώζεσθαι τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, οὐδ' ἔτι πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἢ Ξενοφῶν ἂν ἐμνήσθη αὐτῶν, Φασιανῶν τε μνησθεῖς καὶ Κόλχων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀπὸ Τραπεζούντος ὀρμώμενοι ἢ πρὶν ἐς Τραπεζούντα κατελθεῖν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπῆλθον ἔθνη βαρβαρικά, ἵνα περ καὶ ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν ἐντετυχήκεσαν ἂν, εἴπερ οὖν ἔτι ἦσαν Ἀμαζόνες. [5] μὴ γενέσθαι μὲν γὰρ παντελῶς τὸ γένος τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν οὐ πιστὸν δοκεῖ ἔμοιγε, πρὸς τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ὑμνηθέν. ὥς Ἡρακλέα τε ἐπ' αὐτὰς λόγος κατέχει ὅτι ἐστάλη καὶ ζωστήρᾳ τινα Ἰπολύτης τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκόμισε, καὶ οἱ ξὺν Θησεῖ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι ἐπιούσας τὰς γυναῖκας ταύτας τὴν Εὐρώπην πρῶτοι μάχῃ νικήσαντες ἀνέστειλαν· καὶ γέγραπται ἡ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀμαζόνων μάχῃ πρὸς Μίκωνος οὐ μείον ἢ περ ἡ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Περσῶν. καὶ Ἡροδότῳ πολλάκις περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων πεποιήται, καὶ ὅσοι Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσαντας λόγῳ ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας ἔργου Ἀθηναίων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα μνήμην ἐποιήσαντο. εἰ δὲ ἱππικὰς δὴ τινὰς γυναῖκας Ἀτροπάτης ἔδειξεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, βαρβάρους τινὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἱππεύειν ἡσκημένας δοκῶ ὅτι ἔδειξεν ἐς τὸν λεγόμενον δὴ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων κόσμον ἐσταλμένας.

XII. Hephaestion, they say, influenced by these sayings became reconciled to Eumenes; Eumenes being willing, but himself not. It is on this journey that Alexander is said to have seen the plain in which the royal mares were pastured; the plain itself was called the Plain of Nysa and the horses were called Nysaeans, as Herodotus tells us; and there were originally upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand mares, but Alexander found then not above fifty thousand; for most of them had been driven off by robbers.

There they say that Atropates the satrap of Media handed over to him a hundred women, saying that they were of the Amazons; they were equipped like cavalry troopers, except that they carried axes instead of spears, and small targets instead of shields. Some say that they had the right breast smaller, and that this was uncovered in battle. Alexander sent them away from the army, lest they should meet any roughness from the Macedonians or foreign troops; but he bade them announce to their queen that he was coming to see her in hope of offspring. This, however, neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemaeus nor any other reliable author on such matters has recorded. I do not myself think that the race of Amazons survived so long; indeed, before Alexander's time Xenophon made no reference to them, though he referred to Phasians and Colchians and other foreign races which the Greeks met either when starting from Trebizond or before they reached Trebizond, where they certainly would have met Amazons if there had still been any. And yet I do not think it credible that this race of women, so often mentioned by good authorities, never existed at all; since Heracles is reputed to have been sent to them, and to have brought back to Greece the girdle of Hippolyte their queen; it is said also that the Athenians with Theseus first defeated in battle and repelled these

women when invading Europe; and Cimon painted the battle of the Athenians and Amazons just as he did the battle of the Greeks and Persians. Then Herodotus has often mentioned these women, and all the Athenians who pronounce eulogies on those who fell in war, and made especial mention of the Athenian action against the Amazons. And if Atropates showed to Alexander any feminine cavalry, I think they were some other foreign women taught to ride whom he exhibited got up in the traditional Amazon fashion.

[1] ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις δὲ θυσίαν τε ἔθυσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖς νόμος, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπετέλει γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν, καὶ πότοι αὐτῷ ἐγίνοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐταίροις. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἡφαιστίων ἔκαμε τὸ σῶμα: ἐβδόμη τε ἡμέρα ἦδη ἦν αὐτῷ τῆς νόσου καὶ λέγουσι τὸ μὲν στάδιον πληρὲς εἶναι: παίδων γὰρ ἀγὼν ἦν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γυμνικός: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξηγγέλλετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι κακῶς ἔχοι Ἡφαιστίων, ὁ δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν σπουδῇ οὐκ ἐτι ζῶντα κατέλαβεν. [2] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα ἀνέγραψαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πένθους τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου: μέγα μὲν γενέσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ πένθος, πάντες τοῦτο ἀνέγραψαν, τὰ δὲ πραχθέντα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἄλλοι ἄλλα, ὡς ἕκαστος ἡ εὐνοίας πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα ἢ φθόνου εἶχεν ἢ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. [3] ὧν οἱ τὰ ἀτάσθαλα ἀναγράφαντες οἱ μὲν ἐς κόσμον φέρειν μοι δοκοῦσιν οἰηθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅσα ὑπεραλγῆσας ἔδρασεν ἢ εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων δὴ ἀνθρώπων φιλάτῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐς αἰσχύνην μᾶλλον τι ὥς οὐ πρόποντα οὔτ' οὖν βασιλεῖ οὔτε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οἱ μὲν, τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐρριμμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐταίρου ὀδύρεσθαι οὐδ' ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλαγῆναι, πρὶν γε δὴ πρὸς βίαν ἀπηνέχθῃ πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων: [4] οἱ δέ, τὴν τε ἡμέραν ὅλην καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐρριφθαι ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι: οἱ δὲ καί, τὸν ἱατρὸν Γλαυκίαν ὅτι ἐκρέμασε, καὶ τοῦτο[ν] ὥς ἐπὶ φαρμάκῳ κακῶς δοθέντι, οἱ δέ, ὅτι οἴνου περιεῖδεν ἐμπλησθέντα θεωρῶν αὐτός: καὶ κείρασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τῷ νεκρῷ τὴν κόμην τά τε ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπαικότα τίθεμαι καὶ κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, πρὸς ὄντινα ἐκ παιδὸς φιλοτιμία αὐτῷ ἦν: οἱ δὲ καί, τὸ ἄρμα ἐφ' ὅτῳ τὸ σῶμα ἐφέρετο αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὅτε ὅτι ἡνιόχει, [5] τοῦτο οὐδαμῇ πιστὸν ἔμοιγε λέγοντες: ἄλλοι δέ, ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἔδος ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις κατασκάψαι ἐκέλευσε, βαρβαρικὸν τοῦτό γε καὶ οὐδαμῇ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρόσφορον, ἀλλὰ τῇ Ξέρξου μᾶλλον τι ἀτασθαλίᾳ τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον καὶ ταῖς πέδαις ἃς λέγουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καθεῖναι Ξέρξην, τιμωρούμενον δῆθεν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. [6] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνο οὐ πάντῃ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἀναγεγράφθαι μοι δοκεῖ, ὥς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἤλυνεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πολλὰς πρεσβείας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἶναι δὲ δὴ ἐν τούτοις Ἐπιδαυρίων πρέσβεις: καὶ τούτους ὧν τε ἐδέοντο ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τυχεῖν καὶ ἀνάθημα δοῦναι αὐτοῖς Ἀλέξανδρον κομίζειν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ, ἐπειπόντα ὅτι: καίπερ οὐκ ἐπεικῶς κέχρηταί μοι ὁ Ἀσκληπιός, οὐ σώσας μοι τὸν ἐταῖρον ὄντινα ἴσον τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ ἦγον. ἐναγίζειν τε ὅτι αἰεὶ ὡς ἡρώϊ ἐκέλευεν Ἡφαιστίωνι, τοῦτο μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλείστων ἀναγράφεται: [7] οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι καὶ εἰς Ἄμμωνος ἔπεμψεν ἐρησομένους τὸν θεὸν εἰ καὶ ὡς θεῷ θύειν συγχωρεῖ Ἡφαιστίωνι, τὸν δὲ οὐ συγχωρῆσαι. [8] ἐκεῖνα δὲ πρὸς πάντων συμφωνούμενα, ἐς τρίτην ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἡμέραν μήτε

σίτου γεύσασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον μήτε τινὰ θεραπείαν ἄλλην θεραπεῦσαι τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἢ ὀδυρόμενον ἢ πενθικῶς σιγῶντα: καὶ πυρὰν κελεύσαι αὐτῷ ἐτοιμάζεσθαι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἀπὸ ταλάντων μυρίων, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονων ἀνέγραψαν: [9] καὶ ὅτι πένθος ποιεῖσθαι περιηγγέλη κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τὴν βάρβαρον: καὶ ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς θεραπείαν τὴν ἐκείνου σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ὄπλα Ἑφαιστίωνι ἀνέθεσαν ἀποθανόντι: πρῶτον δὲ Εὐμενὴ ἄρξει τοῦ σοφίσματος, ὄντινα ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν ἔφαμεν ὅτι διηνέχθη πρὸς Ἑφαιστίωνα: καὶ τοῦτο δὲ δρᾶσαι, τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὥς μὴ ἐφίηδεσθαι δοκοίη τελευτήσαντι Ἑφαιστίωνι. [10] οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ ἄλλον τινὰ ἔταξεν ἀντὶ Ἑφαιστίωνος χιλιάρχον ἐπὶ τῇ ἵπῳ τῇ ἐταιρικῇ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὥς μὴ ἀπόλοιτο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἑφαιστίωνος ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, ἀλλὰ Ἑφαιστίωνός τε ἡ χιλιarchία ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ τὸ σημεῖον αὐτῆς ἡγεῖτο τὸ ἐξ Ἑφαιστίωνος πεποιημένον. ἀγῶνά τε ἐπενόει ποιῆσαι γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν πλήθει τε τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν χορηγία πολὺ τι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρόσθεν ἀριδηλότερον: τρισχιλίους γὰρ ἀγωνιστὰς τοὺς σύμπαντας παρεσκεύασε. καὶ οὗτοι ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ τάφῳ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἠγωνίσαντο.

XIII. At Ecbatana Alexander offered a sacrifice, as he usually did after some successful event, and held also an athletic and literary contest and held drinking bouts with the Companions. During this time Hephaestion fell ill, and his illness had now run seven days; and they say that the race-course was filled with people; for there were athletic sports that day for boys; but when Alexander heard that Hephaestion was seriously ill, he left the course and hurried to him, but found him no longer living.

At this point historians have given varied accounts of Alexander's grief. That his mourning was great, all have related; as to his actions, historians differ, according to the good-will or the ill-will felt towards Hephaestion or indeed towards Alexander himself. Of these, those who have recounted scandals appear to me partly to have thought that all redounds to Alexander's credit that he did or said in his excess of grief for one who was of all men most dear to him; or else, that all was to his discredit, as not really fitting either for any king or for Alexander himself. Some say that for the greater part of that day he lay upon his friend's body and wept and would not be parted, till he was forced away by his Companions; others, that all the day and all the night he lay on the body; others again that he hanged Glaucias the doctor, and that for a dose wrongly administered; others again, because Glaucias had seen Hephaestion drinking most immoderately and had not stopped him; but that Alexander shaved his hair in regard for the dead man, and the rest, I regard as not unlikely, and done in emulation of Achilles, with whom he had a rivalry from boyhood. Some add also that Alexander himself for a time drove the car in which the body was borne, and this statement I regard as quite incredible; yet others tell us that he bade the temple of Asclepius at Ecbatana be razed to the ground — a barbaric order, and not in Alexander's way at all; but rather suitable to Xerxes' insolence towards things divine and harmonizing with

those fetters which they say Xerxes let down into the Hellespont, with the notion of punishing the Hellespont. But this also I think has been recorded not wholly outside the bounds of likelihood, that when Alexander was going to Babylon there met him in the way several envoys from Greece, and that among these were several Epidaurian envoys; these received from Alexander what they sued for, and Alexander gave them a statue to take back to Asclepius, with the words: “Yet Asclepius has not been kind to me, for he did not save for me the comrade whom I valued more than my life.” Then most authorities have recorded that he ordered sacrifice always to be offered to Hephaestion as a hero; others add that he sent to Ammon to enquire of the god if he permitted sacrifice to be made to Hephaestion as a god; but he refused.

The following, however, harmonizes in all accounts, that for three days after Hephaestion’s death Alexander neither tasted food nor took any care of his health, but lay either moaning or in a sorrowful silence; and that he ordered a pyre to be made ready for him in Babylon at a cost of ten thousand talents; some say even more; and that he commanded mourning to be made over all the East; and that many of Alexander’s Companions in respect for him dedicated themselves and their arms to the departed Hephaestion; and that Eumenes was the first to initiate this idea, of whom a little above (In the lost part of Chapter XII.) we said he had quarrelled with Hephaestion; and that he did this so that Alexander might not think him pleased at Hephaestion’s death. At any rate Alexander never appointed anyone in place of Hephaestion as general of the Companions’ cavalry, so that the name Hephaestion might never perish from his brigade; but it was still called Hephaestion’s brigade, and the image went before it which had been modelled on Hephaestion. Then Alexander proposed an athletic and literary contest with a great number of competitors, and far more splendid than any before in regard to the money lavished upon it; for he provided three thousand competitors in all; and these not long afterwards competed at Alexander’s own funeral.

[1] χρόνος τε ἦν συχνὸς τῷ πένθει καὶ αὐτὸς τε αὐτὸν ἤδη μετεκάλει ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι μᾶλλον τι ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἡνυτον. ἔνθα δὴ ἐξέλασιν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ Κοσσαίους, ἔθνος πολεμικὸν ὁμορον τῷ Οὐξίῳν. [2] εἰσὶ δὲ ὄρειοι οἱ Κοσσαῖοι καὶ χωρία ὀχυρὰ κατὰ κόμας νέμονται, ὁπότε προσάγοι δύναμις ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὁρῶν ἀποχωροῦντες ἀθρόοι ἢ ὅπως ἂν προχωρῇ ἐκάστοις οὕτω διαφεύγουσιν, ἐς ἀπορίαν βάλλοντες τοὺς ξὺν δυνάμει σφίσιν ἐπιχειροῦντας; ἀπελθόντων δὲ αὐθις εἰς τὸ ληστεύειν τρεπόμενοι ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν βίον ποιοῦνται. [3] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐξεῖλεν αὐτῶν τὸ ἔθνος καίπερ χειμῶνος στρατεύσας. ἀλλ’ οὔτε ὁ χειμῶν ἐμποδὼν ἐγένετο αὐτῷ οὔτε αἱ δυσχωρίαι, οὔτε αὐτῷ οὔτε Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου, ὃς μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἦγεν. οὕτως οὐδὲν ἄπορον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἦν ἐς ὃ τι ὁρμήσειε. [4] κατιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα Λιβύων τε πρεσβεῖαι ἐνετύγχανον ἐπαινούντων τε καὶ στεφανοῦντων ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ἐξ Ἰταλίας Βρέττιοί τε καὶ Λευκανοὶ καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπρέσβευον. καὶ Καρχηδονίους τότε πρεσβεῦσαι λέγεται καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰθιόπων πρέσβεις ἐλθεῖν καὶ

Σκυθῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, καὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Ἰβήρας, ὑπὲρ φιλίας δεησόμενοι: ὧν τὰ τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς σκευὰς τότε πρῶτον ὁφθῆναι πρὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Μακεδόνων. [5] τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐς ἀλλήλους διαφορῶν λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διακρίναι ἐπέτρεπον: καὶ τότε μάλιστα αὐτόν τε αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῖς ἅμφ' αὐτὸν φανῆναι γῆς τε ἀπάσης καὶ θαλάσσης κύριον. ἄριστος δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀναγραφάντων καὶ Ῥωμαίους λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπρέσβευσαν: καὶ ἐντυχόντα ταῖς πρεσβείαις Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων τι τῆς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐσομένης δυνάμεως μαντεύσασθαι, τόν τε κόσμον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἰδόντα καὶ τὸ φιλόπονόν τε καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἅμα διαπυνθανόμενον. [6] καὶ τοῦτο οὔτε ὡς ἀτρεκὲς οὔτε ὡς ἄπιστον πάντῃ ἀνέγραψα: πλήν γε δὴ οὔτε τις Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς πρεσβείας ταύτης ὡς παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον σταλείσης μνήμην τινὰ ἐποίησατο, οὔτε τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου γραφάντων, οἵσισι μᾶλλον ἐγὼ ξυμφέρομαι, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος: οὐδὲ τῷ Ῥωμαίων πολιτεύματι ἐπεικὸς ἦν ἐλευθέρῳ δὴ τότε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντι, παρὰ βασιλέα ἀλλόφυλον ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐς τοσόνδε ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας πρεσβεῦσαι, οὔτε φόβου ἐξαναγκάζοντος οὔτε κατ' ἐλπίδα ὠφελείας, μίσει τε, εἴπερ τινὰς ἄλλους, τοῦ τυραννικοῦ γένους τε καὶ ὀνόματος κατεχομένους.

XIV. Now the mourning had gone on some time, and Alexander was already recovering from it, and the Companions were able to assist him more. He now, therefore, made an expedition to the Cossaeans, a warlike race bordering on the Uxians. These Cossaeans are mountaineers, and dwell in village strongholds; and whenever a force drew near their mountain fastnesses, they would move off in mass or as convenient to each section, and so slip away; causing those who tried to attack them by force to be at fault. Then when the enemy was gone they turned again to their brigandage and found in it their livelihood. Alexander, however, drove out their tribe, even though he made his raid on them by winter. But winter and rough places never hindered him, nor yet Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, who led a portion of the army against them. In fact Alexander found nothing impossible of the warlike enterprises he undertook.

But as he was returning to Babylon embassies from the Libyans met him, congratulating him and offering him a crown on his becoming King of Asia; from Italy also Bruttians and Lucanians and Tyrrhenians sent envoys for a like purpose. It is said that the Carchedonians also sent envoys, and that others came from Ethiopia and the European Scyths; Celts also and Iberians, to ask for friendly terms; then indeed for the first time did Greeks and Macedonians become acquainted with their names and appearances. Some, they say, even appealed to Alexander to arbitrate in their differences with each other; and then especially both in his own estimation and in that of his followers Alexander appeared to be lord of all the earth and sea. Aristus indeed and Asclepiades from among the historians of Alexander assert that even Romans sent envoys; and that Alexander when he met their envoys prognosticated something of their future power when he noticed their orderliness and

diligence and freedom, and when he also had learnt something of their constitution. This I have recorded neither as true nor as untrue; except that no Roman ever made mention of this embassy sent to Alexander, nor even the historians of Alexander whom I most follow, Ptolemaeus son of Lagus and Aristobulus; nor was it suitable for the Roman republic, which was then entirely free, to send to a foreign king, especially so far from their own home, when no scare compelled them, nor with any expectation of help, and being as they were a people particularly given to dislike of kings and of the very name of kings.

[1] ἐκ τούτου δὴ Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Ἀργαίου ἐκπέμπει ἐς Ὑρκανίαν ναυπηγοὺς ἅμα οἷ ἄγοντα, κελεύσας ὕλην τεμόντα ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν τῶν Ὑρκανίων ναυπηγεῖσθαι ναῦς μακρὰς ἀφράκτους τε καὶ πεφραγμένας ἐς τὸν κόσμον τὸν Ἑλληνικόν. [2] πόθος γὰρ εἶχεν αὐτὸν καὶ ταύτην ἐκμαθεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Κασπίαν τε καὶ Ὑρκανίαν καλουμένην ποῖα τινὶ ζυμβάλλει θαλάσση, πότερα τῇ τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐφ' αὐτῆς κατ' Ἰνδοὺς ἐκπεριερχομένη ἢ μεγάλη θάλασσα ἀναχεῖται εἰς κόλπον τὸν Ὑρκάνιον, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ τὸν Περσικὸν ἐξεῦρε, τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν δὲ καλουμένην θάλασσαν, κόλπον οὖσαν τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης. [3] οὐ γὰρ πῶ ἐξεύρηντο αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῆς Κασπίας θαλάσσης, καίτοι ἐθνῶν τε αὐτὴν περιουκούντων οὐκ ὀλίγων καὶ ποταμῶν πλοῖμων ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτήν: ἐκ Βάκτρων μὲν Ὁξος, μέγιστος τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ποταμῶν, πλὴν γε δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἐξίησιν ἐς ταύτην τὴν θάλασσαν, διὰ Σκυθῶν δὲ Ἰαζάρτης: καὶ τὸν Ἀράξην δὲ τὸν ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ῥέοντα ἐς ταύτην ἐσβάλλειν ὁ πλείων λόγος κατέχει. μέγιστοι μὲν οὗτοι: [4] πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι ἔς τε τούτους ἐμβάλλοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ σφῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην ἐξιᾶσιν, οἱ μὲν καὶ γνωσκόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπελθόντων τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ κόλπου, ὡς εἰκός, κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας τοὺς Νομάδας, ὃ δὴ ἄγνωστον πάντῃ ἐστίν. [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ζύν τῇ στρατιᾷ διέβη ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος, ἐνταῦθα ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ Χαλδαίων οἱ λόγιοι, καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐδέοντο ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἔλασιν. λόγιον γὰρ γεγονέναι σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Βήλου μὴ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ οἱ εἶναι τὴν πάροδον τὴν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν τῇ τότε. τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐτοῖς λόγος τοῦ Εὐριπίδου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔπος: [6] ἔχει δὲ τὸ ἔπος Εὐριπίδῃ ὧδε: μάντις δ' ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς. σὺ δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἔφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, μὴ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἀφορῶν αὐτὸς μηδὲ τὴν στρατιάν ταύτην ἐπέχουσιν ἄγων παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐκπεριελθὼν πρὸς ἑὸ μάλλον. [7] τῇ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο εὐμαρὲς διὰ δυσχωρίαν ζυνέβη: ἀλλὰ ἦγε γὰρ αὐτὸν ταύτῃ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἢ παρελθόντα ἐχρῆν ἤδη τελευτῆσαι. καὶ πού τις γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἄμεινον αὐτῷ ἢ ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς τε ἄλλης δόξης καὶ τοῦ πόθου τοῦ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπηλλάχθαι, πρὶν τινα ζυμβῆναι αὐτῷ ζυμφορὰν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἧς ἕνεκα καὶ Σόλων αὖ Κροίσῳ παραινέσαι εἰκὸς τέλος ὁρᾶν μακροῦ βίου μηδὲ πρόσθεν τινα ἀνθρώπων ἀποφαίνειν εὐδαιμόνα. [8] ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡ Ὑφαιστίωνος τελευτὴ οὐ σμικρὰ ζυμφορὰ γεγένητο, ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος προαπελθεῖν ἂν δοκεῖ μοι ἐθελῆσαι μάλλον ἢ ζῶν πειραθῆναι, οὐ μείον ἢ καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς δοκῶ ἂν

ἐλέσθαι προαποθανεῖν Πατρόκλου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῷ τιμωρὸν γενέσθαι.

XV. After this Alexander sent Heracleides the son of Argaeus to Hyrcania with shipwrights, bidding him cut wood from the Hyrcanian forests and build warships, some decked, some open, in the Greek fashion. For he had conceived a desire to explore this Caspian Sea (also called Hyrcanian) as well, to see with what other sea it unites; whether with the Euxine Sea, or whether on the east side, towards India, the great sea circling round pours into the Hyrcanian Gulf, just as he discovered the Persian Sea, called by some the Red Sea, to be only a gulf of the ocean. For no one had yet discovered the springs of the Caspian Sea, though many tribes dwell round it and navigable rivers flow into it; from Bactria, for instance, the river Oxus, the greatest of the Asian rivers, save the Indian, finds its way into this sea; and also the Jaxartes flowing through Scythia. Then the usual account is that the Araxes flowing from Armenia runs into this sea. These are the greatest; but a good many others pouring into these themselves pass into this sea; some known by Alexander's expedition into those parts, and others on the far side of the gulf, as would be, and among the Nomad Scythians, a part entirely unknown.

Crossing the Tigris with his army, Alexander marched towards Babylon, and there met him Chaldaean seers, who drew him aside from the Companions and begged him to stop the advance towards Babylon; for, they said, they had an oracle from their god Belus that his approach to Babylon at that time would mean disaster. He, however, answered them with a verse of Euripides the dramatist — it runs thus:

“Prophets, who prophesy the best, are best.”

“But, O King,” said the Chaldaeans, “look not towards the west, nor lead your army westward, but rather wheel your force and lead it eastward.” But this, by reason of the difficulty of the road, he could not do; but fate led him the way on which he was doomed to die. And possibly it was better for him to die in the height of his fame and of the general regard of mankind before any ordinary disaster befell him; it was for a reason like this probably that Solon advised Croesus to regard the end of a long life, and not declare any man happy before that. For the death of Hephaestion had proved no small disaster to Alexander himself, which Alexander himself I believe would have preferred to anticipate rather than to experience it during his lifetime; just as I think Achilles would have preferred to die before Patroclus rather than to have been the avenger of his death.

[1] ἦν δέ τι καὶ ὑποπτον αὐτῷ ἐς τοὺς Χαλδαίους, ὡς οὐ κατὰ μαντείαν τι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς ὠφέλειαν τὴν αὐτῶν φέροι αὐτοῖς ἢ κώλυσις τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν τῷ τότε ἐλάσεως. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Βήλου νεὼς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἦν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, μεγέθει τε μέγιστος καὶ ἐκ πλίνθου ὀπτῆς ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ ἡρμοσμένης. [2] τοῦτον τὸν νεῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ τὰ Βαβυλωνίων, Ξέρξης κατέσκαψεν, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὀπίσω ἀπενόστησεν: Ἀλέξανδρος δέ

ἐν νῷ εἶχεν ἀνοικοδομεῖν οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς θεμελίοις τοῖς πρόσθεν, καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα τὸν χοῦν ἐκφέρειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους, οἱ δέ, ὅτι καὶ μείζονα ἔτι τοῦ πάλαι ὄντος. [3] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποστάντος αὐτοῦ μαλθακῶς ἀνθήψαντο τοῦ ἔργου οἷς ταῦτα ἐπετέτραπτο, ὁ δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ἐπενόει τὸ ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι. εἶναι δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῷ Βήλῳ πολλήν μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀνειμένην ἐκ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέων, πολλὴν δὲ χρυσόν. [4] καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου πάλαι μὲν τὸν νεὼν ἐπισκευάζεσθαι καὶ τὰς θυσίας τῷ θεῷ θύεσθαι, τότε δὲ τοὺς Χαλδαίους τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νέμεσθαι, οὐκ ὄντος ἐς ὃ τι ἀναλωθήσεται τὰ περιγιγνόμενα. τούτων δὴ εἵνεκα ὑποποτοὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦσαν οὐκ ἐθέλειν παρελθεῖν εἴσω Βαβυλῶνος Ἀλέξανδρον, ὥς μὴ δι' ὀλίγου τὸν νεὼν ἐπιτελεσθέντα ἀφελέσθαι αὐτοὺς τὰς ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων ὠφελείας. [5] ὅμως δὲ τὰ γε τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς τῆς κατὰ τὴν εἰσοδὸν τὴν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐθελῆσαι αὐτοῖς πεισθῆναι λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ μὲν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην καταστρατοπεδεῦσαι, ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντα τὸν ποταμὸν παρ' αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι, θέλοντα ὑπερβάλλειν τῆς πόλεως τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐς δυσμὰς τετραμμένον, ὥς ταύτῃ ἐπιστρέψαντα πρὸς ἑὸν ἄγειν: [6] ἀλλὰ οὐ γὰρ δυνηθῆναι ὑπὸ δυσχωρίας οὕτως ἐλάσαι ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ὅτι τὰ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰσιόντι, εἰ ταύτῃ πρὸς ἑὸν ἐπέστρεφεν, ἐλώδη τε καὶ τεναγώδη ἦν. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκόντα καὶ ἄκοντα ἀπειθῆσαι τῷ θεῷ.

XVI. Some suspicion was entertained by Alexander towards these Chaldaeans that it was not so much in the way of prophecy as for their private advantage that the prevention of his advance to Babylon at that time would tend, for the temple of Belus was in the midst of the city of Babylon, in size immense, and made of baked brick with bitumen for mortar. This temple, like the other shrines of Babylon, Xerxes razed to the ground, when he returned back from Greece; but Alexander was minded to build it up again, some say on the original foundations, and that for this reason he bade the Babylonians remove the heaps of earth; others say that he wished to build it larger than the old one. But since after his departure those charged with the work had taken it up languidly, he proposed to complete the work with all his force. The god Bel had much glebe consecrated by the Assyrian kings, and much treasure too. From this the temple was originally repaired, and the sacrifices offered to the god. But at that time the Chaldaeans enjoyed the revenues of the god, there being no cause for expenditure of the surplus income. For all these reasons Alexander suspected that they did not desire him to enter Babylon, lest if the temple was completed in a short time they might lose the enjoyment of these moneys. Yet Aristobulus states that Alexander was quite ready to yield to them so far as to withdraw from entering the city, and that he camped the first day on the river Euphrates, but the next day marched along the river, keeping it on his right, anxious to pass by that part of the city which had a western aspect, so as to turn thence and march eastward; but he could not advance this way with his force because of the difficulty of the ground, since if he entered from the west, and at this point turned eastward, the ground was all marshy and full of pools. And thus he disobeyed the god partly of

intention, and partly without.

[1] ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖονδε τινὰ λόγον Ἀριστόβουλος ἀναγράφευ, Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Ἀμφιπολίτην τῶν ἐταίρων τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιάς ἦν παρὰ Μαζαίῳ τῷ Βαβυλῶνος σατράπῃ ἀπέλιπεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπειδὴ συνέμιξεν ἐπανιόντι αὐτῷ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν, ὀρῶντα πικρῶς τιμωρούμενον τοὺς σατράπας ὅσοι ἐπ' ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ χώρα τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, ἐπιστεῖλαι Πειθαγόρᾳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, μάντιν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Πειθαγόραν τῆς ἀπὸ σπλάγχχνων μαντείας, μαντεύσασθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας. [2] ἀντεπιστεῖλαι δὲ αὐτῷ Πειθαγόραν πυνθανόμενον τίνα μάλιστα φοβούμενος χρῆσασθαι ἐθέλοι τῇ μαντεία. τὸν δὲ γράψαι αὖθις ὅτι τὸν τε βασιλέα αὐτὸν καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα. θύεσθαι δὴ τὸν Πειθαγόραν πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡφαιστίωνι: ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἥπατος τοῦ ἱερείου ὁ λοβὸς ἀφανὴς ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἐγγράψαντα καὶ κατασημνύμενον τὸ γραμματίον πέμψαι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Ἐκβάτανα, δηλοῦντα μηδὲν τι δεδιέναι Ἡφαιστίωνα: ἐσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγου χρόνου ἐκποδόν. [3] καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος κομίσασθαι Ἀπολλόδωρον μιᾷ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ ἢ τελευτῆσαι Ἡφαιστίωνα. αὖθις δὲ θύεσθαι τὸν Πειθαγόραν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄλοβον τὸ ἥπαρ τοῦ ἱερείου. καὶ Πειθαγόραν τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου γράψαι Ἀπολλοδώρῳ. Ἀπολλόδωρον δὲ οὐ κατασιωπῆσαι, ἀλλὰ φράσαι γὰρ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα, ὥς εὖνοιαν μᾶλλον τι ἐπιδειξόμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ, εἰ φυλάττεσθαι παραινέσειε μή τις αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἐν τῷ τότε ξυμπέσοι. [4] καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρον τε λέγει ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπῆνεσε καὶ τὸν Πειθαγόραν, ἐπειδὴ παρῆλθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ἦρετο ὅτου γενομένου αὐτῷ σημείου ταῦτα ἐπέστελεν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν: τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἄλοβόν οἱ τὸ ἥπαρ ἐγένετο τοῦ ἱερείου: ἐρομένου δὲ ὅ τι νοοῖ τὸ σημεῖον μέγα εἰπεῖν εἶναι χαλεπόν. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τοσοῦτου δεῖσαι χαλεπῆναι τῷ Πειθαγόρᾳ, ὥς καὶ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἔχειν αὐτὸν πλείονος, ὅτι ἀδόλως τὴν ἀλήθειάν οἱ ἔφρασε. [5] ταῦτα αὐτὸς Ἀριστόβουλος λέγει παρὰ Πειθαγόρου πυθέσθαι: καὶ Περδίκκᾳ δὲ μαντεύσασθαι αὐτὸν λέγει καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ χρόνῳ ὕστερον: καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου ἀμφοῖν γενομένου Περδίκκαν τε ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον στρατεύσαντα ἀποθανεῖν καὶ Ἀντίγονον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Σέλευκον καὶ Λυσίμαχον τῇ ἐν Ἰψῷ γενομένη. [6] καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ Καλάνου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τοῖόσδε τις ἀναγράφεται λόγος, ὁπότε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν ἦει ἀποθανούμενος, τότε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐταίρους ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτόν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι προσελθεῖν ἀσπασόμενον, ἀλλὰ φάναι γὰρ ὅτι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι αὐτῷ ἐντυχὼν ἀσπάζεται. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε ἀμεληθῆναι, ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐς μνήμην ἔλθεῖν τῶν ἀκουσάντων, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ ἄρα τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐθειάσθη.

XVII. Moreover, Aristobulus records a story as follows. Apollodorus of Amphipolis, one of Alexander's Companions, commander of the force which Alexander left behind with Mazaeus the satrap of Babylon, meeting Alexander on his return from India, and perceiving that he was punishing severely the satraps appointed over different provinces, wrote to Peithagoras

his brother, one of those seers who prophesy from the flesh of victims, to prophesy also concerning his own welfare. Peithagoras then wrote in answer to him asking who it was that he chiefly feared, that he wanted the help of prophecy; and he replied that it was the King himself and Hephaestion. Peithagoras then sacrificed first in the matter of Hephaestion; and as the lobe could not be seen on the liver of the victim, he reported this, and sealing his letter sent it to Apollodorus from Babylon to Ecbatana, assuring him that he had nothing to fear from Hephaestion, for in a short time he would be removed from his path. This letter Aristobulus says that Apollodorus received on the day before Hephaestion died. Then Peithagoras sacrificed again in the matter of Alexander, and for Alexander also the liver of the victim showed no lobe. Peithagoras then sent a similar letter to Apollodorus about Alexander also. Then Apollodorus did not keep his counsel, but told Alexander the news he had received, with the idea of showing a kindness to the King, by advising him to beware lest any danger should at this time come upon him. He states further that Alexander thanked Apollodorus and, when he reached Babylon, asked Peithagoras what particular warning caused him to write thus to his brother. He replied that he found the liver of the victim without a lobe. Then when Alexander enquired what this sign portended, Peithagoras replied: "Something very serious." However, Alexander was far from being incensed against Peithagoras, but rather had a higher opinion of him for speaking the truth outright. This Aristobulus says he learned at first hand from Peithagoras; and adds that Peithagoras prophesied later in the matter of Perdiccas and Antigonus; the same portent appeared for both, and Perdiccas, having taken the field against Ptolemaeus, perished, and Antigonus in the battle against Seleucus and Lysimachus, which took place at Ipsus. And besides this, a story on these lines has been recorded of Calanus, the Indian wise man, that when he was going to the funeral pyre, to his death, he greeted all the Companions, but refused to approach Alexander to wish him farewell, but said that he would meet him at Babylon, and greet him there. This story was ignored at the time; but later, when Alexander died at Babylon, it came to the recollection of the hearers that he had, in reality, some divine inspiration about Alexander.

[1] παρελθόντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα πρεσβεῖαι παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐνέτυχον, ὑπὲρ ὧτων μὲν ἕκαστοι πρεσβευόμενοι οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται, δοκεῖν δ' ἔμοιγε αἱ πολλαὶ στεφανούντων τε αὐτὸν ἦσαν καὶ ἐπαινούντων ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ταῖς τε ἄλλαις καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς, καὶ ὅτι σῶος ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπανήκει χαίρειν φασκόντων. καὶ τούτους δεξιωσάμενός τε καὶ τὰ εἰκότα τιμήσας ἀποπέμψαι ὀπίσω λέγεται. [2] ὅσους δὲ ἀνδριάντας ἢ ὅσα ἀγάλματα ἢ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἀνάθημα ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ξέρξης ἀνεκόμισεν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἢ ἐς Πασαργάδας ἢ ἐς Σοῦσα ἢ ὅπῃ ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἀσίας, ταῦτα δοῦναι ἄγειν τοῖς πρέσβεσι: καὶ τὰς Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος εἰκόνας τὰς χαλκᾶς οὕτω λέγεται ἀπενεχθῆναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Κελκῆας τὸ ἔδος. κατέλαβε δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἀναπεπλευκὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Περσικῆς,

ὁ τι περ σὺν Νεάρῳ ἦν, τὸ δὲ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνακεκομισμένον, πεντήρεις μὲν δύο τῶν ἐκ Φοινίκων, τετρήρεις δὲ τρεῖς, τριήρεις δὲ δώδεκα, τριακοντόρους δὲ ἐς τριάκοντα: ταύτας ξυντμηθείσας κομισθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς Θάψακον πόλιν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ξυμπεχθείσας αὖθις καταπλεῦσαι ἐς Βαβυλῶνα. λέγει δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἄλλος αὐτῷ ἐναυπηγεῖτο στόλος τέμνοντι τὰς κυπαρίσσους τὰς ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ: [4] τούτων γὰρ μόνων τῶν δένδρων εὐπορίαν εἶναι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσα ἐς ναυπηγίαν ἀπόρως ἔχειν τὴν γῆν ταύτην: πληρώματα δὲ ἐς τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπηρεσίας πορφυρέων τε πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ἐργάται τῆς θαλάσσης ἀφίχθαι αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας: λιμένα τε ὅτι πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ἐποίει ὀρυκτὸν ὅσον χιλίαις ναυσὶ μακραῖς ὄρμον εἶναι καὶ νεωσοίκους ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος. [5] καὶ Μίκαλος ὁ Κλαζομένιος μετὰ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων ἐπὶ Φοινίκης τε καὶ Συρίας ἐστέλλετο, τοὺς μὲν μισθῷ πείσων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὠνησόμενος ὅσοι θαλάττιοι ἄνθρωποι. τὴν τε γὰρ παραλίαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ κόλῳ τῷ Περσικῷ κατοικίζειν ἐπενόει καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς αὐτῇ. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτῷ οὐ μείον ἂν Φοινίκης εὐδαίμων ἢ χώρα αὕτη γενέσθαι. [6] ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἡ παρασκευὴ ὥς ἐπὶ Ἀραβας τοὺς πολλοὺς, πρόφασιν μὲν, ὅτι μόνοι τῶν αὐτῇ βαρβάρων οὔτε πρεσβείαν ἀπέστειλαν οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἐπιεικὲς ἢ ἐπὶ τιμῇ ἐπέπρακτο Ἀραβιν ἐς αὐτόν: τὸ δὲ ἀληθές, ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖ, ἅπληστος ἦν τοῦ κτᾶσθαι τι ἀεὶ Ἀλέξανδρος.

XVIII. Then when Alexander had entered Babylon embassies came to meet him from the Greeks; but history does not record for what purposes each embassy came. I am inclined to think that most of them were to offer him wreaths and to congratulate him on all his victories, and especially those in India; and also to express their joy that he came back safe from India. These he received graciously, and is stated to have dismissed them after showing his regard for them in the customary way. But such statues or other works of art or any other votive offering which Xerxes removed from Greece to Babylon or to the Pasargadae or to Susa or anywhere else in Asia, these he gave to the embassies to take back; and thus it is said that the bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were taken back to Athens, as also the seated figure of Celcaean Artemis.

Aristobulus says that Alexander found in Babylon the flotilla also; part had sailed up the Euphrates from the Persian Sea, that part which was with Nearchus; but the rest had been brought up from Phoenicia, two Phoenician quinquereemes, three quadriremes, and twelve triremes; and upwards of thirty thirty-oared galleys. These had been bisected and carried across from Phoenicia to the Euphrates, to the city of Thapsacus; and there they were put together again and sailed down to Babylon. Aristobulus also says that another detachment was being built for him, by cutting down the cypresses in Babylonia; for this is the only tree which grows freely in the Assyrian country, which is bare of everything else necessary for shipbuilding. As crews for the ships and for the other naval services there came a number of purple-shell divers and other persons whose business lies in the sea, from Phoenicia and

the rest of the coast. It is also said that Alexander dug a harbour at Babylon, large enough to be a roadstead for a thousand ships of war, and dockyards on the harbour. Miccalus of Clazomenae was despatched to Phoenicia and Syria with five hundred talents, to induce by pay, or to purchase, men accustomed to seafaring. For Alexander had an idea of colonizing the coast along the Persian Gulf, and the islands that he near: for he thought that it would be just as prosperous a country as Phoenicia. His naval preparations were chiefly directed at the greater part of the Arabs, on the ground that they alone of the tribes on this side had sent no envoys, nor had done anything complimentary, or by way of honouring Alexander. The actual fact, in my estimation, is that Alexander was always insatiate in winning possessions.

[1] λόγος δὲ κατέχει ὅτι ἤκουεν Ἀραβας δύο μόνον τιμᾶν θεοῦς, τὸν Οὐρανὸν τε καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, τὸν μὲν Οὐρανὸν αὐτόν τε ὁρώμενον καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ἐν οἷ ἔχοντα τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον, ἀφ' ὅτου μεγίστη καὶ φανοτάτη ὠφέλεια ἐς πάντα ἔκει τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, Διόνυσον δὲ κατὰ δόξαν τῆς ἐς Ἰνδοὺς στρατιάς. οὐκ οὐκ ἀπαξιῶν καὶ αὐτὸν τρίτον ἂν νομισθῆναι πρὸς Ἀράβων θεόν, οὐ φαυλότερα ἔργα Διονύσου ἀποδειξάμενον, εἶπερ οὖν καὶ Ἀράβων κρατήσας ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτοῖς, καθάπερ Ἰνδοῖς, πολιτεῦειν κατὰ τὰ σφῶν νόμιμα. [2] τῆς τε χώρας ἡ εὐδαιμονία ὑπεκίνει αὐτόν, ὅτι ἤκουεν ἐκ μὲν τῶν λιμνῶν τὴν κασίαν γίνεσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δένδρων τὴν σμύρναν τε καὶ τὸν λιβανωτόν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν θάμνων τὸ κιννάμωμον τέμνεσθαι, οἱ λειμῶνες δὲ ὅτι νάρδον αὐτόματοι ἐκφέρουσι: τό τε μέγεθος τῆς χώρας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐλάττων ἢ παράλιος τῆς Ἀραβίας ἤπερ ἢ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο, καὶ νῆσοι αὐτῇ προσκεισθαι πολλάι, καὶ λιμένες πανταχοῦ τῆς χώρας ἐνεῖναι, οἷοι παρασχεῖν μὲν ὅρμους τῷ ναυτικῷ, παρασχεῖν δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἐνοικισθῆναι καὶ ταύτας γενέσθαι εὐδαίμονας. [3] δύο δὲ νῆσοι κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Εὐφράτου πελάγαι ἐξηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ, ἡ μὲν πρώτη οὐ πρόσω τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Εὐφράτου, ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μικροτέρα αὕτη καὶ δασεῖα λῦη παντοῖα: εἶναι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς ἀμφὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὴν δίαίταν ποιεῖσθαι: [4] νέμεσθαί τε αὐτὴν αἰξί τε ἀγρίαις καὶ ἐλάφοις, καὶ ταύτας ἀνεῖσθαι ἀφέτους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, οὐδὲ εἶναι θέμις θήραν ποιεῖσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι μὴ θῆσαι τινα τῇ θεῷ ἐθέλοντα ἐπὶ τῷδε θηρᾶν μόνον: ἐπὶ τῷδε γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι ἀθέμιτον. [5] καὶ ταύτην τὴν νῆσον λέγει Ἀριστοβούλος ὅτι Ἴκαρον ἐκέλευσε καλεῖσθαι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῆς νήσου τῆς Ἰκάρου τῆς ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ, ἐς ἣντινα Ἴκαρον τὸν Δαιδάλου τακέντος τοῦ κηροῦ ὅτῳ προσήρητο τὰ περὰ πεσεῖν λόγος κατέχει, ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐφέρετο, ἀλλὰ μετέωρος γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀνοίας πετόμενος παρέσχε τῷ ἡλίῳ θάλπειν τε καὶ ἀνεῖναι τὸν κηρόν, καὶ ἀπὸ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἴκαρον τῇ τε νήσῳ καὶ τῷ πελάγει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν μὲν Ἴκαρον καλεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ Ἰκάριον. [6] ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα νῆσος ἀπέχει μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐλέγετο ὅσον πλοῦν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς κατ' οὖρον θεοῦση νῆϊ: Τύλος δὲ αὐτῇ εἶναι ὄνομα: μεγάλη δὲ εἶναι καὶ οὔτε τραχεῖα ἢ πολλὴ οὔτε ὑλώδης, ἀλλ' οἷα καρπούς τε ἡμέρους ἐκφέρειν καὶ πάντα ὥραϊα. [7] ταυτὶ ἀπηγγέλθη

Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ μὲν πρὸς Ἀρχίῳ, ὃς ζὺν τριακοντόρῳ ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τοῦ παράπλου τοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας μέχρι μὲν τῆς νήσου τῆς Τύλου ἦλθε, τὸ πρόσω δὲ οὐκέτι περαιωθῆναι ἐτόλμησεν: Ἀνδροσθένης δὲ ζὺν ἄλλῃ τριακοντόρῳ σταλεῖς καὶ τῆς χειρρονήσου τι τῶν Ἀράβων παρέπλευσε: μακροτάτῳ δὲ τῶν ἐκπεμφθέντων προὔχωρησεν Ἰέρων ὁ Σολεὺς ὁ κυβερνήτης, λαβὼν καὶ οὗτος παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τριακόντορον. [8] ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ προστεταγμένον περιπλεῦσαι τὴν χειρρόνησον τὴν Ἀράβων πᾶσαν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν Ἀράβιον τὸν καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν: οὐ μὴν ἐτόλμησέ γε τὸ πρόσω ἐλθεῖν, καίτοι ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ παραπλεύσας τὴν Ἀράβων γῆν: ἀλλ' ἀναστρέψας γὰρ παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐξηγγεῖλεν τὸ μέγεθος τε τῆς χειρρονήσου θαυμαστόν τι εἶναι καὶ ὅσον οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέον τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ἅκραν τε ἀνέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης: [9] ἦν δὴ καὶ τοὺς σὺν Νεάρχῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πλέοντας, πρὶν ἐπικάμψαι ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικόν, οὐ πόρρῳ ἀνατείνουσιν ἰδεῖν τε καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθεῖν διαβαλεῖν ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ Ὀνησικρίτῳ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ ταύτῃ δοκοῦν: ἀλλὰ Νεάρχος λέγει ὅτι αὐτὸς διεκώλυσεν, ὡς ἐκπεριπλεύσας τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικόν ἔχῃ ἀπαγγεῖλαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐφ' οἷσινσι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστάλη: [10] οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ πλεῦσαι τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἐστάλθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ καταμαθεῖν τὴν χώραν τὴν προσεχὴ τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀνθρώπους, ὄρμους τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὕδατα καὶ τὰ νόμια τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἀγαθὴ καρποὺς ἐκφέρειν ἢ εἴ τις κακὴ: καὶ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο αἴτιον γενέσθαι ἀποσωθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸν στρατόν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν σωθῆναι πλεύσαντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀραβίας τὰ ἔρημα, ἐφ' ὅτῳ καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων ἐπιστρέψαι ὀπίσω λέγεται. ἐν ᾧ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐναυπηγοῦντο μὲν αἱ τριήρεις, ὁ

XIX. There is a story current that Alexander heard that the tribes of Arabs revered only two gods, Uranus and Dionysus; Uranus because they behold him and he contains within him all the stars and especially the sun, from which the greatest and most obvious benefit, in all directions, comes to mankind; Dionysus, in view of his journey to India. Alexander therefore thought himself worthy to be regarded as a third god by the Arabs, since he had achieved even more famous deeds than Dionysus, at any rate if he should conquer Arabia and permit them, as he had the Indians, to be governed according to their own customs. Then the prosperity of the country incited him, since he heard that in their oases cassia grew, and from the trees came myrrh and frankincense; and from the bushes, cinnamon was cut; and that from their meadows spikenard grew self-sown. Then there was also the size of their territory, since the sea-coast of Arabia was reported to him to be not much less than that of India, and that there were several islands adjacent, and harbours all over the coast, enough to give anchorage for his fleet, and to permit cities to be built on them, and those cities likely to be rich.

He was also informed of two islands in the sea near the mouth of the Euphrates. The first was not far from its outlet, being about a hundred and twenty stades from the shore, and from the river mouth; this one is smaller, and covered all over with thick wood; there was in it also a shrine of Artemis,

and the dwellers about the shrine themselves performed the daily services; it pastured wild goats and chamois, and these were reserved as sacred to Artemis, and no one was allowed to hunt them save any who desired to sacrifice to the goddess: on this excuse only might anyone hunt, and for this purpose hunting was not forbidden. This island, according to Aristobulus, Alexander commanded to be called Icarus, after the island Icarus in the Aegean Sea, upon which Icarus, son of Daedalus, according to the legend, fell when the wax, with which his wings had been fastened, melted, because he did not, according to his father's behest, fly low near the ground, but from his own folly flew high and so allowed the sun to melt and loose the wax; and so he left his name to both island and sea, the one being called Icarus, the other, Icarian. The other island was reported to be distant from the mouth of the Euphrates about a day and night's sail for a ship running before the wind; it was called Tylus; and it was large, and neither rough nor wooded for the most part; but the sort which bore garden fruits and all things in due season.

All this was told to Alexander, partly by Archias, who was sent with a thirty-oared ship to reconnoitre the coastal voyage towards Arabia and arrived at the island Tylus, (In Strabo (xvi. 3) it is called Tyrus, now Bahrein.) but did not venture further; but Androsthene was despatched with another thirty-oar, and sailed round part of the Arabian peninsula; but farthest of all those who were sent out, Hieron of Soli the steersman advanced, who also received a thirty-oar from Alexander. For his sailing orders were to coast round the whole Arabian peninsula, till he reached the Arabian Gulf on the Egyptian side, near Heroöpolis; yet he did not dare to advance further, though he had sailed round the greater part of Arabia; but he turned about, and reported to Alexander the size of the peninsula as vast, and not far short of that of India; and that a projection ran far into the ocean. And this Nearchus' crews, when sailing from India, sighted, before they altered course for the Persian Gulf, stretching out not far away; and indeed were on the point of putting in there; that at least was the advice of Onesicritus the helmsman. But Nearchus states that he forbade this, since he had completed his voyage round the Persian Gulf and had to report to Alexander on the purposes for which he had been despatched. For he had not been sent to navigate the Ocean, but to reconnoitre the coast lying on the Ocean, and the inhabitants of the coast, and its anchorages, and its water supplies, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and what part of the coast was good for growing produce, and what part was bad; and that this was the reason that Alexander's army came through safely, for they would never have come through safe by sailing among the desert parts of Arabia. This too is the reason given for Hiero's return.

[1] λιμὴν δὲ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ὠρύσσετο, ἐκπλεῖ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Πολλακόπαν καλούμενον ποταμόν. ἀπέχει δὲ οὗτος τῆς Βαβυλῶνος σταδίους ὅσον ὀκτακοσίους, καὶ ἔστι διῶρυξ αὕτη [ὁ Πολλακόπας] ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτου, οὐχὶ δὲ ἐκ πηγῶν τις ἀνίσχων ποταμός. [2] ὁ γὰρ Εὐφράτης ποταμός ῥέων ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὀρέων χειμῶνος μὲν ὥρα

προχωρεῖ κατὰ τὰς ὄχθας, οἷα δὴ οὐ πολλοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ὕδατος· ἦρος δὲ ὑποφαίνοντος καὶ πολὺ δὴ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τροπᾶς, ἄστινας τοῦ θέρους ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστρέφει, μέγας τε ἐπέρχεται καὶ ὑπερβάλλει ὑπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν· [3] τηνικαῦτα γὰρ αἱ χιόνες αἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις κατατηκόμεναι αὐξοῦσιν αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ μέγα. ὅτι δὲ ἐπιτολῆς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὁ ῥοῦς, ὑπερβάλλει ἐς τὴν χώραν, εἰ μὴ τις ἀναστομώσας αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν Πολλακόπαν ἐς τὰ ἔλη τε ἐκτρέψειε καὶ τὰς λίμνας, αἱ δὴ ἀρχόμεναι ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς διώρυχος διήκουσιν> ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ζυνεχὴ τῇ Ἀράβων γῇ, καὶ ἔνθεν μὲν ἐς τέναγος ἐπὶ πολὺ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀφανῆ στόματα ἐκδίδωσι. [4] τετηκυίας δὲ τῆς χιόνος ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων μάλιστα δύσιν ὀλίγος τε ὁ Εὐφράτης ῥέει καὶ οὐδὲν μείον τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν Πολλακόπαν ἐκδίδοι ἐς τὰς λίμνας. εἰ δὴ τις μὴ ἀποφράξειε τὸν Πολλακόπαν αὐθις, ὥς κατὰ τὰς ὄχθας ἐκτραπὲν φέρεσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ κατὰ πόρου, ἐκένωσεν ἂν τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐς αὐτόν, ὥς μηδ' ἐπάρδεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν γῆν. [5] ἀλλὰ ἀπεφράσσοντο γὰρ αἱ ἐς τὸν Πολλακόπαν τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐκβολαὶ πρὸς τοῦ σατράπου τῆς Βαβυλωνίας πολλῷ πόνῳ, καίπερ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀναστομούμεναι, ὅτι ἰλυώδης τε ἡ ταύτη γῆ καὶ πηλὸς ἡ πολλὴ αὐτῆς, οἷα δεχομένη τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ εὐμαρῇ τὴν ἀποστροφὴν αὐτοῦ παρέχειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τρίτον μῆνα Ἀσσυρίων ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους ἐν τῷδε τῷ πόνῳ ζυνεῖχοντο. ταῦτα ἀπαγγελθέντα ἐπήγαγεν Ἀλέξανδρον ὠφελῆσαι τι τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν. [6] ἔνθεν μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Πολλακόπαν ἐτρέπετο τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὁ ῥοῦς, ταύτη δὲ ἔγνω βεβαίως ἀποκλεῖσαι τὴν ἐκβολήν· προελθόντι δὲ ὅσον σταδίους τριάκοντα ὑπόπετρος ἡ γῆ ἐφαίνετο, οἷα διακοπεῖσα, εἰ ξυναφῆς ἐγένετο τῇ πάλαι διώρυχι τῇ κατὰ τὸν Πολλακόπαν, οὗτ' ἂν διαχεῖσθαι παρέχειν τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ στερρότητος τῆς γῆς, τὴν τε ἀποστροφὴν αὐτοῦ τῇ τεταγμένῃ ὥρᾳ μὴ χαλεπῶς γίνεσθαι. [7] τούτων ἕνεκα ἐπὶ τε τὸν Πολλακόπαν ἔπλευσε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν καταπλεῖ ἐς τὰς λίμνας ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀράβων γῆν. ἔνθα χωρὸν τινα ἐν καλῷ ἰδὼν πόλιν ἐξωκοδόμησέ τε καὶ ἐτείχισε, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ κατόικισε τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰς τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὅσοι τε ἐκόντες καὶ ὅσοι ὑπὸ γήρως ἢ κατὰ πῆρωσιν ἀπόλεμοι ἦσαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὥς ἐξελέγξας δὴ τῶν Χαλδαίων τὴν

XX. Meanwhile, as the triremes were being built, and the harbour at Babylon being dug, Alexander sailed from Babylon down the Euphrates towards the river known as Pallacopas. This is eight hundred stades away from Babylon, and this Pallacopas is a canal from the Euphrates, not a river which rises from its own springs. For the Euphrates river flows from the Armenian hills, and in the winter season runs within its banks, its volume of water not being very great; but when spring begins, and especially during the summer solstice, it grows considerable and overflows its banks on to the Assyrian land. For it is then that the snows on the Armenian mountains melt and increase its volume considerably, and since the stream is high and swollen, it overflows into the surrounding country, unless it were diverted along the Pallacopas and so turned on to the marshes and the lakes, which begin with this canal and continue up to the territory nearest to Arabia, and

thence running mostly over marshland finally pour out into the sea by many obscure mouths. Then when the snow has melted about the setting of the Pleiads the Euphrates runs with diminished stream, and yet all the same lets its overflow run by means of the Pallacopas into the lakes. If, however, the bed of the Pallacopas was not in turn blocked, so that the stream headed off by the banks remains in its bed, it would have drained off the Euphrates into it, and then the Assyrian plain would never be watered from it. But the outlets of the Euphrates into the Pallacopas were blocked by the satrap of Babylon, with considerable labour, even though they can easily be opened, since the earth about there is muddy and the most part of it is soft clay such as lets through the river water and makes it none too easy to turn the river back. Yet even so for three months over ten thousand Assyrians were engaged on this task.

When this was reported to Alexander it incited him to try to assist the land of Assyria. So then at the point where the stream of Euphrates was turned into the Pallacopas, he determined to close the outlet securely; but when he had gone about thirty stades he found the earth appearing rather stony; suggesting that if it were quarried, and then united with the old canal along the Pallacopas, it would not permit the water to pass through because of the solidity of the soil, and yet its shutting off could easily be done at the right season. For these reasons he sailed to the Pallacopas and down, by it, to the lakes in the direction of Arabia. There he saw a good site and built a city there and fortified it, and settled there some of the Greek mercenaries, any who volunteered, and any who through age or wounds were unfit for service.

[1] μαντείαν, ὅτι οὐδὲν πεπόνθοι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἄχαρι, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἐμαντεύσαντο, ἀλλὰ ἔφθη γὰρ ἐλάσας ἔξω Βαβυλῶνος πρὶν τι παθεῖν, ἀνέπλει αὐθις κατὰ τὰ ἔλη θαρρῶν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὴν Βαβυλῶνα: ἵνα δὴ καὶ ἐπλανήθη αὐτῷ μέρος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κατὰ τὰ στενὰ ἀπορία ἡγεμόνος, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτὸς πέμψας τὸν ἡγησόμενον ἐπανήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν πόρον. λόγος δὲ λέγεται τοῖσδε. [2] τῶν βασιλέων τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τοὺς τάφους ἐν ταῖς λίμναις τε εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι δεδομημένους. ὥς δὲ ἔπλει Ἀλέξανδρος κατὰ τὰ ἔλη, κυβερνᾶν γὰρ αὐτὸν λόγος τὴν τριήρη, πνεύματος μεγάλου ἐμπεσόντος αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν καυσίαν καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῇ συνεχόμενον, τὴν μὲν δὴ οἷα βαρυτέραν πεσεῖν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ διάδημα δὲ ἀπενεχθὲν πρὸς τῆς πνοῆς σχεθῆναι ἐν καλάμῳ: τὸν κάλαμον δὲ τῶν ἐπιπεφυκτότων εἶναι τάφῳ τινὶ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων. [3] τοῦτό τε οὖν αὐτὸ πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων σημῆναι καὶ ὅτι τῶν τις ναυτῶν ἐκνηξάμενος ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ διάδημα ἀφελὼν τοῦ καλάμου αὐτὸ μετὰ χεῖρας μὲν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν, ὅτι νηχομένου ἂν αὐτοῦ ἐβρέχετο, περιθεις δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ οὕτω διήνεγκε. [4] καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀναγραφάντων τὰ Ἀλέξανδρου λέγουσιν ὅτι τάλαντον μὲν ἐδωρήσατο αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς προθυμίας ἕνεκα, ἀποτεμῆν δὲ ἐκέλευσε τὴν κεφαλὴν, τῶν μάντεων ταύτῃ ἐξηγησαμένων, μὴ περιδεῖν σῶαν ἐκείνην τὴν κεφαλὴν ἥτις τὸ διάδημα ἐφόρησε τὸ βασιλεῖον: Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τάλαντον μὲν ὅτι ἔλαβε λέγει αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ πληγὰς λαβεῖν τῆς περιθέσεως ἕνεκα τοῦ διαδήματος. [5] Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν δὴ τῶν τινα Φοινίκων τῶν ναυτῶν λέγει ὅτι

τὸ διάδημα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκόμισεν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σέλευκον λέγουσιν. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σημῆναι τὴν τελευταίην καὶ τῷ Σελεύκῳ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν μεγάλην. Σέλευκον γὰρ μέγιστον τῶν μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον διαδεξαμένων τὴν ἀρχὴν βασιλέα γενέσθαι τὴν τε γνώμην βασιλικώτατον καὶ πλείστης γῆς ἐπάρξαι μετὰ γε αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ μοι δοκεῖ ἰέναι ἐς ἀμφίλογον.

XXI. Then Alexander, as if he had proved false the Chaldaean soothsayers, since he had suffered nothing harmful in Babylon, as they had prophesied, but had marched out of Babylon again before anything had happened, sailed up the marsh lands boldly, with Babylon on his left hand; but here some of his flotilla lost its way in the narrows for want of a pilot, until Alexander himself sent them a pilot and brought them back into the stream. A tale is told as follows. Most of the tombs of the kings of Assyria are built in the lakes and in the marsh lands. And as Alexander was sailing along the marshes, for he — as is said — was steering the trireme, a strong breeze struck his sun-hat and the ribbon attached to it, and the hat being heavy fell into the stream, but the ribbon was carried off by the breeze and caught on a reed; the reed being one of them which grew near a tomb of the ancient kings. This itself seemed a presage of his destiny; one of the sailors, however, swam off to fetch the ribbon, and removing it from the reed could not carry it in his hands, since it would have become wet as he swam; but he bound it round his head and so brought it across. Most of the historians say that Alexander gave him a reward of a talent for his smartness, but bade them behead him, since the prophets so bade him not to leave alive that head which had worn the royal ribbon. Aristobulus, however, states that he received the talent, but was flogged for fastening the ribbon about his head. Aristobulus also says that it was one of the Phoenician sailors who brought back to Alexander his ribbon; some say it was Seleucus: and that this portended the death of Alexander and his great empire for Seleucus. For at any rate Seleucus was the greatest king of those who succeeded Alexander, and of the most royal mind, and ruled over the greatest extent of territory, next to Alexander; all this I regard as irrefragable.

[1] ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα καταλαμβάνει Πευκέσταν ἥκοντα ἐκ Περσῶν, ἄγοντα στρατιὰν Περσῶν ἐς δισφυρίους; ἦγε δὲ καὶ Κοσσαιῶν καὶ Ταπούρων οὐκ ὀλίγους, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἔθνη τῶν προσχώρων τῇ Περσίδι μαχιμώτατα εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο. ἦκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Φιλόξενος στρατιὰν ἄγων ἀπὸ Καρίας καὶ Μένανδρος ἐκ Λυδίας ἄλλους καὶ Μενίδας τοὺς ἱππέας ἄγων τοὺς αὐτῷ ξυνταχθέντας. [2] καὶ πρεσβεῖαι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦκον, καὶ τούτων οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοὶ τε ἐστεφανωμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσῆλθον καὶ ἐστεφάνουν αὐτὸν στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς, ὡς θεωροὶ δῆθεν ἐς τιμὴν θεοῦ ἀφιγμένοι. τῷ δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ ἄρα ἡ τελευταῖ ἦν. [3] ἔνθα δὴ τοὺς τε Πέρσας ἐπαινέσας τῆς προθυμίας, ὅτι πάντα Πευκέστα ἐπειθόντο, καὶ αὐτὸν Πευκέσταν τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ αὐτῶν ἐξηγήσεως, κατέλεγεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς Μακεδονικὰς τάξεις, δεκαδάρχη μὲν τῆς δεκάδος ἡγεῖσθαι Μακεδόνα καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ διμοιρίτην Μακεδόνα καὶ δεκαστάτηρον, οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς μισθοφορᾶς, ἦντινα μείονα μὲν τοῦ διμοιρίτου, πλείονα δὲ τῶν οὐκ ἐν τιμῇ

στρατευομένων ἔφερεν· [4] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ δώδεκα Πέρσας καὶ τελευταῖον τῆς δεκάδος Μακεδόνα, δεκαστάτηρον καὶ τοῦτον, ὥστε ἐν τῇ δεκάδι τέσσαρας μὲν εἶναι Μακεδόνας, τοὺς μὲν τῇ μισθοφορᾷ προὔχοντας, τὸν δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς δεκάδος, δώδεκα δὲ Πέρσας, τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας τὴν πατριὸν ὄπλιν ὠπλισμένους, τοὺς δὲ Πέρσας τοὺς μὲν τοξότας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μεσάγκυλα ἔχοντας. [5] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πολλάκις μὲν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀπεπειρᾶτο, πολλὰ δὲ ἔριδες αὐτῷ τῶν τριήρων καὶ ὅσαι τετρήρεις κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἀγῶνες τῶν τε ἐρετῶν καὶ τῶν κυβερνητῶν καὶ στέφανοι τῶν νικῶντων. [6] ἦκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀμμωνος οἱ θεωροὶ οὔστινας ἐστάλκει ἐρησομένους ὅπως θέμις αὐτῷ τιμᾶν Ἥφαιστίωνα· οἱ δὲ ὥς ἡρωῖ ἔφησαν ὅτι θύειν θέμις ὁ Ἀμμων λέγει. ὁ δὲ ἔχαιρέ τε τῇ μαντεῖα καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὥς ἦρωα ἐγέραιρε. καὶ Κλεομένει, ἀνδρὶ κακῷ καὶ πολλὰ ἀδικήματα ἀδικήσαντι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐπιστέλλει ἐπιστολὴν. καὶ ταύτην τῆς μὲν ἐς Ἥφαιστίωνα καὶ ἀποθανόντα φιλίας ἔνεκα καὶ μνήμης οὐ μέμφομαι ἔγωγε, ἄλλων δὲ πολλῶν ἔνεκα μέμφομαι. [7] ἔγωγε γὰρ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ κατασκευασθῆναι Ἥφαιστίῳ ἡρῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ, ἐν τε τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Φάρῳ, ἵνα ὁ πύργος ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, μεγέθει τε μέγιστον καὶ πολυτελείᾳ ἐκπρεπέστατον, καὶ ὅπως ἐπικρατήσῃ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ Ἥφαιστίνωνος, καὶ τοῖς συμβολαίοις καθ' ὅσα οἱ ἔμποροι ἀλλήλοις ξυμβάλλουσιν ἐγγράφεσθαι τὸ ὄνομα Ἥφαιστίνωνος. [8] ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔχω μέμψασθαι, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις μεγάλως διεσπουδάζετο. ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ πάνυ μέμφομαι. ἦν γὰρ καταλάβω ἐγώ, ἔλεγε τὰ γράμματα, τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καλῶς κατεσκευασμένα καὶ τὰ ἡρῶα τὰ Ἥφαιστίνωνος, εἴ τέ τι πρότερον ἡμάρτηκας, ἀφήσω σε τούτου, καὶ τὸ λοιπόν, ὀπηλίκον ἂν ἀμάρτης, οὐδὲν πείσῃ ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἄχαρι. τοῦτο ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι πολλῆς μὲν χώρας, πολλῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου ἐπεσταλμένον, ἄλλως τε καὶ κακῷ ἀνδρί, οὐκ ἔχω ἐπαινέσαι.

XXII. Alexander then returned to Babylon and found Peucestas with an army of twenty thousand Persians arrived from Persia; he had brought also a number of Cossaeans and Tapurians, because it was reported that these tribes were most warlike of the tribes bordering on Persia. There joined him also Philoxenus with an army from Caria and Menander from Lydia bringing others, and Menides with the forces of cavalry which had been serving under him. Embassies also in the meantime came from Greece, and their envoys, themselves crowned, came forward and crowned Alexander with golden crowns, as if they had come on a sacred embassy to honour some god. And yet he was not far from his end.

Then he commended the Persians for their enthusiasm, in that they had in all things obeyed Peucestas, and Peucestas himself too for his orderly government of them; and he enrolled them into the Macedonian brigades; so that a Macedonian corporal of ten led each section of ten, and besides him a Macedonian on double pay and a “ten-stater” man, called so from the pay, which is less than the men on double pay, but more than the rank and file not belonging to the Distinguished Service Order. Then besides these were twelve

Persians and last of the section a Macedonian, he also a “ten-stater” man. In the section, therefore, there were four Macedonians, three of these on extra pay, and the corporal in charge of the section, and twelve Persians; the Macedonians wearing their native equipment, and the Persians either archers or with javelins on leather thongs.

Meanwhile Alexander exercised the fleet constantly, and there were many rivalries between the triremes and such quadriremes as were on the river; and there were races between oarsmen and between helmsmen, and crowns for the victors.

There came also from Ammon the special envoys whom Alexander had sent to enquire how he ought to honour Hephaestion; they reported that Ammon said that it was lawful to sacrifice to him as to a hero. Alexander was pleased with this oracle, and from henceforward honoured Hephaestion as a hero. To Cleomenes, an evil man who had done many grievous wrongs in Egypt, he sent a letter; and with this letter, in regard to the affection shown for Hephaestion even in death and the recollection of him, I do not find any fault; but I do, for many other reasons. For the letter bade him build a hero’s shrine for Hephaestion in Alexandria of Egypt, both in the city itself and in the island Pharos, where is the lantern tower in the island; the shrine was to be in size exceedingly large, and remarkable for its costliness; and that he was to take care that the island be called by the name of Hephaestion, and the name “Hephaestion” was to be inscribed on all tokens which merchants exchanged one with another. This I cannot blame; except that Alexander showed great enthusiasm in no great matter. But I do blame this; the letter ran: “If I find these temples set in good order in Egypt, and these shrines of Hephaestion, whatever wrong you have hitherto done, I pardon it; and for the future, however great wrong you may do, you shall receive no harm at my hands.” This command of a great king to a man who was set to rule a great country and a large population, and an evil man, too, I am very far from approving.

[1] ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἥδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ τέλος. καί τι καὶ τοιόνδε πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων σημήναι λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος: καταλοχίζειν μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν σὺν Πευκέστῃ τε ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ξὺν Φιλοξένῳ καὶ Μενάνδρῳ ἦκουσαν ἐς τὰς Μακεδονικὰς τάξεις: διψήσαντα δὲ ἀποχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς ἑδρας καταλιπόντα ἔρημον τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλείον. [2] εἶναι δὲ κλίνας ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ θρόνου ἀργυρόποδας, ἐφ’ ὧν οἱ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι ἐκάθηντο. τῶν τινα οὖν ἡμελημένων ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμοι ὄντα λέγουσιν, ἔρημον ἰδόντα τὸν θρόνον καὶ τὰς κλίνας, περὶ τῷ θρόνῳ δὲ ἐστηκότας τοὺς εὐνούχους, καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι ξυνανέστησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποχωροῦντι, διελθόντα διὰ τῶν εὐνούχων ἀναβῆναι τε ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ καθέζεσθαι. [3] τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἀναστῆσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου κατὰ δὴ τινα νόμον Περσικόν, περιρρηξαμένους δὲ τύπτεσθαι τὰ τε στήθη καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, κελεῦσαι στρεβλωθῆναι τὸν καθίσαντα, μήποτε ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ξυντεταγμένον τοῦτο ἔδρασε γινῶναι ἐθέλοντα. τὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο

κατεπειν ὅτι μὴ ἐπὶ νοῦν οἱ ἐλθόν οὕτω πρᾶξαι: ἥ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ ζυμβῆναι αὐτῷ οἱ μάντις ἐξηγοῦντο. [4] ἡμέραι τε οὐ πολλαὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο καὶ τεθυκῶς τοῖς θεοῖς τάς τε νομιζομένας θυσίας ἐπὶ ζυμοφραγῆς ἀγαθαῖς καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἐκ μαντείας εὐωχεῖτο ἅμα τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἔπινε πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν. δοῦναι δὲ λέγεται καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἱερεῖα καὶ οἶνον κατὰ λόχους καὶ ἑκατοστίας. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πότου αὐτὸν μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐθέλιν ἐπὶ κοιτῶνα εἰσὶν οἱ ἀνέγραψαν: Μήδιον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐντυχόντα, τῶν ἐταίρων ἐν τῷ τότε τὸν πιθανώτατον, δεηθῆναι κωμάσαι παρὰ οἷ: γενέσθαι γὰρ ἂν ἡδὺν τὸν κῶμον.

XXIII. But Alexander's own end was drawing near. Aristobulus says that something else threw a shadow before of the events to come. He was distributing the army which came with Peucestas from Persia and from the ocean with Philoxenus and Menander, into the Macedonian ranks; and feeling thirsty he went away from the tribunal, leaving the royal throne untenanted. On either side of the throne were couches with silver feet, on which the Companions in attendance on him used to sit. Some quite obscure person — some say a prisoner, but under open arrest — saw the throne vacant and the couches, and the chamberlains standing round about the throne — for the Companions had retired when the King did — passed through the rank of chamberlains, ascended and sat upon the throne. They did not indeed — owing to some Persian custom — drag him off the throne, but rending their garments began to beat themselves on their breasts and faces as if some terrible disaster had happened. When Alexander learnt this, he ordered the man who had sat on the throne to be tortured, desiring to know if perchance he had done this by some set arrangement, of the nature of some plot. He would only say that the idea had come to him to do so; and for this the seers all the more prophesied that what had happened meant some great harm.

Not many days afterwards, Alexander had offered to the customary gods sacrifices in thanks for good fortune, as well as some in consequence of the seers' advice, and was feasting with his friends and drinking late into the night. It is said that he also gave victims to sacrifice to the army, and wine, by their sections and centuries. Some have recorded that he desired to leave the carouse and retire to his bedroom; but that Medius, one of his most trusted Companions at that time, met him and asked him to come and take wine with himself; for it would be a merry party.

[1] καὶ αἱ βασιλικοὶ ἐφημερίδες ὧδε ἔχουσιν: πίνειν παρὰ Μηδίῳ αὐτὸν κωμάσαντα: ἔπειτα ἐξαναστάντα καὶ λουσάμενον καθεύδειν τε καὶ αὖθις δεῖπνεῖν παρὰ Μηδίῳ καὶ αὖθις πίνειν πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν: ἀπαλαχθέντα δὲ τοῦ πότου λούσασθαι: καὶ λουσάμενον ὀλίγον τι ἐμφαγεῖν καὶ καθεύδειν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἤδη ἐπύρεσεν. [2] ἐκκομισθέντα δὲ ἐπὶ κλίνης πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ θῦσαι ὡς νόμος ἐφ' ἐκάστη ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπιθέντα κατακεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀνδρῶνι ἔστε ἐπὶ κνέφας. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι παραγγέλλειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πορείας καὶ τοῦ πλοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ὡς πεζῇ ἰόντας παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐς τετάρτην ἡμέραν, τοὺς δὲ ἅμα οἱ πλέοντας ὡς εἰς πέμπτην πλεουσούμενους. [3] ἐκεῖθεν δὲ

κατακομισθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ πλοίου ἐπιβάντα διαπλεῦσαι πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς τὸν παράδεισον, κάκει αὖθις λουσάμενον ἀναπαύεσθαι. ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν λούσασθαι τε αὖθις καὶ θῦσαι τὰ νομιζόμενα: καὶ εἰς τὴν καμάραν εἰσελθόντα κατακεῖσθαι διαμυθολογοῦντα πρὸς Μῆδιον: παραγγεῖλαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀπαντῆσαι ἔωθεν. ταῦτα πράξαντα δειπνήσαι ὀλίγον: [4] κομισθέντα δὲ αὖθις ἐς τὴν καμάραν πυρέσσειν ἤδη ξυνεχῶς τὴν νύκτα ὅλην: τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία λούσασθαι καὶ λουσάμενον θῦσαι. Νεάρχῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι παραγγεῖλαι τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν πλοῦν ὅπως ἔσται ἐς τρίτην ἡμέραν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία λούσασθαι αὖθις καὶ θῦσαι τὰ τεταγμένα, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπιθέντα οὐκέτι ἐλινύειν πυρέσσοντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἰσκαλέσαντα παραγγέλλειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐκπλοῦν ὅπως αὐτῷ ἔσται ἔτοιμα: λούσασθαι τε ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ, καὶ λουσάμενον ἔχειν ἤδη κακῶς. [5] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία μετακομισθῆναι ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ καὶ θῦσαι μὲν τὰ τεταγμένα, ἔχοντα δὲ πονήρως ὁμῶς ἐσκαλέσαι τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλοῦ αὖθις παραγγέλλειν. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ μόγις ἐκκομισθῆναι πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ θῦσαι, καὶ μηδὲν μείον ἔτι παραγγέλλειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλοῦ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν. [6] ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν κακῶς ἤδη ἔχοντα ὁμῶς θῦσαι τὰ τεταγμένα. παραγγεῖλαι δὲ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς διατρίβειν κατὰ τὴν αὐλήν, χιλιάρχας δὲ καὶ πεντακοσιάρχας πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. ἤδη δὲ παντάπασι πονήρως ἔχοντα διακομισθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐς τὰ βασίλεια. εἰσελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γνῶναι μὲν αὐτοὺς, φωνῆσαι δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ εἶναι ἄναυδον: καὶ τὴν νύκτα πυρέσσειν κακῶς καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν.

XXIV. And indeed the royal diaries have it this way, that he drank and made merry with Medius; and then having arisen and bathed, went to sleep, and afterwards dined with Medius, and again drank till late in the night; and then breaking off from the carouse bathed; and after bathing ate a little and slept just where he was, the fever being already upon him. However, he was carried forth on a litter each day to his religious duties and sacrificed after his usual custom; after performing these sacrifices he lay down in the men's apartments till dark. Meanwhile he instructed the officers as to the march and the voyage, the one to prepare to march three days later, and the others, who would sail with him, to sail on the fourth day from then. And thence he was carried on his mattress to the river, and embarking on a boat sailed across the river to the garden, and there again bathed and rested. Next day again he bathed and offered the usual sacrifices; then entering his room lay down, talking to Medius; and bade his officers meet him next morning early. Then he dined lightly; and being carried again to his room remained in high fever the whole night; next day he bathed, and after bathing, sacrificed. Then he explained to Nearchus and the other officers all about the voyage, and how it was to be conducted, three days thence. Next day he bathed again, and sacrificed the appointed sacrifices, and after sacrificing continued in constant fever. Yet even so he summoned the officers and bade them see that all was ready for the voyage; he bathed in the evening, and after bathing was now

very ill. But next day he was carried again to the house near the bathing place, and sacrificed the appointed sacrifices, and ill though he was, yet summoned the chief of his officers and again instructed them about the voyage. Next day he just contrived to be carried out to the sacrifices, and offered them, and yet still continued instructing his officers about the voyage. Next day also, being now quite ill, he yet offered the usual sacrifices. He ordered, however, the generals to wait in the court, and the commanders of thousands and half thousands to wait before the doors, and now being altogether ill he was carried from the garden to the palace. When the officers came in he knew them, but no longer spoke, but remained speechless. All the night he was in high fever, and all day, and the next night and day also.

[1] οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἡμερίσι ταῖς βασιλείαις ἀναγράφεται, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται ἐπόθησαν ἰδεῖν αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν, ὡς ζῶντα ἔτι ἴδοιεν, οἱ δέ, ὅτι τεθνηκέναι ἤδη ἐξηγγέλλετο, ἐπικρύπτεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐτόπαζον πρὸς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τὸν θάνατον, ὡς ἔγωγε δοκῶ: τοὺς πολλοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πένθους καὶ πόθου τοῦ βασιλέως βιάσασθαι ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον. τὸν δὲ ἄφωνον μὲν εἶναι λέγουσι παραπορευομένης τῆς στρατιᾶς, δεξιοῦσθαι δὲ ὡς ἐκάστους τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἐπαίροντα μόγῃς καὶ τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν ἐπισημαίνοντα. [2] λέγουσι δὲ αἱ ἡμερίδες αἱ βασιλικοὶ ἐν τοῦ Σαράπιδος τῷ ἱερῷ Πείθωνά τε ἐγκοιμηθέντα καὶ Ἀτταλον καὶ Δημοφῶντα καὶ Πευκέσταν, πρὸς δὲ Κλεομένην τε καὶ Μενίδα καὶ Σέλευκον, ἐπερωτᾶν τὸν θεὸν εἰ λῶν καὶ ἄμεινον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κοιμισθέντα καὶ ἰκετεύσαντα θεραπεύεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ: καὶ γενέσθαι φῆμιν τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ κομίζεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ μένοντι ἔσεσθαι ἄμεινον. [3] ταῦτά τε ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοὺς ἐταίρους καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς τοῦτο ἄρα ἤδη ὄν τὸ ἄμεινον. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τούτων οὔτε Ἀριστοβούλῳ οὔτε Πτολεμαίῳ ἀναγράφεται. οἱ δὲ καὶ τότε ἀνέγραψαν, ἐρέσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἐταίρους αὐτὸν ὅτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπει, τὸν δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὅτι τῷ κρατίστῳ: οἱ δέ, προσθεῖναι πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὅτι μέγαν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγῶνα ὀρᾷ ἐφ' αὐτῷ ἐσόμενον.

XXV. All this is written in the royal diaries; and then that his soldiers longed to see him, some, that they might see him still alive, and others since it was announced that he was already dead, but they suspected that his death was being concealed by the bodyguards — at least so I think; and many from grief and longing for their King pressed in to see Alexander. They say that he was already speechless as the army filed past; yet he greeted one and all, raising his head, though with difficulty, and signing to them with his eyes. And the royal diaries say that in the temple of Serapis an all-night vigil was kept by Peithon, Attalus, Demophon and Peucestas, with Cleomenes, Menidas, and Seleucus, enquiring of the god whether it would be better for Alexander to be brought into the temple of the god and after prayer to be healed by the god; but that an oracle was given from the god that he should not be brought into the temple, but that it would be better for him if he abode where he was. This the Companions announced; and Alexander shortly

afterwards breathed his last; this, after all, being the “better” thing. Beyond this neither Ptolemaeus nor Aristobulus have recorded. Some, however, recorded that his Companions asked him to whom he left his kingdom; and he replied, “to the best”; others relate that he added to this, that he saw that there would be a great funeral contest on his death.

[1] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οἶδα ἀναγεγραμμένα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς, καὶ φάρμακον ὅτι ἐπέμφθη παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φαρμάκου ὅτι ἀπέθανε: καὶ τὸ φάρμακον ὅτι Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐξεῦρε δεδοικῶς ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρον Καλλισθένους ἕνεκα, Κάσανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου ἐκόμισεν: οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐν ἡμίονου ὀπλῇ ἐκόμισε καὶ τοῦτο ἀνέγραψαν. δοῦναι δὲ αὐτὸ Ἰόλλαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Κασάνδρου τὸν νεώτερον: [2] εἶναι γὰρ οἰνοχόον βασιλικὸν τὸν Ἰόλλαν καὶ τι καὶ λελυπησθαι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς: οἱ δὲ καὶ Μῆδιον μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ἐραστὴν ὄντα τοῦ Ἰόλλα: καὶ αὐτὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν εἰσηγητὴν γενόμενον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ κόμου: ὀδύνην τε αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι γενέσθαι ὀξεῖαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὀδύνῃ ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκ τοῦ πότου. [3] ἤδη δέ τις οὐκ ἠσχύνθη ἀναγράψαι ὅτι αἰσθόμενος οὐ βιώσιμον ὄντα αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἤει ἐμβαλὼν, ὥς ἀφανῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος πιστοτέραν τὴν δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐγκαταλείποι ὅτι ἐκ θεοῦ τε αὐτῷ ἡ γένεσις ξυνέβη καὶ παρὰ θεοὺς ἢ ἀποχώρησις. Πρωξάνην δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐ λαθεῖν ἐξιόντα, ἀλλὰ εἰργόμενον γὰρ πρὸς αὐτῆς ἐποιμώξαντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐφθόνησεν ἄρα αὐτῷ δόξης τῆς ἐς ἅπαν, ὥς θεῷ δὴ γεγεννημένῳ. καὶ ταῦτα ἔμοι ὥς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν δόξαιμι μᾶλλον ὅτι λεγόμενά ἐστιν ἢ ὥς πιστὰ ἐς ἀφήγησιν ἀναγεγράφθω.

XXVI. I am aware, of course, that there have been many other details recorded of Alexander’s death; for instance, that Antipater sent him a drug, and that he died of this drug; and that Aristotle made up this drug for Antipater, already fearing Alexander on account of Callisthenes’ death; and that Casander, Antipater’s son, brought it. Others have even said that it was conveyed in a mule’s hoof, and that Iollas, Casander’s younger brother, gave it to Alexander; for that Iollas was the royal cupbearer, and had some grievance against Alexander not long before his death; others again that Medius had some hand in the business, from an infatuation for Iollas; for it was Medius who suggested to Alexander the drinking-bout; and that Alexander had a sharp feeling of pain after quaffing the cup; and on feeling this he retired from the carouse. One writer has not even shrunk from the statement that Alexander, perceiving that he could not survive, went to throw himself into the Euphrates, so that he might disappear from the world and leave behind the tradition more credible to posterity that his birth was of the gods and that to the gods he passed; but Roxane his wife saw that he was going out, and when she prevented him he cried aloud that she then grudged him everlasting fame as having been truly born a god. This must suffice of stories; rather that I may show that I know of them than because they are narratives worthy of belief.

[1] ἐτελεύτα μὲν δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ Ἥγησιου ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν: ἐβίω δὲ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη καὶ τοῦ τρίτου μῆνας ἐπέλαβεν ὀκτώ, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστοβούλος: ἐβασίλευσε δὲ δώδεκα ἔτη καὶ τοὺς ὀκτὼ τούτους μῆνας, τό τε σῶμα κάλλιστος καὶ φιλοπονώτατος καὶ ὀξύτατος γενόμενος καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀνδρείοτατος καὶ φιλοτιμώτατος καὶ φιλοκινδυνώτατος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιμελέστατος: [2] ἡδονῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἐγκρατέστατος, τῶν δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἐπαίνου μόνου ἀπληστότατος: ξυνιδεῖν δὲ τὸ δέον ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ὄν δεινότητος, καὶ ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων τὸ εἰκὸς ξυμβालεῖν ἐπιτυχέστατος, καὶ τάξαι στρατιὰν καὶ ὀπλίσαι τε καὶ κοσμήσαι δαημονέστατος: καὶ τὸν θυμὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπᾶραι καὶ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν ἐμπλῆσαι καὶ τὸ δεῖμα ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τῷ ἀδεεῖ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἀφανίσαι, ξύμπαντα ταῦτα γενναιοτάτος. [3] καὶ οὖν καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ πρᾶξαι, ξὺν μεγίστῳ θάρσει ἔπραξεν, ὅσα τε φθάσας ὑφαρπάσαι τῶν πολεμίων, πρὶν καὶ δεῖσαί τινα αὐτὰ ὡς ἐσόμενα, προλαβεῖν δεινότητος: καὶ τὰ μὲν ξυντεθέντα ἢ ὁμολογηθέντα φυλάξαι βεβαιοτάτος, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἐξαπατώντων μὴ ἀλῶναι ἀσφαλέστατος, χρημάτων τε ἐς μὲν ἡδονὰς τὰς αὐτοῦ φειδωλότατος, ἐς δὲ εὐποιῶν τῶν πέλας ἀφθονώτατος.

XXVII. Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, in the archonship at Athens of Hegesias. He lived thirty-two years and eight months, as Aristobulus says; he reigned twelve years and the aforesaid eight months. In body he was very handsome, a great lover of hardships; of much shrewdness, most courageous, most zealous for honour and danger, and most careful of religion; most temperate in bodily pleasure, but as for pleasures of the mind, insatiable of glory alone; most brilliant to seize on the right course of action, even where all was obscure; and where all was clear, most happy in his conjectures of likelihood; most masterly in marshalling an army arming and equipping it; and in uplifting his soldiers' spirits and filling them with good hopes, and brushing away anything fearful in dangers by his own want of fear — in all this most noble. And all that had to be done in uncertainty he did with the utmost daring; he was most skilled in swift anticipation and gripping of his enemy before anyone had time to fear the event; he was most reliable in keeping promises or agreement; most guarded in not being trapped by the fraudulent; very sparing of money for his own pleasure, but most generous in benefits of others.

[1] εἰ δέ τι ἐπλημμελήθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δι' ὀξύτητα ἢ ὑπ' ὀργῆς, ἢ εἴ τι ἐς τὸ ὑπερογκότερον προήχθη βαρβαρίσαι, οὐ μέγала τίθεμαι ἔγωγε, εἰ τὴν νεότητά τέ τις τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μὴ ἀνεπιεικῶς ἐνθυμηθεῖη καὶ τὸ διηνεκές τῆς εὐτυχίας καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἡδονήν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίστῳ, τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ξυνόντας τε καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ ξυνεσομένους: ἀλλὰ μεταγνῶναι γε ἐφ' οἷς ἐπλημμέλησε μόνῳ οἶδα τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὑπάρξαι ὑπὸ γενναιοτήτος. [2] οἱ δὲ πολλοί, εἰ καὶ τι ἔγνωσαν πλημμελήσαντες, οἱ δὲ τῷ προηγοεῖν αὐτοῦ, ὡς καλῶς δὴ πραχθέντος, ἐπικρύψειν οἴονται τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, κακῶς γινώσκοντες. μόνῃ γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἴσας ἀμαρτίας ὁμολογεῖν τε ἀμαρτόντα καὶ δηλον εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτῷ μεταγινώσκοντα, ὡς τοῖς τε παθοῦσι τι ἄχαρι οὐ πάντῃ

χαλεπὰ τὰ παθήματα φαινόμενα, εἰ ὁ δράσας αὐτὰ ξυγχωροίη ὅτι οὐ καλὰ ἔδρασεν, αὐτῷ τέ τι ἐς τὸ μέλλον ταύτην ἐλπίδα ἀγαθὴν ὑπολειπομένην, μή ποτε ἂν παραπλήσιόν τι ἁμαρτεῖν, εἰ τοῖς πρόσθεν πλημμεληθεῖσιν ἀχθόμενος φαίνοιτο. [3] ὅτι δὲ ἐς θεὸν τὴν γένεσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνέφερεν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔμοι δοκεῖ μέγα εἶναι αὐτῷ τὸ πλημμέλημα, εἰ μὴ καὶ σόφισμα ἦν τυχὸν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοῦ σεμνοῦ ἔνεκα. οὐκ οὐκ δοκεῖ ἔμοιγε ἢ Μίνως γενέσθαι βασιλεὺς ἀφανέστερος ἢ Αἰακοῦ ἢ Ῥαδαμάνθυος, οἷς δὴ ἐς Δία ἀνενεχθεῖσα ἡ γένεσις πρὸς τῶν πάλαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδεμιᾷ αὐτῶν ὕβρει προστίθεται, οὐδὲ Θησεῶς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος οὐδὲ Ἴωνος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. [4] ὥς ἔμοιγε καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ σκευὴ σόφισμα δοκεῖ εἶναι πρὸς τε τοὺς βαρβάρους, ὥς μὴ πάντῃ ἀλλότριον αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὥς ἀποστροφὴν τινα εἶναι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀξύτητός τε καὶ ὕβρεως τῆς Μακεδονικῆς: ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ ἐγκαταμιζαί μοι δοκεῖ ταῖς τάξεσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς μηλοφόρους καὶ τοῖς ἀγῆμασι τοὺς ὁμοτίμους. καὶ οἱ πότοι δέ, ὥς λέγει Ἀριστοβούλος, οὐ τοῦ οἴνου ἔνεκα μακροὶ αὐτῷ ἐγίνοντο, οὐ γὰρ πίνειν πολὺν οἶνον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλὰ φιλοφροσύνης τῆς ἐς τοὺς ἐταίρους.

XXVIII. If, however, Alexander committed any error through haste or in anger, or if he went some distance in the direction of Eastern arrogance, this I do not regard as important; if readers will consider in a spirit of charity Alexander's youth, his unbroken success, and those courtiers who associate with kings to flatter but not to improve them, and who always will so associate with kings to their harm. But I do know that to Alexander alone of the kings of old did repentance for his faults come, by reason of his noble nature; while most people, if they have admitted any error, by defending their misdeed, as if it were a good deed, think that they will conceal their error; and this is a great mistake. For I at least feel that the only cure for sin is a confession of sin and evidence of repentance, since the offended party will not feel the offences so grievous if the offender agrees that he did not well; and for the man himself this good hope is left behind for the future, that he will not so offend again if he appear grieved at the errors of the past. But that he referred his birth to a god, even this I do not altogether think to be a grave fault, unless perhaps it was a mere device to impress his subjects, and to appear more dignified. In point of fact I hold him no less famous a king than Minos, Aeacus, or Radamanthus; they traced their origin back to Zeus, and yet this was not associated by men of old with any arrogance; nor yet Theseus' descent from Poseidon, nor Ion's from Apollo. Moreover, I feel that the adoption of Persian equipage was a device, both towards the Persians, so that their King might not appear wholly removed from them, and towards the Macedonians, to mark some reversion from Macedonian abruptness and arrogance; for the same reason, I suspect, he drafted into their ranks the Persian troops who carried the "golden apples," and the Persian nobles into their cavalry squadrons. And his carousings, as Aristobulus says, were prolonged not for the wine, for Alexander was no winebibber, but from a spirit of comradeship.

[1] ὅστις δὲ κακίζει Ἀλέξανδρον, μὴ μόνον ὅσα ἄξια κακίζεσθαι ἐστι προφερόμενος κακιζέτω, ἀλλὰ ξύμπαντα τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰς ἓν χωρίον ξυναγαγὼν οὕτω δὴ ἐκλογιζέσθω ὅστις τε ὢν αὐτὸς καὶ ὅποια τύχη κεχρημένος ὄντινα γενόμενον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἐς ὅσον εὐτυχίας τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐλθόντα βασιλέα τε ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ἡπείροιν ἀναμφιλογώτατα γενόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἐξικόμενον τῷ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι κακίζει, σμικρότερός τε ὢν αὐτὸς καὶ ἐπὶ σμικροῖς πονούμενος καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐν κόσμῳ τιθέμενος. [2] ὥς ἔγωγε δοκῶ ὅτι οὕτε τι ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὕτε τις πόλις ἐν τῷ τότε ἦν οὕτε τις εἷς ἄνθρωπος εἰς ὃν οὐ πεφοιτῇκε τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄνομα. οὐκ οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ ἔξω τοῦ θείου φῦναι ἂν δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπων εἰσικῶς. καὶ ταῦτα χρησιμοὶ τε ἐπισημῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγονται καὶ φάσματα ἄλλα ἄλλοις γενόμενα καὶ ἐνύπνια φανέντα ἄλλα ἄλλοις καὶ ἡ ἐς τοῦτο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τιμὴ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ μνήμη οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ οὕσα, καὶ νῦν δὲ διὰ τοσούτου ἄλλοι χρησιμοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἔθνει τῷ Μακεδόνων χρησθέντες. [3] ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμεμψάμην ἔστιν ἃ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργων, ἀλλὰ αὐτόν γε Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι θαυμάζων: τὰ δὲ ἔργα ἐκεῖνα ἐκάκισα ἀληθείας τε ἔνεκα τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ ἅμα ὠφελείας τῆς ἐς ἀνθρώπους: ἐφ' ὅτῳ ὥρμήθην οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἄνευ θεοῦ ἐς τήνδε τὴν συγγραφὴν.

XXIX. Whosoever speaks evil of Alexander, let him speak such evil, not merely by producing what deserves evil-speaking, but gathering all that Alexander did into a single whole; let such a one consider first himself, his own personality, his own fortunes, and then on the other hand Alexander, what he became, and the height of human prosperity which he reached, having made himself king, beyond all contradiction, of both continents, and having spread his fame over the widest possible span; let such a one, I say, consider of whom he speaks evil; himself being more puny, and busied about puny things, and not even bringing these to success. For I myself believe that there was at that time no race of mankind, no city, no single individual, whither the name of Alexander had not reached. And so not even I can suppose that a man quite beyond all other men was born without some divine influence. Moreover, oracles are said to have prophesied Alexander's death, and visions coming to different persons, and dreams, dreamed by different persons; there was also the general regard of mankind leading to this same conclusion, and the memory of one more than human; and even now there are other oracles, after this great gap of time, which have been delivered to the Macedonian race, and all tending to the highest estimation of him. True it is that I myself have quarrelled with certain acts in my history of Alexander's deeds, but I am bold to admire Alexander himself; and those acts I blamed, both for the sake of my veracity, and also for the general benefit of mankind; and that is why I myself too took up this history, not without the help of God.

The Biographies



The foothills of the Acropolis, Athens — in c. 145 AD Arrian was elected Archon at Athens and it was here that he devoted himself to the writing of history, composing his most important work, 'Anabasis of Alexander'.

THE LIFE OF ARRIAN by E. Iliff Robson



The facts of Arrian's life are simple. He was a Greek, born at Nicomedia about a d. 96, and his *floruit* therefore falls in the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Hadrian appointed him Governor of Cappadocia (131 to 137), and as he saw some military service, he writes as an expert. This post was a most unusual honour for a Greek. He was Archon at Athens in 147, and died probably about 180. As a pupil of Epictetus he wrote up lecture notes or *memorabilia*, and is an important authority for his master's teaching.

His value as a historian of Alexander depends (as W. W. Tarn points out in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VI.) on the rather insoluble question, how far official history is accurate history. For Arrian makes no secret of his adherence to two main authorities, Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus. Of the former, he naïvely remarks that, as a king, he was not likely to falsify; moreover, that, writing after Alexander's death, he would not stand to gain anything by flattery. This view does more credit to Arrian's regard for royalty than to his critical sense. Ptolemaeus might have a good deal to gain after Alexander's death by glorifying his own part in the expedition. Mahaffy (*Greek Life and Thought*, p. 205) speaks of "Ptolemy's account... in which no doubt he gave no carping or incomplete story of his own achievements"; and in a footnote on the same page adds "Ptolemy (Soter) has had curious fates as an author. While Arrian praises his *Memoirs* of Alexander as the soberest and most veracious book, his name was afterwards prefixed to the fables ascribed to Callisthenes, and there is extant (C. Müller's *Praefatio in Pseudo-Callisthenem*, p xxvii) an epigram on his ignorance and deceit from a mediaeval reader."

Let us, however, put aside any suspicions that Ptolemaeus was one of the jackals who sought his titbits of glory from the leavings of the lion's feast, and let us discount mediaeval epigrams; the question still arises, if Ptolemaeus wrote what would be counted accurate official history of Alexander's marches and victories, is such official history likely to be accurate from our present-day standpoint? And Arrian clearly regards Ptolemaeus as his chief authority.

Readers will have opportunity of forming their own views on this question, as they will also be able to read Arrian's own little self-revelations and the expressions of his own opinions. It is to his credit that where he feels it to be his duty he does not fear to criticize severely Alexander himself. Though he was something of a military expert, and describes the customary manoeuvres of Alexander clearly enough, he becomes rather obscure where anything unusual occurs. Ordinarily he is a readable and rather dull historian, but — in

common with other ancient historians — he sometimes uses two or more authorities without making a very successful blend.

That he soberly eschews, for the most part, the romantic elements in Alexander's career, gives him an especial value in view of the regrettably inadequate documentation of one of the greatest of all military exploits.

Alexander's Troops, Tactics, and Arrian's Terminology.

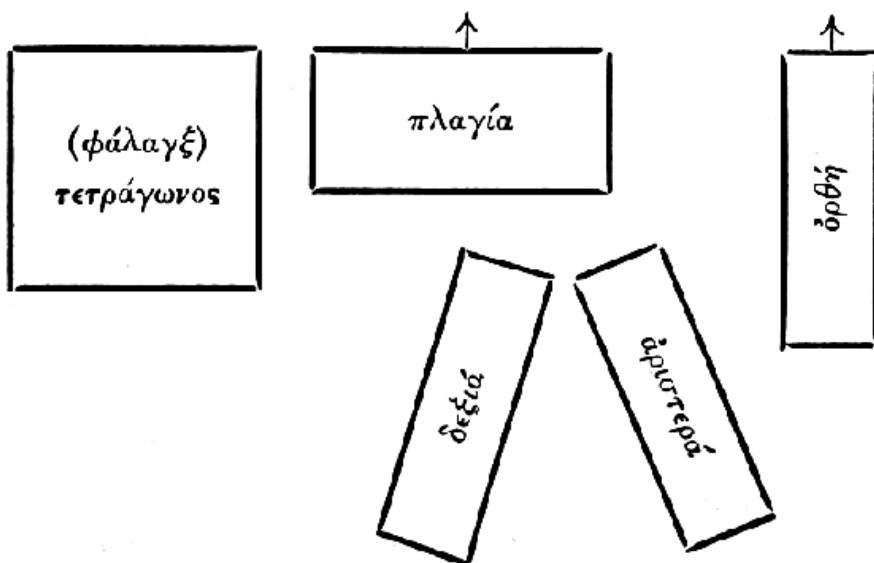
Alexander's tactics were, fortunately, of the simplest kind, though most effective, especially against "native" troops. His centre was the "phalanx," his right was his best and heaviest cavalry, his left was other cavalry, and outside the right wing, and possibly the left, were archers and other light troops. The exact employment of the whole force varied with the ground, but on normal ground, and Alexander could usually choose his positions, the left wing at first merely held firm, and the centre was a solid pivot for the right wing, which charged down upon the "shield-side" of the enemy's troops and often even drove them on to the pikes of the phalanx in the centre and the thrusting spears of the cavalry on the left. The "phalanx" in the centre occupied and diverted the enemy, but would not usually advance far unless the customary swing from the right was somehow impeded, or became irregular.

Arrian's accounts of Alexander's tactics and descriptions of his troops are not, however, particularly clear, nor indeed does he use the same terms always in the same way. His usual technical terms, working downward, are *στρατός*, *στρατόπεδον*, and *φάλαγξ*, which should mean a part of the army, namely, that part of the infantry which was armed with long spears, but sometimes seems to be used for the army itself; the subdivisions of the *φάλαγξ* are *τάξεις*, a word also used sometimes technically, sometimes not. These *τάξεις* were probably enrolled on a territorial basis. The word *εταῖροι* is especially troublesome. Often it apparently has no special significance; it is used, as in the compound just quoted, as we use "territorials," *i.e.* troops acquainted with one another, comrades, members of the same district. But some of these troops (who were indeed practically the whole of the true-born Macedonian forces) were attached to Alexander's person as part of his bodyguard. Whether Arrian means us to understand "Companions (of Alexander)" when he so uses the word is not certain; but he uses *εταῖροι* as a sort of title, just as he does *εταῖροι* or *παδες βασιλικοί*, "Squires of the King," or perhaps "Sons of (Macedonian) nobles." Besides the *εταῖροι* proper, whether *πιζεταιροι* or *ἀσθεταμοι*, there were *πλυσταί*, a general term for light-armed troops (that is, troops with light defensive protection), and certain auxiliary troops denoted by their specific titles, but also *ξενοι* or mercenaries, namely, Thessalians, Boeotians, and others, notably the Agrianes, who were capital mountaineers and skirmishers.

Now we come to a large force, partly of *νταστισταί*, who formed Alexander's guards, and his actual bodyguard. Probably nearest to him were the "squires," who formed his staff. Next would come any specially selected

φνλακε, and next (also, in the wider sense, *εταιοι*) the *σωματοφύλακες*, called *το ἀγῆμα το βασιλικόν*, and probably the same as the *ἀργυράσπιτιδες*. But this quite large force of “bodyguards” and “guards” was not merely a protection for their courageous and even rash leader, but rather formed a special body of shock troops, easily and swiftly manoeuvred, and ready for any sudden forced march or hazardous assault.

The manoeuvring of the army is expressed thus. A phalanx is always rectangular, if not always a square. A diagram gives the technical terms:



The phalanx was not the rigid body it is often represented to be by historians. It could be elongated as shown above (the word is *λαγία*) to an oblong, that is, a column in line, or narrowed (*ὄρθη*), when an enemy front was to be pierced.

When, however, flank attacks were expected the phalanx would be thrown into a long line (as at Gaugamela); the centre might be advanced; it was then two-fronted (right and left incline); or occasionally the line would be concave, not convex, if the phalanx was itself outflanking an enemy. Sometimes the phalanx was in wedge or arrow-head formation, *εμβολος*, but not, we must remember, a closed wedge. The closest possible order was *συνασπισμός*, “shield locked with shield.”

Dr. Hogarth (*Philip and Alexander*) has a valuable passage on the Macedonian army, modifying certain views of his earlier pamphlet.

Aeneas Tacticus (and others), translated in this Library, will give some help, but must be used with caution. They do not exactly represent our period.

A Geographical Note.

Alexander’s routes are for the most part easy to follow in any serious atlas. It is not always so easy to see why he chose his routes.

Great interest has been recently aroused by Sir Aurel Stein's publication (in *The Geographical Journal* for November and December, 1927, and in his work *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, Macmillan, 1929) of his discovery of the site of Aornos, which he places on the ridge of Pir-s'ar, situated in the bend of the Indus, westward of its course, that is, on the right bank, due north of Gunangar and east by north of Chakdara.

The ridge fits Arrian's description well, save that (to a mere reader, who has not seen it) it would not appear capable of supporting the population which Arrian ascribes to it.

But a graver question is whether Arrian's description is necessarily precise. The diversion so far up the Indus appears unnecessary; and one may be rather inclined to suspect that Alexander went northward feeling his way for some valley or pass which he did not discover; was held up by some militant tribe, which manned its Acropolis, and took a good deal longer to "smoke out" than Alexander had expected. He returns southward, and his literary followers have to excuse both the diversion and the check by inventing particular reasons why Alexander should have desired to storm this particular rock.

Perhaps all we can say is that, of Arrian is precise, Sir Aurel Stein is almost certainly accurate in his choice of the site.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ARRIAN by E. J. Chinnock



ALL we know of Arrian is derived from the notice of him in the “Bibliotheca” of Photius, who was Patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century, and from a few incidental references in his own writings. We learn from Suidas that Dio Cassius wrote a biography of Arrian; but this work is not extant.

Flavius Arrianus was born near the end of the first century of the Christian era, at Nicomedia, the capital of Bithynia. He became a pupil of the famous Stoic philosopher Epictetus, and afterwards went to Athens, where he received the surname of the “younger Xenophon,” from the fact that he occupied the same relation to Epictetus as Xenophon did to Socrates.’ Not only was he called Xenophon by others, but he calls himself so in “Cynegeticus” (v. 6); and in “Periplus”(xii. 5; xxv. 1), he distinguishes Xenophon by the addition the elder.’ Lucian (“Alexander,” 56) calls Arrian simply Xenophon. During the stay of the emperor Hadrian at Athens, A.D. 126, Arrian gained his friendship. He accompanied his patron to Rome, where he received the Roman citizenship. In consequence of this, he assumed the name of Flavius. In the same way the Jewish historian, Josephus, had been allowed by Vespasian and Titus to bear the imperial name Flavius.¹

Photius says, that Arrian had a distinguished career in Rome, being intrusted with various political offices, and at last reaching the supreme dignity of consul under Antoninus Pius. Previous to this he was appointed (A.D. 132) by Hadrian, Governor of Cappadocia, which province was soon after invaded by the Alani, or Massagetae, whom he defeated and expelled.² When Marcus Aurelius came to the throne, Arrian withdrew into private life and returned to his native city, Nicomedia. Here, according to Photius, he was appointed priest to Demeter and Persephone. He died in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.³

The earlier literary efforts of Arrian were philosophical. After the expulsion of the philosophers from Rome, by Domitian, Epictetus delivered his lectures at Nicopolis, in Epirus, where it is probable that Arrian was his pupil.³

I. These lectures were published by Arrian, under the title of “Discourses of Epictetus,” in eight books, the first four only of which have come down to us. He tells us himself in the introduction to this work, that he strove as far as possible to preserve the very words of his teacher as mementoes of his method of reasoning and diction. Gellius (xix. i) speaks of a fifth book of

these Discourses.

II. He also compiled "The Encheiridion of Epictetus," an abstract of the philosophy of Epictetus, which is still extant. This manual of the Stoic moral philosophy was very popular, both among Pagans and Christians, for many centuries.

III. Another work by Arrian, in twelve books, distinct from the above, is mentioned by Photius under the title of "Friendly Conversations with Epictetus." Of this only a few fragments survive.

IV. Another lost work of Arrian on the life and death of Epictetus is mentioned by Simplicius in the beginning of his Commentary on the Encheiridion.

Besides editing these philosophical works, Arrian wrote many original books. By far the most important of these is the "Anabasis of Alexander," or the History of Alexander the Great's Campaigns. This is one of the most authentic and accurate of historical works. Though inspired with admiration for his hero, the author evinces impartiality and freedom from hero-worship. He exhibits great literary acuteness in the choice of his authorities and in sifting evidence. The two chief sources from which he drew his narrative were the histories written by Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and Aristobulus, son of Aristobulus, both of whom were officers in Alexander's army. Other authorities quoted by Arrian himself were : — Eratosthenes, Megasthenes, Nearchus, Aristus, and Asclepiades. He also made use of Alexander's letters, which he mentions five times; only once, however, quoting the exact words of the writer. The last authority which he mentions, is the "Royal Diary" kept by Eumenes, of Cardia, the private secretary of Philip as well as of Alexander, and by Diodotus, of Erythrae. It is used by Arrian only once,¹ as it is by Plutarch.²

VI. The work named "Indica," is a description of India, and an account of the voyage of Nearchus, and was usually united in manuscripts with the "Anabasis," as an eighth book. Though it may be looked upon as a supplement to the "Anabasis," Arrian often refers in the one work to the other. From this we may infer that the author wished the "Indica" to be considered a distinct book from the "Anabasis;" and from the remark in "Anab." v. 5, r, it is clear that it was composed after the "Anabasis." This book is written in the Ionic dialect, like the "Histories" of Herodotus and the "Indica" of Ctesias. The latter untrustworthy book Arrian wished to supplant by his own narrative, principally based on the works of Megasthenes and Nearchus.

VII. Photius mentions among Arrian's historical works "The Events after Alexander," in ten books, which gives the history of Alexander's successors. Photius (cod. 92) has preserved many extracts from this work.

VIII. "Bithynica" "in eight books, a work often quoted by Eustathius in his commentaries to the "Iliad" and to Dionysius Periegetes. In regard to the contents of this book, Photius (cod. 93) says :—" The Bithynica commences from the mythical events of history and comes down as far as the death of the

last Nicomedes, who at his death bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, who had never been ruled by a king after the expulsion of Tarquin.”

IX. “Parthica,” in seventeen books. See Photius (cod.X.58).

X. “History of the Alani.” See Photius (cod. 93). Only fragments of this and the “Parthica” remain.

XI.-XIII. Besides the large works, we learn from Photius (cod.) that Arrian wrote the biographies of the Corinthian Timoleon and of the Syracusan Dion. Lucian (Alex. 2), also states that he wrote the life of Tilliborus, the notorious robber of Asia Minor.

XIV. A valuable geographical work by Arrian has come down to us, called “.....,” a description of a voyage round the coasts of the Euxine. This naval expedition was executed by him as Governor of Cappadocia. The Alani, or Albani of the East, a tribe related to the Massagetae, were threatening to invade his province, and he made this voyage with a view of fortifying the most important strategic points on the coast. From section 17 of the *Periplus* I we find that this voyage must have taken place about the year 131 or 132 A.D.; for the death of King Cotys II., noticed in that passage as just dead, is proved by Böckh’s investigations to have occurred in 131 A.D. Two other geographical works, “The *Periplus* of the Red Sea” and “The *Periplus* of the Euxine,” formerly ascribed to Arrian, are proved to belong to a later date.

XV. A work on “Tactics,” composed 137 AD. In many parts this book agrees nearly verbally with the larger work of Aelian on the same subject; but Leo Tacticus (vii. 85) expressly mentions the two works as distinct.

XVI. “The Array of Battle against the Alani” is a fragment, discovered in the seventeenth century, of his “Description of his Battles with the Alani,” who invaded his province, probably 137 A.D., as Arrian had previously feared.²

XVII. A small work by Arrian on the Chase, forms a supplement to Xenophon’s book on the same subject. It is entitled “*Cynegeticus* of Arrian or the second Xenophon the Athenian.” It contains a graphic description of his hound Horrnē (cha).

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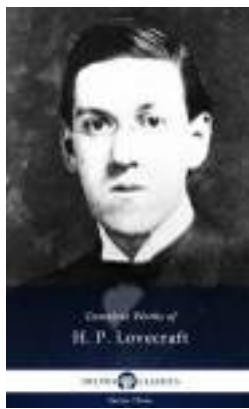
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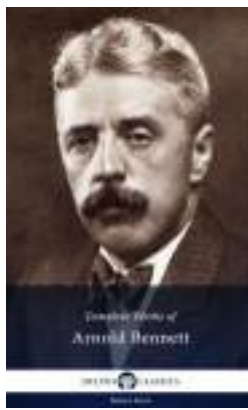
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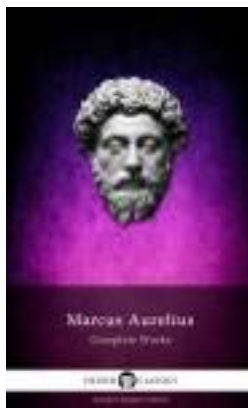
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Athens — it is not known when Arrian died, though it was likely in Athens or nearby.